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Massachusetts Historical Society

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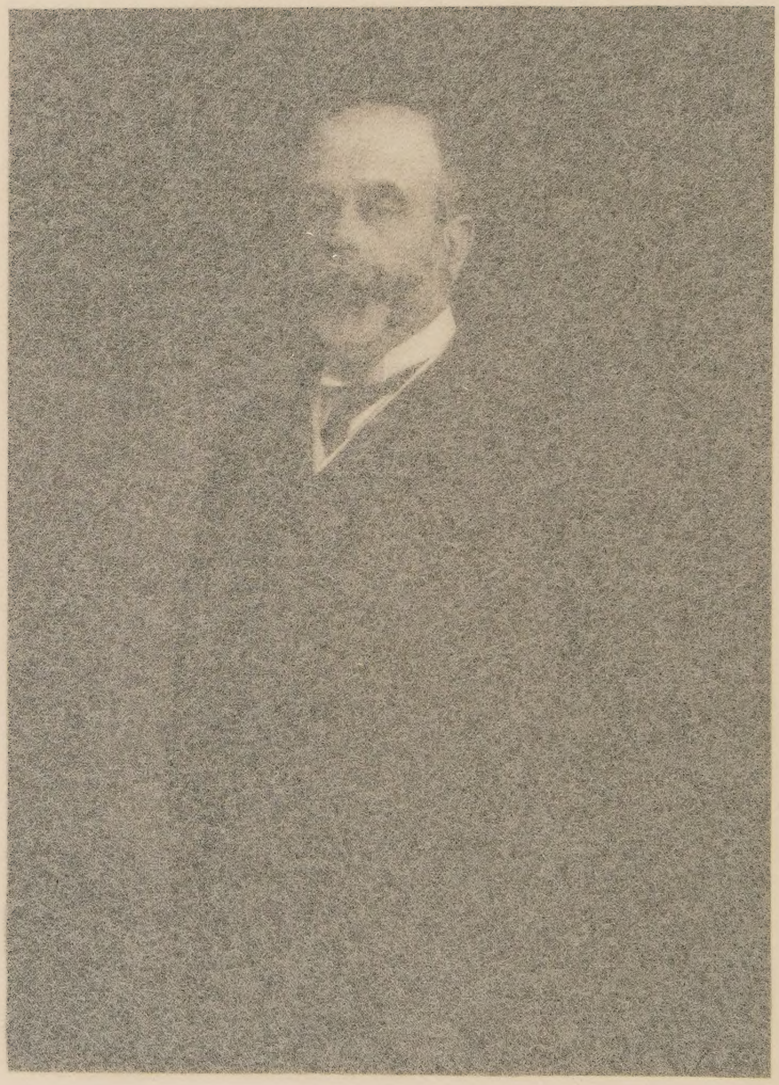

William C. Endicott

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1938, William Allan Neilson, May 8, 1941[1]

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[1] Elected Corresponding Member, October 9, 1941.

Proceedings

1936–1941

The Advancement of Learning during the Puritan Commonwealth

By James B. Conant

I

"If in time, as in place," writes Hobbes in his *Behemoth: The History of the Causes of the Civil Wars of England*, "there were degrees of high and low, I verily believe that the highest of time would be that which passed between 1640 and 1660. For he that thence, as from the Devil's Mountain, should have looked upon the world and observed the actions of men, especially in England, might have had a prospect of all kinds of injustice, and of all kinds of folly, that the world could afford, and how they were produced by their hypocrisy and self-conceit, whereof the one is double iniquity, and the other double folly."[1] Whether, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, Hobbes's judgment is still correct is for professional historians to decide. But at all events this quotation may serve as a warrant for my having spent a considerable amount of spare time in the last dozen years on the study of the Great Rebellion. All who have followed a similar course can take comfort in these words of the seventeenth-century philosopher.

The attention of many nonhistorians like myself has recently been drawn to the seventeenth century. Perhaps we have been moved to study a turbulent period by a subconscious recognition that the world of the 1940's would show strange parallels to the decade exactly three centuries earlier. Even in academic matters one can trace the similarity. For the drastic alterations in the universities of Europe which we have witnessed in our time had their counterpart in the days of Cromwell. At no period since then until the present has the development of the university tradition been so gravely affected by decisions reached on the field of battle.

My story begins with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, but an introduction is required. Indeed, to do justice to the development of Oxford and Cambridge from the Reformation to the middle of the seventeenth century would require not an introduction to a brief paper but several volumes. And these books would not only deal with academic changes but would consider the highly complex religious controversies of the day. For, three hundred years ago, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were the intellectual arsenals of the church. As a consequence, in the course of the sixteenth century they suffered violently during those periods when the English national faith shifted first one way and then the other. The monument to the martyrs burned at Oxford under Mary may serve as a reminder that the ivory tower is not a constant feature in the academic landscape.

---

[1] *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Sir William Molesworth, Editor, vi (London, 1840), 165.

Of course, both medicine and law held a respected position in the universities of those days. For, in the words of Anthony Wood, the famous chronicler of late-seventeenth-century Oxford, "it is well known that the universities of this land have had their beginnings and continuances to no other end but to propagate religion and good manners and supply the nation with persons chiefly proficient in the three famous faculties of divinity, law, and physics." But of the graduates of these three famous faculties, those in divinity were, at least numerically, much superior to the others. Furthermore, their course of study formed the background for the major part of the intellectual life of the two great centers of learning. By necessity, therefore, anyone concerned with the fate of the universities in the Civil War will have to consider those religious controversies so intimately associated with the struggle between King and Parliament.

In the usual historical account of the Great Rebellion the constitutional and legal controversies overshadow the theological. But for an understanding of the history of the academic world of this period the reverse is true. One can draw no sharp line of division, of course, for religious, economic, and political motives were strangely blended in the many shifts of opinion during the two decades following 1640. Quarrels on matters of "rights" and matters of faith reinforced one another and produced the final explosion. The dissatisfaction of thoughtful and religious men on questions of doctrines and forms of government of the church would not by itself have produced a revolution; nor, probably, on the other hand, taken by itself, would the dissatisfaction of the nation with the political and economic measures of the House of Stuart. The combination of the two produced the Civil War. The two living symbols of royal policy which provoked the animosity of the nation were the Earl of Strafford and

Archbishop Laud. As far as the universities are concerned, there will be little to say here of Strafford and a great deal of Laud. For the controversies which hovered around the Archbishop's head were in no small part engendered in the universities and were eventually to have revolutionary consequences both for Oxford and for Cambridge.

As everyone knows, the middle road of the Established Church under Elizabeth was found unsatisfactory by two sets of thinkers. One group may be designated as Puritans, the other as Arminians, although this greatly oversimplifies the situation. Both these groups had representatives in the universities during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. And these two groups, starting from antithetical premises, developed an increasing hostility. The Puritans wished to purify the church from what they considered remnants of the fallacies of Rome—fallacies in point of view of both doctrine and ceremony. On the other hand, the revolt against strict Calvinism known as Arminianism had many adherents. As the seventeenth century progressed, these anti-Calvinists became increasingly bold. To many of the older divines these innovators seemed to be sweeping the church from its true position. Within the universities and without, many sincere religious thinkers felt that the new men were quietly bringing about a revolution—a revolution leading perilously near the path towards Rome.

But rather than attempt to offer any present-day interpretation of this fundamental religious controversy which dominates academic history before the Civil War, it is better to quote from a few documents of the period. The House of Commons of the Parliament of 1628 which quarreled so violently with Charles I passed the following protestation in March, 1628/29, before the final dissolution: "Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this Kingdom and Commonwealth."[1]

In the same Parliament a House of Commons subcommittee on religion drew up (February 24, 1628/29) resolutions which never came to a vote because of the angry dissolution of Parliament by the King. One section of these resolutions, setting forth the dangers be-setting "the preservation of God's religion . . . and, therewithal, the safety and tranquillity of His Majesty and his kingdoms," cites, among other things:

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[1] *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 1625–1660, Samuel R. Gardiner, Editor (3rd ed., Oxford, 1906), 82–83.

> The subtle and pernicious spreading of the Arminian faction; whereby they have kindled such a fire of division in the very bowels of the State, as if not speedily extinguished, it is of itself sufficient to ruin our religion; by dividing us from the Reformed Churches abroad, and separating amongst ourselves at home, by casting doubts upon the religion professed and established; which, if faulty or questionable in three or four Articles, will be rendered suspicious to unstable minds, in all the rest, and incline them to Popery, to which those tenets, in their own nature, do prepare the way. . . .[1]

Another section of the same resolutions, listing the causes of such dangers as this, is of special interest. It speaks of one of the mightiest grievances of the party in opposition to the King: "That these persons who have published and maintained such Papistical, Arminian, and superstitious opinions and practices, who are known to be unsound in religion, are countenanced, favored and preferred. . . ."[2] It was well known throughout the nation that many of "these persons" were deeply entrenched in both universities. If the spirit which lay behind this remonstrance should at some distant day be transformed into a mighty force which ruled England, "these persons" might well look forward to harsh treatment.

The King's reply to all these protestations on religious matters was to attempt to banish the controversy by a wave of the royal hand. In his "Reply to Parliament Showing the Causes of the Late Dissolution"[3] he called attention to the fact that he had already suppressed a highly controversial book published in 1625 by one of the Arminian party, Richard Montague.[4] But the fact remained that the author was Bishop of Chichester. The King had on an earlier occasion declared that he had republished the Articles of the church with the admonition to all concerned that they should not "publicly read, determine, or hold any public disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colleges respectively. . . ."[1] In other words, he hoped to still the controversy by prohibiting debate. How little successful this method of handling the problem was to be, time would soon reveal.

---

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, 79.

[2] *Ibid.*, 81.

[3] *Ibid.*, 83–98.

[4] "We found in the first place that much exception had been taken at a book entitled, *Appello Caesarem*, or an *Appeal to Caesar*, and published in the year 1625 by Richard Montague, then Bachelor of Divinity, and now Bishop of Chichester; and because it did open the way to those schisms and divisions which have since ensued in the Church, we did, for remedy and redress thereof, and for the satisfaction of the consciences of our good people, not only by our public proclamation, call in that book, which ministered matter of offense, but to prevent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion. . . ." *Ibid.*, 88–89.

From the dissolution of Parliament in 1629 until the fateful year 1640 an increasing amount of power was placed in the hands of Laud and his adherents. As a result, in those eleven years not only were the extreme Puritans harassed by Laud, whether as Bishop of London or Archbishop of Canterbury, but many moderate men were exasperated by his changes in the church ceremonies and administration. Still others were gravely disturbed by his toleration of Arminian doctrines and his alleged friendliness with the Roman Church.

In the universities positions were at this time filled to a great extent by royal favor. The form of free election was still maintained, and occasionally an electoral body such as the fellows of a college outwitted the would-be patron. But on the whole the royal will prevailed. Because of the power of the Crown in determining new appointments to fellowships and professorships, the theological complexion of the universities gradually changed. The number who inclined toward Puritanism decreased; those who gladly departed from the strict Calvinist position increased both in number and in power.

Indeed, as early as 1626 the Calvinist tradition had been weakened both at Oxford and at Cambridge though it had not yet been broken. The election of the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in that year was carried by only three votes, but it constituted a triumph for the anti-Puritan element.[2] By this election the university definitely aligned itself with the Royalist party and Parliament was "wonderfully exasperated." When the chancellorship of Oxford became vacant three years later, there was again a bitter contest against a candidate high in the royal favor. Laud, then Bishop of London, was supported by one group and vehemently opposed by another. The election was close,[3] but Laud, "the little meddling hocus-pocus," became Chancellor. From that moment on, Oxford was to be put in order and kept in order. The Arminian party every day became more powerful. "What do the Arminians hold?" inquired an earnest student of this period, lost in the maze of theological subtleties. And the answer of a learned don was: "All the best positions in the Church of England."

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[1] Charles I's Declaration prefixed to the Articles of Religion, November, 1628. *Ibid.*, 76.

[2] James B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1911), 53–59.

[3] Charles E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1924), II. 304.

Nor were Laud's desires to put the education of the clergy aright confined to his own university. In 1635 Laud, by then Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to his friend and supporter, Dr. John Beale, then Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, explaining that he desired to visit that university. Now the innocent word "visit," as applied by an official such as an archbishop, was full of sinister implications. Already the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit the diocese of the Bishop of Lincoln had been the subject of a vigorous controversy. The power to visit was the power to reform. Being well aware of this, Cambridge University consulted both its archives and legal authorities and replied after some delay that "we conceive that the University of Cambridge is exempt both from High Episcopal and Episcopal jurisdiction and visitation."[1] It was pointed out that prior to the Reformation there had been, of course, visitations on papal authority, for the Pope was then recognized as the ultimate source from which the university derived its power. Since the time of Henry VIII the right of the sovereign to visit or to designate visitors was, of course, granted. For one of the many changes which had occurred in the relationship of the universities to the political structure of the nation during the sixteenth century was the transfer of ultimate authority to the Crown. But, it was maintained, no power of visitation remained in the hands of the Archbishop.

Laud was not satisfied with this reply, and the case was taken to the King and Council, who decided in favor of the Archbishop. This decision might have had important consequences for English academic history had it been put into effect. But Laud's proposed visitation never took place: the course of history ran too swiftly. His proposal was another cause for increasing enmity toward his régime, which was finally to come to an end upon the scaffold. A few years later when Parliament ruled without a king, the power of visitation was assumed along with many other regal rights. It is with the results of such Parliamentary visitation that this paper is primarily concerned. After the restoration of the House of Stuart this "usurpation" was condemned and the acts committed under the tyranny of Parliament declared null and void. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that another effective visitation of the ancient

[1] Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, III. 122–131.

universities occurred—this time by a royal commission in name, but a Parliamentary commission in fact. By the evolutionary transfer of the royal power to Parliament rather than the revolutionary usurpation of the power the English nation finally accomplished a long-overdue reformation of its two universities.

II

The Long Parliament Threatens the Universities with Reformation

The year 1640, the year of the second invasion of the Scots, was the year of the Long Parliament. The approach of a disastrous storm was evident, particularly to those within the universities. There were many straws already blowing in an evil wind. For example, at Cambridge the Vice-Chancellor received instructions that the notorious "Et Cetera Oath" was to be administered to all resident members of the university. This oath bound the swearer never to give his consent to alteration in the government of the church by "archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established." These instructions, together with the information that convocation had reasserted the doctrine of divine right, disturbed not only the extreme anti-Laudian members in the university but those who held a middle position. Even some of the Archbishop's supporters became alarmed and urged caution upon their leader. They understood better than he how real and imminent were the dangers. They gauged correctly the strength of the growing hostility to their party and foresaw the serious implications of this hostility for the future of the universities.

The popular discontent with the Archbishop's policies and the desire to reëstablish a strong Calvinist tradition within the church were bound to be coupled with an attack on both Oxford and Cambridge. How certain powerful sections of the population viewed the two ancient universities may be illustrated by the Root and Branch Petition,[1] presented to the Long Parliament on December 11, 1640. This "humble petition of many of His Majesty's subjects in and about the city of London" is a strange mixture of grievances—religious, political, and economic. In the account of the particular "manifold evils, pressures, and grievances caused, practised and occasioned by the Prelates and their dependents," the second item is as follows: "The faint-heartedness of ministers to preach the truth of God, lest they should displease the prelates; as namely, the doctrine of predestination, of free grace, of perseverance, of original sin remaining after baptism, of the sabbath, the doctrine against universal grace, election for faith foreseen, free-will against antichrist, non-residents, human inventions in God's worship. . . ."

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[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, 137–144.

The seventh item cites, among other things, "the discouragement of many from bringing up their children in learning; the many schisms, errors, and strange opinions which are in the Church; great corruptions which are in the Universities; the gross and lamentable ignorance almost everywhere among the people. . . ." In addition, the bishops and their followers are accused in the tenth article of "the publishing and venting of Popish, Arminian, and other dangerous books and tenets. . . ." These include such unrelated heresies as that "the Church of Rome is a true Church, and in the worst times never erred in fundamentals"; that "the subjects have no propriety in their estates, but that the King may take from them what he pleaseth"; that "all is the King's, and that he is bound by no law." Here are religion, politics, and economics strangely yet characteristically interwoven.

To complete this introduction to the history of the universities during the Civil War, it will be helpful to quote from two sections of the Grand Remonstrance, which was adopted by a small majority of the House of Commons after heated debate and presented to the King on December 1, 1641. Its passage marks the parting of the ways between the moderates like Hyde and Falkland on the one hand and, on the other, those members of the Long Parliament who for religious or political reasons were bent on going further. The 186th section of the Grand Remonstrance recites that "they [our opponents] have maliciously charged us that we intend to destroy and discourage learning, whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscionable and preaching ministers throughout the kingdom, which will be a great encouragement to scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, meanness and ignorance, to which a great part of the clergy is now subject, will be prevented."[1] And the 187th section states: "And we intend likewise to reform and purge the fountains of learning, the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land."

---

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, 229.

It was in the same year (1641) that John Milton's *The Reason of Church-Government Urg'd against Prelaty* appeared. In this work the Puritan poet has many harsh words about the universities, referring to "the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry" and the students "sent home again with such a scholastical burre in their throats."[1]

Having listened to the voices of the enraged Puritans who condemned the universities for their Arminianism and, by implication, for their extreme royalism, one can turn to a commentator of the opposite hue, Thomas Hobbes. Does one find him applauding the two ancient academic centers for their loyalty to the King? Not at all. Writing after the Restoration, he recalls the troubles through which he lived as having been largely a result of the iniquitous teaching at Oxford and Cambridge. Apparently then, as now, crosswinds of opinion blew not only within the academic walls but upon them.

> The core of the rebellion, as you have seen by this, and read of other rebellions [writes Hobbes], are the Universities; which nevertheless are not to be cast away, but to be better disciplined: that is to say, that the politics there taught be made to be, as true politics should be, such as are fit to make men know, that it is their duty to obey all laws whatsoever that shall by the authority of the King be enacted . . . such as are fit to make men understand, that the civil laws are God's laws. . . . When the Universities shall be thus disciplined, there will come out of them, from time to time, well principled preachers, and they that are now ill principled, from time to time, fall away.[2]

Hobbes maintained that if the spirit of rebellion was to be finally crushed,

> They must punish then the most of those that have had their breeding in the Universities. For such curious questions in divinity are first started in the Universities, and so are all those politic questions concerning the rights of civil and ecclesiastic government; and there they are furnished with arguments for liberty out of the works of Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and out of the histories of Rome and Greece. . . . Therefore I despair of any lasting peace amongst ourselves, till the Universities here shall bend and direct their studies to the settling of it, that is, to the teaching of absolute obedience to the laws of the King, and to his public edicts under the Great Seal of England. . . . But I am afraid that it

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[1] *The Works of John Milton*, John Mitford, Editor (London and Boston, 1851), III. 178.

[2] Hobbes, *Behemoth*, 236–237.

> is impossible to bring the Universities to such a compliance with the actions of state, as is necessary for the business.[1]

And such was the opinion of this graduate of Oxford even after the Restoration! How little did he foresee the long, quiet, but corrupt sleep of the eighteenth century which lay ahead of the two universities.

Whether the Puritans were right or Hobbes was right in diagnosing the ills of Oxford and Cambridge in 1640, there could be no doubt that surgeons with ruthless instruments stood ready at the door. The Root and Branch Petition represented an extreme position in 1640; not so a few years later. From the moment of the passage of the Grand Remonstrance late in 1641, the universities were on notice that the predominant party in the Long Parliament intended, if possible, to reform and purge these fountains of learning. And it was becoming increasingly clear that what was to be possible and what impossible would be decided in the near future on the field of battle. That the reformation would be an attempt to undo the work of Archbishop Laud went without saying. That at the start, at least, its doctrinaire implications would be strictly Calvinist was also certain.

How little is the success of reformers, even in their moment of power, in carrying out their original intent is well illustrated by what happened. At both Oxford and Cambridge, Laud and his innovations were discarded; on the whole, the Calvinist position was reëstablished. But at the same time many strange ideas developed among the learned doctors of divinity. The new and dangerous doctrine of religious toleration came upon the scene, new ways of thought little related to theological controversies were debated in certain college halls, and for a brief period at Oxford a new type of learning was to flourish in the academic world.

Superficially, the fate of Oxford and Cambridge in the Civil War was identical. In both institutions Parliament, through committees or delegated authority backed by military power, carried out a drastic reformation. Many heads of colleges, fellows, and professors were ejected. Many new men were appointed to fill the empty places. Those intruded into the more important positions were usually those members of the university who, at the outbreak of the war, had been hostile to Archbishop Laud and to the Royalist party. They may be roughly classified as Puritans and Parliament supporters. For the most part they were men of as much brilliance and sound learning as those whom they displaced, for it must be remembered that the Puritan, both in the Old World and the New, was deeply concerned with the education of a "learned clergy." Save for the extreme radical wing of the movement which developed in the 1650's (the Fifth Monarchy Men and the Anabaptists), there was nowhere in the Puritan party any force hostile to the universities as such. On the contrary, there is much evidence that Laud's opponents were quite as much concerned with fostering scholarship as was Laud himself.

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[1] Hobbes, *Behemoth*, 233.

At the Restoration the great majority in both Cambridge and Oxford joined with the nation in welcoming the return of the House of Stuart. Those who conformed to the new order held their positions except where the incumbent ejected a decade earlier was still alive and pushed his claim. In such cases the intruder was in turn ejected but often received a good position in the reëstablished church.

Such a brief summary of the two decades of academic history from 1640 to 1660 not only hides a multitude of interesting details but obscures an important fundamental difference in the Parliamentary reformation of the two universities. If one examines the matter more closely, one will see that, largely due to the accidents of military and political history, Cambridge and Oxford were purified in different ways. As a consequence, Oxford rather than Cambridge during the decade 1650–1660 is a place of importance to the historian of science.

III

The Purge of Cambridge[1]

In June, 1642, the King sent an appeal to the colleges of both universities for money. He asked for funds by which he might raise forces to offset those then in control of Parliament. The royal appeal was at first responded to quite universally, and with few exceptions the college plate was sent. That from Cambridge, however, was encountered on the road by the armed forces of Parliament, and a part was captured. In the summer of 1642 Cromwell, by means of forces raised in that association district, made himself virtual dictator of the town of Cambridge. The town and the university started to arm, one against the other. The heads of several colleges (St. John's, Queens', and Jesus) were taken into custody, charged with having been unduly active in forwarding the King's cause by raising funds through the loan of college plate. Together with the Bishop of Ely, Matthew Wren, they were taken to London and confined. Their treatment is recorded as having been unnecessarily brutal and severe although the prisoners seem only to have been paraded through the streets, to the jeers of the multitude, and perhaps roughly handled by their escort.

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[1] The reformation of Cambridge University by Parliament is exhaustively considered by Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, III, Chapters III and IV. See also *Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan Controversies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, James Haywood and Thomas Wright, Editors (London, 1854).

During the academic year 1642–1643 the colleges were largely deserted, and the university functioned under the eye of the Parliamentary forces which had fortified themselves in Cambridge. At the same time Oxford became the center of the Royalists and was itself fortified in turn. The university ceased to function in a town which had become the headquarters of the King's forces and the residence of the Court. Cambridge was relatively undisturbed by the war but, being in the hands of the Parliamentary power, was subject to severe punishment for its political actions in aiding the King. The hour for cleaning and purging one of the fountains of learning had clearly struck.

According to the Act of Sequestration, passed in March, 1643, the lands and funds of the colleges which had sent plate to the King might be taken up. The House of Lords, however, issued a protection in the form of a declaration aiming to hold the university harmless for these acts. At about this time Holdsworth, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was arrested and sent to London. In June, 1643, this academic community, torn with internal dissension and feeling the power of outward compulsion, thought the usual ceremonies of commencement could well be omitted. It was so ordered. The heads of a number of colleges were already in captivity, including Dr. William Ward of Sidney Sussex and, with him, a young man, one Seth Ward (no relation), who will appear later in this story as a complacent holder of a position in Oxford to which he attained with the help of the Parliamentary party. From the beginning of the calendar year 1644 through most of 1645 and part of 1646, the Earl of Manchester (a Presbyterian) was essentially dictator and financial controller of the University of Cambridge and its colleges. The Lords and Commons had passed a declaration against the sequestration of college property and had to all intents and purposes turned the problem of handling the colleges and the university over to Manchester as their agent.

In the fall of 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant had been passed by Parliament, largely as a price for the Scottish alliance. One of Manchester's first duties was to require the members of the university to subscribe to this document, which declared, among other things, that the church, and hence presumably the university, would be reformed "according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches." This Covenant was repugnant not only to Royalists but also to some members of the Puritan group who disliked the Presbyterian ideas of church reform. Refusals to subscribe were therefore plentiful. Manchester and his commissioners ejected ten out of the sixteen heads of houses, partly for their refusal to subscribe to the Covenant and partly because of their general sympathy with the Royalist cause. Of the six remaining after these ejections, two died during the year 1645–1646, and three were ejected afterwards. Thus only one master of a college carried through from before the Civil War to the Restoration. And he held this position even under the restored monarch. Dr. Richard Love, the Master of Corpus Christi, had no academic equal in ability to weather any storm.

To fill the vacancies twelve masters were appointed, and in only one case was there anything approaching a free election. The extent of the displacement of the professors and fellows is difficult to estimate. Perhaps Trinity College may be taken as typical. Here there were seventy-seven fellows listed in 1640, and apparently of these approximately thirty were ejected somewhere between 1644 and 1648. There was a subsequent ejection, but not on so large a scale, in 1650. In this case the reason for expulsion was failure to subscribe to the Cromwellian settlement of the state.

Of those who survived the Parliamentary reformation at Cambridge—or perhaps one should say profited by it—the only group which will be remembered outside of local academic history is the Cambridge Platonists. A number of these men had been educated at the hotbed of Puritan influence, Emmanuel College. They include Ralph Cudworth, Nathaniel Culverwel, Henry More, John Smith, Benjamin Whichcote, and John Worthington. In 1645 the oldest of these, Whichcote, was thirty-six; the youngest, Culverwel, twenty-seven. This group of relatively young men played an important part in Cambridge University during the Puritan Commonwealth. They apparently approved of the Parliamentary opposition to the King, the Presbyterian reformation of their university, and, later, the Cromwellian government of the state. Smith received a fellowship at Queens' at the hand of Parliament; Whichcote became Provost of King's by the same warrant (a position which he lost at the Restoration); and Worthington became Master of Jesus and likewise had to give way to the previous incumbent at the restoration of Charles II. The influence of this group of rather unorthodox Puritan thinkers on the evolution of seventeenth-century thought is an interesting and somewhat neglected story. These men continued their stimulating teaching well into the Restoration period. One modern critic, Michael Roberts, says of the Cambridge Platonists: "They were among the first who, speaking and thinking in the English language and showing the habitual prejudices of the Englishman, were compelled to face the modern situation. . . . [They] respected the findings of the mechanical sciences, but insisted also on the reality of the world of spiritual values."

The influence of Henry More in particular on the intellectual climate in which Newton matured is, perhaps, of great significance for the flourishing of science at the end of the seventeenth century. The very existence of these men in Cambridge during the Puritan Commonwealth is in itself a sufficient answer to the later diatribes of the Royalists after the Restoration, who maintained that the Parliamentary party was intent on ruining both Cambridge and Oxford. As one of them put it:

> . . . in these late times when the dregs of people grew wiser than their teachers, and pretended to have received revelations, visions, inspirations, and I know not what . . . nothing could satisfie their insatiable desires but aiming at an utter subversion of them [the universities], church, and schooles, or those places that they thought might put a curb to their proceedings. Intelligent men knew and saw verie well that it was their intent to rout up all and to ruine those things that smelt of an Academy, never rejoycing more then when they could trample on the gowne and bring humane learning and arts into disgrace.[1]

But the facts were quite otherwise!

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[1] *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, Described by Himself*, Andrew Clark, Editor, I (Oxford, 1891), 292.

IV

The Fate of Oxford

Modern Oxford and modern Cambridge have certain resemblances and certain differences—even if differences in shade. Probably nine out of ten people would say unhesitatingly that Cambridge has been in the past and is today the more scientific of the two and, on the whole, the less conservative. Such being the case, it is a very curious fact indeed that during the Puritan Commonwealth Oxford, not Cambridge, was the scientific center of England. To be sure, experimental science was then in its swaddling clothes, particularly in England. But this fact makes the pioneer Oxford scientists particularly interesting. After the restoration of Charles II in 1660 the Royal Society was chartered. From that time to this day the Royal Society has played a crucial rôle in developing English science. Superficially, this would appear to align the restored House of Stuart and the rehabilitated Anglican Church with the development of science almost as cause and effect. But as several writers have recently established, this superficial view is erroneous. The group which later became the Royal Society acquired its cohesion as a group and its passion for scientific work during the Puritan Commonwealth. Moreover, at that time its members were, with a very few exceptions, loyal citizens of the Commonwealth, quite content to worship in a church which had little liturgy and no bishops.

But why were these men at Oxford instead of at Cambridge? This question puzzled me at first. Yet the answer is quite obvious. When Cambridge was reformed, the Presbyterians were in the ascendancy. When Oxford was reformed six years later, the climate of opinion had changed markedly: the Independents had gained mastery.

This fact is so significant that before the story of the Puritan purge of Oxford is related, something must be said about the nature of Independency. In origin, Independency was identical with Congregationalism. Therefore in origin it was an intolerant creed. Yet Puritan Congregationalism, with its insistence that each church must be left free and that the Christian conscience was inviolable, was harboring secret dynamite. From this narrow, hidebound faith there evolved during the anguishing years of the Civil War the idea of religious toleration.

Largely as a price of the Scottish alliance, the Puritans, in the first years of the Long Parliament, had leaned strongly towards the Presbyterian rather than the Congregational type of Puritanism. But when the rigidity of Scotch Presbyterianism became more and more manifest in England as the 1640's came to a close, the revulsion against this type of orthodoxy became more and more pronounced. John Milton's well-known bitter attack on the Presbyterians represented not only a personal grievance but a growing discontent among many Puritans. Furthermore, the growth of new religious sects such as Anabaptists, Brownists, and Fifth Monarchy Men (particularly in the New Model Army) meant the increase of those who bitterly opposed the establishment of any national church which would enforce conformity.

In essence the Independents were a political alliance of Congregationalists and the more radical sects against the Presbyterians. Religious toleration was as necessary to this combination as to a modern political machine in a city of many faiths. This essentially lay and political movement grew rapidly in strength after 1645, the year of Cromwell's triumph at Naseby, because Cromwell and the army were committed to this cause. At the close of the war in 1646 the Presbyterians still dominated Parliament, but the Independent party was gaining strength. For more than a year the political strife continued, the negotiations with the King playing a central rôle. The failure of these negotiations under Presbyterian leadership (1647–1648) brought on the Second Civil War, with the Scots now fighting for the King. All possibility of Presbyterian dominance in England was now past; the party was discredited. The victories of the army in the summer and fall of 1648 made Pride's Purge on December 7 inevitable since the Presbyterians in Parliament would not recognize that their day of power was past.

The overthrow of the Presbyterians in Parliament not only had the political consequences with which everyone is familiar: it altered the whole religious atmosphere and determined the cultural basis of the Puritan Commonwealth. For, as Professor Wilbur K. Jordan has said:

> Independency made memorable and permanent contributions to the development of religious toleration in England. It had demolished for all times the construction of an exclusive and infallible establishment which should seek by persecution and coercive power to compel the nation to the acceptance of a singular definition of the content and limit of Christian faith. . . . The Independents had

vindicated to the satisfaction of England the individualism of the Christian faith and the high necessity that all men should enjoy latitude and freedom in the quest for saving truth. Furthermore, the Independents had with remarkable astuteness identified for all time the cause of political liberalism with religious toleration.[1]

Such was the climate of opinion under which the reformation of Oxford was finally consummated in 1648. It represented a radical departure from the more rigid Presbyterian point of view which had dominated Parliament six years earlier when Cambridge had been remodeled. The consequences of this new and more liberal outlook on the future of Oxford were profound.

It must be remembered, however, that when Oxford first came under the power of Parliament, the scene had not yet shifted. It was not then certain whether Presbyterians or Independents would dominate the cleansing of this fountain of learning.

On June 24, 1646, the town of Oxford surrendered. The treaty of surrender contained provisions which are of importance. The fourteenth article was as follows:

> That the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, and the Governors and Students of Christchurch of King Henry VIII his foundation, and all other Heads and Governors, Masters, Fellows, and Scholars of the Colleges, Halls, and Bodies Corporate, and Societies of the same University, and the Public Professors and Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other persons belonging to the said University, or to any Colleges or Halls therein, shall and may, according to their statutes, charters, and customs, enjoy their ancient form of government, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament: and that all their rights, etc. (except such rents and revenues as have already been taken and received by ordinance of Parliament), shall be enjoyed by them respectively, as aforesaid, free from sequestrations, fines, taxes, and all other molestations whatsoever for or under colour of anything whatsoever relating to this present war or to the unhappy differences between his Majesty and the Parliament: And that all churches, chapels, colleges, etc. shall be preserved from defacing and spoil: And if any removal shall be made by the Parliament of any Head or other members of the University, etc. that those so removed shall enjoy their profits during the space of six months after the rendering of Oxford, etc. Provided that this shall not extend to any reformation there intended by the Parliament, nor give them any liberty to intermeddle in the government.[2]

Commenting on this treaty, one modern interpreter of this period says:

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[1] *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, III (Cambridge, 1938), 451.

[2] *The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford from A.D.* 1647 *to A.D.* 1658, Montagu Burrows, Editor (Camden Society, London, 1881), lvi.

This proviso announced the deliberate intention of the victorious Parliament to "reform" the University, and conveyed a very distinct intimation that no opposition would be tolerated. It implied that a Visitation would take place, such as had previously at different periods occurred, and that all concerned were engaged to submit to it. Under that condition, and "subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament," all was to go on as before. This must be borne in mind. Harsh as the new Government seemed to the conquered party, distressing as the conflict of principles must have been to so many honourable and conscientious men, intimately bound up, as the University was, with Church and King, yet the terms of submission were explicit; and it is difficult to understand how, on the principles of the Great Rebellion, and under the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinance concerning Discipline and Worship, the authority of those in power could have been left unexercised. It was a government of force, force administered on very distinct principles.

Nor did the precedents of University history afford any ground for the opinion that the absolute independence of a literary republic could be claimed as a right. The boast of Oxford and Cambridge has always been that they are national, and within certain bounds their independence has always been recognized. But this privilege never extended to questions of change of dynasty or religion; if it had, they would have ceased to be national. They were not to be "paternally governed," not to be interfered with except when gross abuses cried for redress; but an *imperium in imperio* could not be tolerated. Whatever form the Government of the country took, that must be the Government of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1]

In the case of Cambridge the reformation was accomplished while the war was still in progress. The changes reflected the bitterness of the struggle. A threat of confiscation hung over all the colleges. The university community was already split into two hostile factions, and one of them was eager to be the means of purifying the ancient seat of learning. Victorious Presbyterianism was anxious to go to work and was not overdelicate in the treatment of those on the losing side.

In the case of Oxford the war was over before the reforms began. It had been a long struggle, and even the winners were wearied with the strife and less unified in their theological views than in the first days of the Rebellion. Therefore an attempt to make peace in the older of the two universities was foremost in the minds of everyone. The first approach of the victors was that of persuasion, and in this they were but following the articles of surrender. Their first move was to attempt to preach Oxford into obedience. Seven Presbyterian divines were appointed, who preached in Oxford during the fall of

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[1] Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of Oxford*, lvi–lvii.

1646 and the ensuing winter. The difficulty with this procedure lay in the fact that the Independents, who were gaining strength every day in Parliament, felt that they should be represented and consequently sent down their own divines. In addition, the army, a portion of which was stationed at Oxford, demanded to be heard. Since the New Model contained a considerable number of such sectarians as Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Brownists, the voices of these fanatics were also added to the theological chorus. Such an extraordinary competition in oratorical ability and pious wisdom gave great amusement to the Royalists and the Anglicans. As for conversions, the results were negligible.

Finally, on May 1, 1647, a visitation by Parliamentary visitors was ordered. The first attempt to negotiate directly was balked by Dr. John Fell, the Vice-Chancellor, Dean of Christ Church, who refused to recognize the visitors' authority. The visitors, who consisted of some of the Puritan members of the Oxford community and others imported from outside, commenced their proceedings with a lengthy sermon at St. Mary's. Convocation had been set for eleven o'clock by their order. The sermon was too long. The visitors were late. When they failed to appear at the stroke of the hour, the Vice-Chancellor dissolved convocation and, passing out from the meeting, met the visitors with the salutation: "Good morrow, gentlemen; it is after eleven of the clock." Thus the scheduled meeting failed to occur, and the anti-Parliament dons enjoyed the joke. But not for long. Additional ordinances for reforming Oxford were passed by Parliament in September, 1647. Finally, at the beginning of the academic year, the visitors went to work in earnest. Fell was haled to London and imprisoned. When summoned before the committee of Parliament itself, he was ably supported by a member of Parliament, John Selden, the well-known scholar of that period, who, though a Parliamentary adherent, was very tender towards Oxford, his university.

As the year 1648 started, Edward Reynolds, a staunch Presbyterian, was appointed Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor to take the place left vacant by the removal of Fell by the Parliamentary committee. Lord Pembroke was appointed Chancellor, and a new group of proctors was named. In March the visitors, now strengthened by the appointment of these officers, proceeded with their work. Calling on military force and headed by Pembroke, they ejected Mrs. Fell and her children from their quarters in Christ Church. According to a contemporary account, they were carried out like so many pies on a board. A number of heads of other colleges were forcibly removed from their lodgings. For the sake of the protest, these gentlemen insisted that they be bodily removed.

Of eighteen headships of colleges in Oxford two were vacant at this time and were filled by the visitors. Six heads submitted, and ten were ejected. Of the professors and readers only three submitted. It has been estimated that approximately four hundred fellows and scholars and professors lost their places at Oxford either at this time or during the second purge in 1650.[1] This tremendous change in the composition of the university was, indeed, a drastic reformation. But it must be remembered that for a year and a half Parliament had endeavored to treat with moderation those who remained in charge at Oxford. First they had tried preaching, without avail, then direct negotiations. Compulsion was the last resort.

But the protracted delay had the important consequence already noted. In 1646, when Oxford capitulated, the Presbyterians were still the predominant party in Parliament. By the time the first appointments were made by the Parliamentary power (the spring of 1648) the Independents were well on their way to victory. Indeed, the delay in the reformation of Oxford was in no small measure a reflection of the political turmoil in Parliament consequent on the struggle between the Presbyterians and the Independents. Not only the King but, in a minor degree, Oxford was one of the stakes in the struggle then in progress.

"It was the irony of political necessity that this great persecution [of Oxford] should be carried out when men like Cromwell and Vane were in the ascendant," writes Samuel R. Gardiner in his history of these years. It was, perhaps, ironical that the upholders of the doctrine of toleration should be forced to underwrite any persecutions, but for the subsequent history of Oxford during the Commonwealth it was good fortune that men of this party were in control.

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[1] Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of Oxford*, xc. For fuller accounts of the visitors at Oxford, see *ibid.*, lxxvii–cviii; Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, 372–387.

Among those intruded by the first actions of the visitors one deserves particular attention for all concerned with the history of New England. James Ward, graduate of Harvard College in 1645, was made a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, by order of the visitors on October 10, 1648. Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of Oxford*, 171, 579. This is the first record of a Harvard man being accepted in either Oxford or Cambridge. Ward subsequently was allowed to proceed to an M.A. without taking a B.A., which indicates that a remodeled Oxford was ready to recognize the bachelor's degree of the Puritan college in the wilderness. The Harvard men who went to Cambridge came later and were given equal privileges. One can argue that Cambridge followed the Oxford example. If this be so, Harvard has peculiar reasons to remember the Parliamentary visitors to Oxford University and perhaps owes a special debt to the power of the New Model Army, which made such a visitation possible.

A contemporary document makes evident the surprising fact that one who had been unacceptable during the reform of Cambridge obtained a position in the new-modeled Oxford. Walter Pope, in his life of Seth Ward, describes how Ward, a future member of the Royal Society, became the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford in 1649. He was intruded by the visitors to take the place left vacant by the expulsion of one John Greaves. The apology for Ward's accepting the position, written, of course, after the Restoration, is as follows:

> I remember I have heard the Bishop [Ward] say, that amongst other Arguments, Mr. *Greaves* told him, if you refuse it, they will give it to some Cobler of their Party who never heard the name of *Euclid*, or the Mathematics, and yet will greedily snap at it for the Salaries sake. But Mr. *Greaves* was out in his Divination, for the other Place, I mean the Professors of Geometry, was fill'd with a very learned Man in that Science, as his elaborate Works have sufficiently manifested to the World. This Address of Mr. *Greaves* did so surprize Mr. *Ward*, that it did at once assault his Modesty, and perplex his Council. After many thanks for so great and unexpected a Favour, he objected the difficulty of effecting it, saying, he could not with any reason expect, to enjoy quietly a public Professors place in *Oxford*, when 'twas notoriously known, that he was turn'd out of *Cambridge* for refusing the Covenant. Mr. *Greaves* reply'd, that he and his Friends had consider'd that Obstacle, and found out a way to remove it, and it was effectually remov'd a little while after by the means of Sir *John Trevor*, who tho' of the Parliament Party, was a great lover of Learning, and very obliging to several Scholars who had been turn'd out of the two Universities. Sir *John* had great Interest in the Committee which dispos'd of the Places of those who were ejected, and by that brought Mr. *Ward* into the Professors Chair, and preserv'd him in it, without taking the Covenant, or Engagement. So that the very same thing that caus'd his ejection out of *Cambridge*, was the cause also of his preferment in *Oxford*.[1]

It would seem clear from this evidence as well as from the nature of the men placed in positions of responsibility in Oxford in 1649–1650 that the visitors no longer represented that same zeal "to reform and purge the fountains of learning" which had been announced in the Root and Branch Petition. Much water and a considerable amount of blood had flowed under the bridge since 1640. Theological difficulties and controversies not visualized by the strict Calvinists of that time had now developed. It would seem that some who had influence with the appointing power were as much interested in obtaining the appointment of a brilliant group of academic men as they were in promoting any one particular theological point of view. Presbyterians and strict Congregationalists had been replaced by Puritans of larger vision; the first faint dawn of the modern world was glimmering. It was no accident that Oxford should be set upon the road of science.

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[1] Walter Pope, *Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1697), 19–21.

V

Oxford during the Commonwealth

During the decade of the Puritan Commonwealth there were in residence in Oxford thirteen future members of the Royal Society. Of these, eight owed their positions to the Parliamentary visitors; two entered the new régime as students; three were merely gentlemen in residence in the town of Oxford, and of these three, two were definitely Royalist in sympathy. John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, was the leader of the group. Other famous names include: William Petty, the author of the political arithmetic, Robert Boyle, the formulator of Boyle's Law, Christopher Wren, the architect, and Thomas Sprat, the historian of the Royal Society.[1] Finally, mention may be made of John Locke, who entered Christ Church as a student in 1652. Undoubtedly he was influenced by the new atmosphere and the growing interest in science at that time. Indeed, if one had more information on Locke's student life, it might be argued that through this single man more than in any other way the Commonwealth régime at Oxford influenced the thought of English-speaking people.

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[1] The two Royalists were Ralph Bathurst (1620–1704), President of Trinity College, Oxford, after the Restoration, and Thomas Willis, a physician. The most active supporters of the Commonwealth party were Thomas Sydenham, an officer in the New Model Army, later fellow of All Souls and delegate of the visitors to Oxford in 1647; Jonathan Goddard, physician to Cromwell and Warden of Merton by order of the visitors in 1653; William Petty, fellow of Brasenose, intruded in 1650, but on leave in Ireland as Cromwell's agent for survey after 1651; John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham in 1648 and delegate of the visitors; and John Wallis, intruded as Savilian Professor of Geometry in 1649. Wallis had deciphered captured Royalist dispatches for the Parliamentary army but later declared he had revealed nothing of importance (it was perhaps due to this testimony that he held his place at the Restoration). How difficult it is to assign loyalties in retrospect or mark one man a Puritan, another an Anglican, is illustrated by the case of Christopher Wren. He was a nephew of Matthew Wren, notorious as an anti-Puritan bishop, yet young Christopher was made a fellow of All Souls in 1654 after graduating at Wadham, and he apparently was a supporter of the Cromwell régime at that time. The most striking characteristic of the entire group is their youth. In 1654, a date which falls midway between their appearance and disappearance from the Oxford scene, the oldest was Wilkins, then forty, three others were in their thirties, and the others were under thirty, several being still students.

The embryo scientists did not have things all their own way at Oxford. The stricter members of the Puritan party accused them of being Cavaliers at heart and generally made trouble. The contemporary account of Seth Ward's life at Oxford states that

> Dr. *Ward* rid out this Storm, but Dr. *Wilkins* put into the Port of Matrimony, marrying the Protectors Sister, Widow of Dr. *Peter French*, a Canon of *Christ-Church*. . . . This Matrimony of Dr. *Wilkins* . . . did him good Service at hand, gain'd him a strong Interest, and Authority in the University, and set him at safety, and out of the reach of his Adversaries, and also preserv'd the University from running into Disorder and Confusion; but after the Kings Return, it was for a while a Spoke in his Cart, and hinder'd his Preferment. . . .[1]

Wilkins' marriage to the Protector's sister has, indeed, considerable significance in Oxford history. In 1653, when the fanatics in the Barebones or Nominated Parliament threatened the colleges and universities with confiscation, Cromwell's protecting influence was undoubtedly of enormous value. The defense of the universities then published by Ward in answer to a new crop of critics, is so modern in its tone that it might have been written in this decade.[2]

"Our academies," he declares, meaning specifically Oxford, "are of a generall and comprehensive institution, and as there is a provision here made, that whosoever will be excellent in any kind, in any Art, Science, or Language, may here receive assistance, and be led by the hand, till he come to be excellent; so is there a provision likewise, that men be not forced into particular waies, but may receive an institution, variously answerable to their genius and designe."[1] This in 1653: does it not sound at least three centuries removed from the rigidity of the curriculum of the Middle Ages? And mark this reply to those men who claimed that Aristotle still dominated the academic mind:

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[1] *Life of Seth Ward*, 44–45. Wood says of the rivalry between the two parties:

"The Independents they had [John] Owen, deane of Ch. Church; [Thomas] Goodwyn, president of Magd. Coll.; [Jonathan] Goddard, warden of Merton; John Palmer, warden of Allsoules; [Thankful] Owen, president of S. John's; [Francis] Johnson, master of University Coll.; [John] Wilkins, warden of Wadham; [Peter] French and [Ambrose] Upton, canons of Ch.Ch.; [Francis] Howell, of Exeter, afterwards principall of Jesus; [James] Baron, [fellow] of Magd.; [Samuel] Basnett, [fellow] of Allsouls; besides others of inferior note.

"Which two parties did in some respects make a faction in the University; and when occasion served they would both joyne against the Royallists, whom they stiled 'the common enimy.'

"The former of these [the Presbyterians], with their disciples, seemed to be very severe in their course of life, manners or conversation, and habit or apparell; of a Scot[c]h habit, but especially those that were preachers. The other [the Independents] more free, gay, and (with a reserve) frollicksome; of a gay habit, whether preachers or not. But both, void of publick and generous spirits.

"The former, for the most part, preached nothing but damnation: the other not, but rather for libertie. Yet both joyne togeather to pluck downe and silence the prelaticall preachers, or at least expose their way to scorne." Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, I. 148.

[2] Seth Ward, *Vindiciae Academiarum* (Oxford, 1654).

> Those that understand these places, do not know that there is not to be wished a more generall liberty in point of judgment or debate, then what is here allowed. So that there is scarce any Hypothesis, which hath been formerly or lately entertained by Judicious men, and seemes to have in it any clearnesse or consistency, but hath here its strenuous Assertours. . . .
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> And though we do very much honour *Aristotle* for his profound judgment and universall learning, yet are we so farre from being tyed up to his opinions, that persons of all conditions amongst us take liberty to discent from him, and to declare against him, according as any contrary evidence doth ingage them, being ready to follow the Banner of truth by whomsoever it shall be lifted up.[2]

"The Banner of truth by whomsoever it shall be lifted up": in this spirit the Independents reformed Oxford. They were responsible for the appointment of a group of gifted men. They supported the universities in 1653 against the attacks of the radical, fanatic sects, in particular, the Fifth Monarchy Men. These reasons are sufficient justification for counting them among the effective friends of learning.

The crisis of 1653 seems to have been a severe one. If Henry VIII had destroyed the monasteries, why should not the radicals of the Cromwellian time, the Levelers and Fifth Monarchy Men, have destroyed the universities as well or made them over to suit their tastes? Those radicals who urged a complete change in university status seem to have been actuated by a desire not only to seize the revenues of the colleges but also to make the universities more practical (a recurring theme among levelers of all ages), and a few fanatics desired to destroy the basis of a learned ministry. To this latter group the idea that only a highly educated man could be a minister of the Gospel was obnoxious. They believed in direct divine guidance and considered "learning" a hindrance, not a help, in matters spiritual. A statement of such a position has come down to us in the proposal of one Samuel Hering presented on August 4, 1653, to the Nominated Parliament:

> That two colledges in each university, should be sett apart for such as shall

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[1] Ward, *Vindiciae Academiarum*, 50.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2.

> wholly and solely apply themselves to the studdy of attaining and enjoying the spirit of our Lord Jesus, to which study needs few bookes, or outward humane helps (for all lyeth in man's willinge and yeeldinge himselfe up to his inward teacher) soe that only the holy scriptures would be sufficient, but that the noble minde of man soaringe beyond the letter, or rule held out from the same, therefore the workes of Jacob Behmen, and such like, who had true revelation from the true spirit, would be greater furtherance thereunto, and none but the holy scriptures, and such books aforesaid, should be used in these colledges, all in English. This studdy rightly attained, would confute and confound the pride and vaine glory of outward humane learning, stronge reason, and high astrall parts, and would shew men the true ground and depth of all things; for it would lead men into the true nothinge, in which they may behold and speculate all thinges, to a cleare satisfaction and contentednesse. . . .
>
> That the power of approvinge and sending men forth to preach the pretious Gosple of Jesus should be wholly and solely in the colledges aforesaid. . . .[1]

The failure of the Barebones Parliament and the establishment of the Protectorate undoubtedly saved the colleges from much subsequent trouble, if not actual despoliation. Probably the triumph of conservative principles (conservative at least as far as property rights were concerned) would have insured the safeguarding of the interests of the colleges in all events. But the connection of Cromwell with Oxford through Wilkins and his friends must certainly have been a great comfort to the academicians. The election of the Protector as Chancellor in 1651 signalized the recognition by the remade university of services rendered and hopes for further assistance yet to come. It may for the historian also symbolize the intimate connection between the Independent party and Oxford of the Commonwealth.

VI

Puritanism and Science

Until very recently the significance of the Oxford of the Puritan Commonwealth for the history of science passed largely without notice. In the last ten years, however, the Puritan origins of the Royal Society have perhaps, if anything, suffered from overexposure. Three writers in particular, Dean Dorothy Stimson of Goucher College, Dr. Robert K. Merton, formerly of Harvard University, now at Tulane University, and Professor Richard F. Jones of Washington University, St. Louis, have been interested in tracing the connection between the Puritans of the middle of the seventeenth century in England and the rise of experimental science. The conclusions of all three scholars are, roughly speaking, the same: that Puritanism was helpful rather than harmful to the furtherance of the new experimental philosophy. They have pointed out that over 60 per cent of the charter members of the Royal Society came from a Puritan background.

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[1] Charles Henry Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1845), 453, *n* 8.

Miss Stimson proposes the theory that "Puritanism was an important factor, hitherto little regarded, in making conditions in England favorable to the new philosophy heralded by Bacon in promoting the type of thinking that helped to arouse interest in science and to create a ready reception for the work of the geniuses produced in that century." She states it as her position that "moderate Puritanism, the low or broad church position, was helpful rather than harmful to the furtherance of the new philosophy of the seventeenth century, particularly in England where conditions gave greater opportunity for its development than in war-torn Europe."[1]

Professor Jones puts forward this thesis:

> There was more than a casual relationship between the arraignment of religious authority in the Reformation and the revolt from Aristotle's authority in science. The scientific movement, in England at any rate, is definitely connected with religious developments. If Protestantism facilitated the growth of science through its anti-authoritarian bias, the extreme elements among the Protestants, namely, the Puritans, . . . continued to serve the cause by embracing the new science, largely because of its utilitarian value for the "public good.". . .
>
> And the thesis which I would suggest, even if I cannot convincingly demonstrate it, is that our modern scientific utilitarianism is the offspring of Bacon begot upon Puritanism.[2]

Dr. Merton is particularly interested in Puritanism as an aspect of the relation of Protestantism to both science and technology. He carries forward and illustrates with much new material the point of view first put forward by Max Weber in his famous essay, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* In two extraordinarily interesting chapters, "Puritanism and Cultural Value" and "Motive Forces of the New Science,"[3] Dr. Merton discusses the relation between the Protestant ethics and the new experimental science. In a chapter entitled "Puritanism, Pietism and Science: Testing an Hypothesis," the Puritan element in the Royal Society is exhaustively examined. The facts appear to be as follows. Among the original list of members of the Royal Society in 1664, forty-two of the sixty-eight for whom information pertaining to religious learning is available were, according to Dr. Merton, clearly Puritan. Inasmuch as the Puritans comprised a relatively small minority in the English population, the fact that they constituted 62 per cent of the initial membership of the Society becomes even more striking. And in this same chapter Merton writes:

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[1] *Bulletin*, Institute of the History of Medicine, III (May, 1935), 321.

[2] *Ancients and Moderns, A Study of the Background of the "Battle of the Books"* (St. Louis, 1936), 88, 92.

[3] "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England," *Osiris*, IV (1938), 414–470.

> This correlation of profound interest in both religion and science—which would perhaps have been incongruous in later times—was a thoroughly consistent aspect of the pervasive Protestant ethic. . . . The Puritan advocacy of experimental science was not, however, the result of a reasoned process. Rather it was the inevitable outcome of an emotionally consistent circle of sentiment and beliefs linking into a chain of non-logic various designated activities which satisfied these sentiments. For persons imbued with such attitudes, the pursuit of science takes on the cast of a self-evident value. From this it need not be inferred that the Royal Society could have arisen only if these religious sanctions were present, but, on the other hand, it seems clear that such positive attitudes did much to encourage this development.[1]

The relation between Puritanism and the rise of experimental science in England presents a fascinating problem. How far one can go along the Stimson-Jones-Merton road may be a question. I find myself vacillating between a tendency to pursue this road even further than those who opened it and the contrary tendency to question some of the implications of this hypothesis. Let me illustrate some of the difficulties by returning to the Oxford of the 1650's. The future members of the Royal Society then in residence in the university were, with two exceptions, Puritan and Parliamentary in their affiliations rather than Anglican or Royalist. But they were none of them strongly Puritan in the sense that they espoused the strict Calvinist point of view, nor were they members of the Presbyterian party. The evidence already quoted from the life of Seth Ward indicates that to some extent these new men, who owed their position to the Independents' power in the Parliamentary committee on the university, were in opposition to the strict Puritans, who were actively concerned with theological matters. At the Restoration one finds the future members of the Royal Society readily conforming.

[1] *Ibid.*, 474.

None suffered the fate of Hugh Peter on the scaffold nor even were forced into hiding as was John Milton. They did not even accept self-imposed exile from the reëstablished church as did Richard Baxter. If by Puritans one means such men as Baxter and Peter, then Wilkins and his friends were lukewarm Puritans at best. Those who felt deeply the theological cleavages of that revolutionary period seemed to have been little concerned with the new science. Some, however, who preferred the Parliamentary cause to that of the King, particularly a group of *young men* keenly aware of a new climate of opinion, were the progenitors of the establishment of experimental science on a firm foundation. That they flourished in Oxford during the Commonwealth is demonstrably the result of the predominant influence of Cromwell and his followers. To that extent, at least, the Puritan may be counted a friend of the new learning.

Lord Clarendon, the chief adviser of Charles II, certainly no friend of the Puritans, and himself later Chancellor of Oxford, writes in his *History of the Rebellion*, after describing in most uncomplimentary terms the ejections which attended the Parliamentary régime at Oxford:

> It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learning, Religion and Loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill Husbandry, and unskilful Cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheism and Rebellion; but, by God's wonderful Blessing, the goodness and richness of that Soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence . . . it yielded a Harvest of extraordinary good and sound Knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the Study of good Learning, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to that Duty and Obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King *Charles* the Second back to his Throne, he found that University [Oxford] . . . abounding in excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's Mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against it; which were never open'd wider, nor with more Malice, than in that time.

That testimony alone would perhaps justify one in speaking of the "advancement of learning during the Puritan Commonwealth." But when one considers the preëminent position in seventeenth-century intellectual history of the Cambridge Platonists on the one hand and the friends of John Wilkins at Oxford on the other, one wonders whether the "barbarous depopulation" of both academic centers may not have been to good advantage. Certainly during the years of the Commonwealth the "advancement of learning," as Bacon employed the term, seemed to be the goal of a substantial number of the new men in one, at least, of the ancient universities.

The arguments pro and con the Puritan will probably continue as long as scholars are interested in the English-speaking people of the seventeenth century. Clarendon's famous left-handed tribute to General Monck may be paraphrased by saying of the triumphant Puritans of the 1640's that "it is glory enough to their memory that they were instrumental in bringing mighty things to pass, which they had neither the wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to continue." And among the mighty things which slowly came to pass were religious toleration, representative government, modern science, and universities as we now know them. If on the whole we favor such developments, we must honor those who labored devotedly and sincerely to advance learning in the Puritan Commonwealth three centuries ago.

The First Newspapermen

By Wilbur C. Abbott

No account of the rise of modern politics as practised in countries which have—or have had—what is called a "democratic" or "representative" system of government can fail to take into account a variety of phenomena often apparently far removed from what is generally known as "politics" but which, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, have profoundly affected both the principles and practices of government. Of these, many owe either their origin or their development to the seventeenth century, which, to accept a common, sweeping, and not wholly accurate generalization, saw the beginnings of modern life, politics, and "civilization" as we know them. That generalization, whatever its defects, contains large elements of truth and applies to wider fields than the government of men. The century begins, it will be recalled, with Galileo and ends with Newton. Their achievements, with those of their co-workers, enabled men to transform the empyrean from the abode of saved souls into a collection of planets, stars, comets, asteroids, nebulae, physical laws, and mathematical calculations into which it is fortunately as unnecessary as it would be impossible to enter here. Whether or not there was any connection between this circumstance and the fact that the century also saw the greatest, and the last, of religious wars, the rise of new "sects" or "denominations," the first great modern revolution and dictatorship, which in some degree arose out of these new varieties of religious experience, the rise of popular government and political parties—which again were related to the theological and ecclesiastical controversies of the time—would be beyond the bounds of this study to inquire. But this much is certain: as under the influence of the new gospel of science men tended to replace spiritual with material values, they turned more and more away from the contemplation of the world to come and paid more and more attention to the world about them. This, combined with concurrent developments in the affairs of that world, brought about minor changes which in time transformed life into what we know.

This is true in more ways than in the eternities and immensities; it is especially true in the minutiae of men's habits and occupations. The great Liberal historian of European morals, chronicling the "progress" of the human race, felicitated himself and his readers with the pleasing reflection that the seventeenth century saw the introduction of coffee, tea, and chocolate to the European palate, to the great improvement of men's morals, not to say their manners. Yet it may be noted, with no disrespect to Mr. Lecky, that this period also saw the introduction into general use of whiskey, brandy, rum, and gin, champagne, tobacco, and the game of billiards. When to these we add the development of the theater and of that institution known throughout the world by the name its English inventors gave it, the "club," it will be seen that modern life as many of us have known it was coming into existence. Nor, to make the tale more complete, even at the risk of laying too heavy a burden of responsibility on the century, should we neglect to note that there also came into existence in that period those institutions known as Lloyd's and the Bank of England; trading in stocks and shares; insurance; and, last but not least, the ingenious device of passing the obligations incurred by one generation on to its successors in the form of a national debt. Finally, it was to this period that we owe the development of the newspaper into something like its later form.

Thus a man born toward the beginning of that eventful century and living to a fairly advanced age in London had certain opportunities denied to his predecessors. He might find his way not only into a Congregationalist, Baptist, or Quaker conventicle, but into a coffee-house, a club, a theater, or a political caucus, and there or elsewhere learn to smoke a pipe, drink spirituous liquors, play billiards, speculate in stocks, and, most of all, perhaps, read a newspaper. So, whatever his altered attitude toward the next world and despite the religious and political controversies by which he was surrounded and disturbed, he found certain compensations. Especially if he had been one of those then beginning to devote their time and energy to what has been defined as "the collection and dissemination of news for profit," he might have found much in common with his fellows of later generations, not least of our own. For among its other contributions to society, the seventeenth century produced a new kind of men, whether known as "journalists," "gentlemen of the press," or, more recently and more directly, "newspapermen," who were thenceforth to play a great part in life and affairs, and most of all in politics.

Those who then undertook the task of enlightening and guiding their fellows by collecting and disseminating news were not, of course, the first of such philanthropists, for as far back as we can trace human history, and no doubt long before, there were—as there are now—individuals who devoted much of their time, profitably or unprofitably, to that task. It is no part of this paper to discuss that long and interesting history. It is perhaps enough—possibly too much—to say that the Romans had such a procedure in their *Acta Diurna*; that the Italian governments, especially that of Venice, took up the idea with their *gazetti* or *coranti*; and that with the invention of printing that new art which devoted itself first to theology, classics, and textbooks, was in due course of time, that is to say in the sixteenth century, diverted to the publication of news in the form of so-called "newsbooks." These, of which hundreds are known to have been printed in Germany alone during the sixteenth century, though there is a suspicion that some of them formed a series, in general appeared at irregular intervals and seldom under the same title, and were rather tracts or pamphlets than what we would call newspapers. It is commonly said that the age of newspapers began with the appearance of the German *Frankfurter Journal* in 1615, the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* of Antwerp in 1616, and the *Weekly Newes* in London in 1622, but the precise date of such origins is impossible to fix in an evolutionary process such as this.

None the less, if we accept the definition of a newspaper as the collection and dissemination of news for profit in the form of continuous publications issued at regular intervals and under the same title, the seventeenth century may be taken as the time when that business or profession took its place in the European world, especially in the British Isles. The first of them were not, indeed, newspapers at all within our meaning of the word. They were, as their name indicated, newsbooks, little pamphlets of every size from four to a hundred pages and containing the "news" of the preceding week, year, or five years. With them were mingled and to them succeeded lesser and like publications of from four to sixteen pages which commonly appeared as time and occasion served—the outbreak of war, a great victory or defeat, the death of a monarch or a pope and the accession of his successor, an earthquake, a fire, a natural monstrosity, and the like, for a description of which, it was hoped by the enterprising publisher, the public would pay to read.

Among these items of interest the proceedings of Parliament in

England had taken their place during the reign of Elizabeth. Those proceedings were supposed to be, and in large measure were, secret. But as members of the government or of the opposition desired a wider audience than they found at St. Stephen's, it had been a common practice to have speeches and even notes of proceedings copied out and circulated in various versions, either by the members themselves or by so-called "intelligencers" or, as we should say, reporters. These written copies of speeches or notes of proceedings were passed from hand to hand, often copied in turn by those who received them as a more or less underground or "bootleg" performance. As Parliament increased in importance in the last days of Elizabeth and the reign of James I, there was greater demand for such material, and the importance of the seventeenth century in this development was the printing of such matter for a wider public. It took no great originality nor great foresight on the part of either the government or its opponents to take such a step; but it revealed a profound alteration in the relative authority of Crown and Parliament and especially in the importance of what we call public opinion. As the reign of James I wore to a close, therefore, the printers apparently did a thriving business not only in the publication of news from overseas correspondents but in these "separates" of news nearer home, and that fact marks a change in English public life as important as the more dramatic events in Parliament which fill the pages of the history books and provided materials for this new political weapon.

Out of these elements, then—Parliamentary activities and Continental war and politics—were born the first of the so-called newsbooks. The earliest of them lived as precarious lives as their authors and publishers. Like their creators, they appeared at odd intervals as time and occasion made a market for their wares, and their appearance was often as irregular as the lives of many of their producers. They began as the first great age of English drama was nearing its end, and it is a common and pleasing fancy that, as there has been supposed to exist a close connection between literature and journalism, some of the bright young men who haunted the taverns to sit at the feet of Ben Jonson and his fellow dramatists found in this new enterprise a means of subsistence while they meditated greater achievements. It is a pleasing fancy, and in some instances it may have been true. But the less romantic fact seems to be that in most, if not all, cases the origin of the newsbook was due rather to a union between the printers, especially the law printers, and that lower form of legal life known as "scriveners," whose chief function was to copy or make out legal forms. Some of these men, apparently finding their occupation too dull, too unremunerative, or too hard work, supplemented or replaced it with the more exciting and probably less onerous activity of collecting from near-by Parliament such speeches or notices of proceedings as they could pick up, sometimes from the speakers themselves, sometimes from the notes or memories of the members, sometimes even from official records, sometimes from their own imaginations. So, all in all, these writers of newsletters and newsbooks represented not unfairly the methods of many later, even the most modern, of their successors.

To these were added what was for long a notable part of these newsletters and newsbooks, that is to say accounts of foreign affairs. These were, in fact, the chief source from which the Continental papers derived their materials, for this publication of news was by no means confined to England. Germany and France, and especially Holland, had their own publications of like character, save that none of them had parliamentary proceedings to supply them with news, and none of them had any such political influence as those of the English-speaking peoples until long after this early period. Yet, whether in England or on the Continent, these little publications seem to have been a success, and from the appearance of these pamphlets with their catchy titles, not unlike our modern headlines, on the occasion of some noteworthy event it was but one step to combining them into some sort of order or series appearing at more or less regular intervals and with something of the same title. To this development the great war which broke out in 1618 and lasted thirty years was a godsend. Moreover, before that war ended, the struggle in England between Crown and Commons, Anglican and Nonconformist, brought fresh grist to the printers' mills, first in the form of controversial tracts, speeches, and sermons, then in news from the fighting fronts. So then, as now, the calamities and catastrophes of mankind, its crimes and its mistakes, were among the chief sources of what we call "news," and out of them the modern newspaper was born. But it was chiefly politics in one form or another which then provided their principal material, especially in England where public opinion was more important than on the Continent. This was natural, for there was no real substitute for the press in reaching that public.

Yet though this greatly benefited the printers and helped the sale not only of controversial tracts but of newsbooks, the publishers of these forerunners of the modern newspaper labored under two great disadvantages. The first was the competition with pamphlets of like form but of very different character, a considerable proportion of which, strange as it may seem to this generation, consisted of sermons. This is not surprising, for, apart from the fact that the clergy occupied a far more important position in society then than their successors do now, sermons were to that generation what the flood of social, sociopolitical, political, and sociological literature is to this, though they were then concerned rather with men's minds and souls than, like their latter-day counterparts, with men's bodies. The second disadvantage, which newsbooks shared with other publications, was one with which until recently the presses of what we call "free" countries have not had to contend, that is to say, censorship. Under the authority of the great Court of Star Chamber and the Stationers' Company, newsbooks, like other publications, were supervised and licensed, and every effort was made to suppress unlicensed matter. Though the licensing system met with indifferent success, as the appearance of so many attacks on church and state testified, it had a certain deterrent influence, especially on newsbooks, for news was then, as it has come to be in many parts of the world today, a kind of government property, monopoly, or "regality," not to be disseminated without official sanction. Printers were forbidden to print anything, as it was said, "dishonourable to princes in amity with his Majesty" for fear of foreign complications, and still less were they supposed to print anything which could be construed as treason or sedition against a monarch in his capacity as head of both church and state.

This last provision was honored scarcely less in breach than in observance, for the opponents of both church and Crown were eager to get their views before the public, and many printers were the more willing to risk prosecution since their own views so often coincided with those of their authors. In consequence, as the struggle between church and Crown and their opponents deepened in intensity, and Charles I in 1632 dissolved his Parliament and set out on his experiment of personal rule, the government forbade the printing, publishing, or sale of newsbooks. Thus for nearly a decade England was without newsbooks save for certain innocuous publications like the so-called *Speciall Forreigne Occurrences* issued by the earliest of the newsbook pioneers, Butter and Bourne, with the approval of the authorities.

This suppression of the newsbooks was in part explained, in part aggravated, by the fact that there was a superabundance of news and that it was chiefly unfavorable to Charles I's government. John Hampden refused to pay his twenty shillings ship-money tax and was tried and convicted for it. Prynne and Bastwick stood in the pillory and lost their ears—or part of them—for their scurrilous abuse of church and court. Scotland rebelled against Archbishop Laud's ill-advised attempt to thrust episcopacy and the Prayer Book down the throats of the stiff-necked Scotch Presbyterians, who presently made good their opposition by force of arms in two so-called "Bishops' Wars." Charles called Sir Thomas Wentworth from Ireland to save a cause which was already lost. He was forced to summon first the Short then the Long Parliament in 1640, and the latter body set to work at once to destroy the fabric of personal government as it had been framed by the Tudors and formulated by the Stuarts. Under the lead of Pym and Hampden it arrested Laud and Wentworth, the latter now Earl of Strafford; it repealed those statutes which had enabled the Crown to govern without Parliament; it abolished the Court of Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission with other parts of that conciliar system; and in general began a revolutionary movement which soon passed from arguments to arms. Thus the years were full of news—and history—and out of that conflict, it may be said, the English newspaper was born. For, among the results of the activities of the Long Parliament, the censorship of the press came to an end for the time, and in a combination of a supply of news, public interest in public events, and the relaxing or removal of restrictions on printing, enterprising men perceived their opportunity.

By the middle of 1641 the absolutist Stuart system was virtually overthrown. Strafford had gone to the block, Laud was in the Tower, and the other ministers of the personal government were in hiding or in exile. All England was stirred with revolutionary impulse, especially London, whence there had come wave after wave of mob violence to Westminster to uphold the revolutionary leaders in the

Commons. On July 5, 1641, Charles gave his assent to the act abolishing the Court of Star Chamber, and with it fell the licensing system with nothing for the moment to take its place. At once there appeared a flood of literature largely relating to events in Parliament, its first phase a revival of the publication of speeches made there, in some cases taken down by the new art of what was called "tachygraphy or short writing," in some cases provided by the speakers themselves. But to these exciting events were added others equally important to the world of news, for while Charles was absent in Scotland and England was governed by a so-called Council of Defence composed chiefly of his opponents, there broke out a massacre of the English settlers in Ireland at the hands of the native Irish. Before Charles returned, Parliament had reassembled and the revolutionary leaders had begun the composition of that indictment of his administration known as the Grand Remonstrance, which, like the American Declaration of Independence, which was modeled upon it, was, in effect, a summons to revolt. By less than a dozen votes it was approved by the Commons on November 23, 1641. Two days later Charles returned from Scotland, and the lines were drawn for a trial of strength between the King and the revolutionary leaders in Parliament.

If there was ever an opportunity for starting a newspaper, it was in such a situation as this, and in consequence there appeared in the last days of November, 1641, a little eight-page newsbook called *The Heads of Severall Proceedings in Parliament.* It covered the week from November 22 to November 29, 1641, and it bore a subtitle indicating that it also contained news of the Irish massacre and "divers other passages of moment." It was printed by a certain John Thomas, who with natural caution modestly described himself as "I.T." It was the first of the so-called "diurnals," or journals, for within a month its title had been changed to *Diurnal Occurrences or the Heads of Severall Proceedings*; it was printed for "J.T. and T.B.," otherwise John Thomas and Thomas Bates, and it was scheduled to appear on Mondays. Within another month this, or a like publication, appeared as *Diurnal Occurrences in Parliament*, published by William Cooke, a law publisher of Furnivall's Inn, and bearing the name of Samuel Pecke as writer, author, or, as we might say, editor. It was essentially the child of revolution, and it led a troubled life. Published by Cooke until March, 1642, then under various names and issued by various publishers, but with Pecke continuing as editor, it went on until 1649 when Pecke, for having reflected on Cromwell's actions at the capture of Drogheda—or for reporting them correctly—was suspended from his position. Thereafter, as a symbol of the altering balance of authority, it was continued or replaced by *A Perfect Diurnall . . . in Relation to the Armies*. In its last incarnation this periodical, which has been called, perhaps too flatteringly, "the *Times* of that day," was an official or semi-official publication, controlled by the revolutionary Commonwealth government, and in one form or another was the longest-lived and perhaps the most trustworthy of the scores of newsbooks which hastened to follow its example.

Who, then, were the men who thus began a new era in the enlightenment of their fellows, and what sort of creature was this new species of mankind? It is not easy to discover much about them, partly because journalism is not a short and easy way to immortality, and partly because that profession was looked down upon as the refuge of more or less disreputable scribblers, hack writers and libelers, the products of whose pens and the manner of whose lives perhaps too often justified the opinions of their detractors. As one of these latter described this new kind of man: "They call him a Mercury, but he becomes the epithet like a little negro mounted on an elephant—just another blot rampant. . . . To call him an historian is to knight a mandrake, 'tis to view him through a perspective and by that glass hyperbole to give the reputation of an engineer to a maker of mouse-traps." Yet apart from the interest of these men as founders of a new profession, their lives no less than their papers reflect their times in ways but little akin to what we call formal history, yet of great importance to it.

What is known of them is largely through the attacks of their rivals, from the scanty records of their alma mater, if they happened to be university graduates, from police records and other like obscure sources. Of the first typical figure of journalism, Samuel Pecke, little is known and that, apart from his excellent paper, mostly to his disadvantage. He was, it would appear, originally a scrivener, who, when politics began to reach the boiling point, apparently inspired or employed by the law publisher Cooke, seems to have set up a little office, stall, or, as it was described, a "hole" in the center of politics, Westminster, where he collected news by himself or through intelligencers or reporters. In appearance he was, according to a contemporary, "a bald-headed buzzard," "a tall-thin-faced fellow with a Hawk's nose, a meagre countenance and long runagate legs." As to his habits, it was said: "You may meet him late at night, he commonly frequents Py-corner, about mutton-time, and seldom walks without his she-intelligencer"—which seems to indicate, among other things, that the lady journalist was not so modern as some may have thought. As he prospered, according to the same witness, "he fell to his sports and pastimes, for you should hardly ever fail to find him at home all the weeke till Saturday morning, and then you should be sure to find him abed."

These and less flattering reports of his manners and morals are all we know of him apart from his paper and such scattered notices as that he and his printers were arrested in January, 1643; that he signed the Stationers' Register in July of that year and so in a sense joined the union and was legalized or regularized. None the less, he was called before the House of Commons in 1646 for printing the papers of the Scotch commissioners which they wished to publish but which the Commons wished suppressed. Then in October, 1649, as the result of his charge that the massacre of the officers at Drogheda was due to Cromwell's treachery, he was forbidden to have a paper of his own. Thereafter he became an assistant of the army's secretary, John Rushworth, who took over official journalism for a time, and so disappeared from the scene. These, with like scattered and inconsequent notices of his activities, are virtually all that is left of the life story of this "patriarch of the press," and it may well be that he might be better pleased if some of them were forgotten.

But the very enumeration of those activities is something of a clue to the course and the character of this early adventure in journalism, for Pecke's career spanned its formative and most dangerous years, and he was only the most characteristic figure of that time. It was not to be expected that the example of Pecke and his publishers would be lost on other enterprising writers and printers, or that the stirring decades of the Civil Wars should go without other chroniclers. As the King raised his standard at Nottingham in August, 1642, and the Earl of Essex was appointed commander in chief of the armies enlisted, according to the somewhat ambiguous vote of the Commons, "for the safety of the King's person and the defence of both Houses of Parliament"; as the battles of Edgehill, Marston Moor, and Naseby took their places in history, with countless other lesser engagements, sieges, advances, and retreats, until the final defeat of the royal forces and the execution of the King, the bloodless but bitter war of pamphlet, tract, and newsbook went on beside the armed conflict. From 1642 to 1649 was a golden age of unlicensed journalism despite the effort of the Commons in 1643 to put an end to it, at least on the part of the opponents of Parliament.

By one of the most remarkable circumstances in history, as it happens, we have a striking proof of this. A certain George Thomason, bookseller at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, beginning with 1641 took occasion to lay aside each day as they came to his shop, or as he made his daily rounds, a specimen of each of these fugitive publications till in the course of some twenty years he had more than that number of thousands of them. From this collection, which was almost miraculously preserved, it appears that there was in 1641 only one periodical, that of Pecke, of which Thomason secured four issues, though he assembled some seven hundred pamphlets that year. In 1642 the great bookseller-collector picked up nearly two thousand pamphlets, of which perhaps a twelfth were the issues of some thirty-eight newsbooks. For 1643 he had a thousand tracts and four hundred issues of twenty-nine newsbooks. The next year tracts and newsbooks were nearly equal in numbers, and by that time there were a dozen newsbooks in regular issues lasting over from preceding years and published on specified days of the week. By 1645 the newsbooks outnumbered the tracts, and this proportion continued in varying quantity for some years. It is evident from this that the newsbook had come to stay, that news had at last been recognized as a staple commodity, and that the business had begun to organize and adjust itself.

But news was not merely a commodity, it was a weapon. It has been observed that if a monument were raised to Gutenberg, it should be erected by revolutionists, for they of all men have benefited most from the invention of printing. This the leaders of the Puritan revolution were quick to perceive, and partly because of that, partly because they held London, the chief seat of the printing trade, and partly because they controlled the Post Office, they were the chief beneficiaries of this enormous increase in pamphlet literature and especially in newsbooks. For it was early seen that news could be used for what we call "propaganda," not merely by expressing the opinion of the writer openly but by more subtle processes of "doctor-ing" the news to fit the purposes of the party which the writer favored. At first that was the Parliament, but as the political balance shifted, especially after the King's defeat at Naseby, the army challenged the dominance of the Commons, the Independents that of the Presbyterians, and this found reflection in the world of journalism.

This was evidenced, among other and more general phenomena, by the rise of another characteristic figure in that world, a certain Henry Walker, who, under his own name or one constructed from it by a strange anagram, "Luke Harruney" (his enemies called him "Luke the liar"), typified another side of early journalism. With the appearance of *Perfect Occurrences of Every Dayes Journal in Parliament* in 1647, he became the official spokesman of the army and of the Independent party in general. His life was typical of a certain element of the revolutionary party of his time. Born in Derby, apprenticed to a London ironmonger, setting up in business for himself and failing, he spent a very brief period in Queens' College, Cambridge, and was ordained deacon but was soon suspended and so set up in London as a Puritan pamphleteer and bookseller. At once he injected a new note into this rising profession. Aided by what was called "a ragged regiment of tatterdamalions, Mercuries and hawkers," he soon proved the most successful publisher-journalist of his day. His success was not due wholly to his superior methods of distribution. He is credited with the introduction of advertisements into newsbooks; with the publication of some of the most obscene and scurrilous productions of the time; and with being a friend of Cromwell's chaplain, "familiar," and "jester," the famous Hugh Peter, himself currently reputed the source of much not wholly innocent merriment. To this, Peter added the functions of what may be called "war correspondent" or "publicity man" for Cromwell and in that capacity provided Walker with material for his paper, including the "official" account of the taking of Drogheda designed to counteract Pecke's uncensored narrative of that massacre. Thus Walker rose with the Independents and their leader, and it may be noted that when Cromwell was made commander in chief of the army for the conquest of Scotland in place of Fairfax, who declined to go, it was Henry Walker, now returning to one of his old trades, who preached the farewell sermon.

So Walker prospered. He was given a benefice near Uxbridge, whence he seems to have been driven by his enraged parishioners;

then suffered the same fate in a living in Wood Street, London; then held for a time a living in Knightsbridge despite the petitions against him from his flock. Meanwhile he maintained his publishing activities, and meanwhile by hook or crook—his enemies said chiefly the latter—he made money. He lived, according to his notices, in "a great brick house and a balcony as you turne up to St. James's," at "the Fountain," King's Street, and was thus a neighbor of Cromwell. There he set up what he called an "Enterance" or "office of Entries" or information and what might be called an "agency" or "brokerage." In it he conducted business of almost every conceivable character, as an employment agency, making loans on property, the publication of sailing or coaching information, the cashing of soldiers' "tickets" or pay warrants, securing positions or livings for clergymen, and even giving lectures in Hebrew. Thus, all in all, he was a busy man and a prosperous one, however little his character and his activities commended themselves to his contemporaries.

It is evident, however, that he did not make his fortune out of the newsbook business, save as it contributed indirectly to his resources. Those periodicals sold ordinarily for a penny, the advertisements at the end for sixpence an insertion; printers and hawkers had to be paid; and it is evident that, then as now, the road to wealth lay through the business rather than the editorial office. It is also evident that many of these men, like Walker though not, apparently, like Pecke, had support from other sources, that they were, in effect, subsidized by the government. Among the names of what were called by that party "honest men"—like Walker—employed by the revolutionary leaders was that of another of those bright young men who have often found such employment, and whose career may serve as an illustration of another phase of this rapidly developing profession. This was a certain John Hall, some time a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, from which he was expelled for "lewdness" and debauchery. He married; spent his wife's fortune in like pursuits and sent her back to her family; then entered Gray's Inn with the nominal purpose of studying law. Thence he was driven by his fellow students, and he found employment under the "astrologer" and "almanack maker" Lilly to edit a journal, under the title of *Mercurius Britanicus*, to reply to the attacks of Lilly's rival, Sir George Wharton.

Then, according to Hall's story, four months after the execution of the King he was "brought in" by Cromwell to write for the revolutionary government. In 1650 he was taken by Cromwell to Scotland as what might best be described as war correspondent or "publicity man" for the General. That same year, upon his return, he became one of the writers or editors of the government's most famous organ, the *Mercurius Politicus*, whose appearance marks the beginning of a new phase of English journalism. Besides this, in 1651 he reissued an old pamphlet on the Dutch "atrocities" against the English in the East Indies thirty years before, which he dedicated to Cromwell, and so contributed his bit to stirring up public sentiment to war with the Netherlands. Finally, to this he added a defense of the revolutionary government in the form of *A Letter Written to a Gentleman in the Country Touching the Dissolution of the Late Parliament*, for which, with his other literary services, he was paid a hundred pounds a year by that government.

It was the natural result of the revolutionary movement and the opposition to it. While Cromwell had been campaigning in Ireland, the Royalist journalists and pamphleteers had taken advantage of his absence to attack the regicide government despite the efforts of the Council of State to suppress them. With his return and under his sterner direction not only were they put down but the press was virtually taken over by the government. Under its supervision three "licensed" periodicals, the *Perfect Diurnall*, *A Briefe Relation*, and *Severall Proceedings*, were permitted to go on, and to them was added the *Mercurius Politicus*, whose subtitle boldly averred it was "In defence of the Commonwealth." It was issued at first by John Hall or Marchamont Nedham or both until the end of 1650; then, it has been judged, it was directed and in part written by no less a person than John Milton the poet, Foreign Language Secretary to the Council of State, with Hall and Nedham as his assistants, until 1653; then by Nedham under the direction of the head of the intelligence service, John Thurloe, until the end of the Protectorate. It was no new task for the man who had left off the writing of great poetry for political pamphleteering, but this, with his activities as a licenser of the press, seems a curious task for the author of *Areopagitica or a Plea for Unlicensed Printing*. Fortunately for Milton, his poetical eminence has obscured his pamphleteering activities, which for a decade had made him the most conspicuous defender of the revolutionary movement. But where he had once been the champion of the Commonwealth, he had now become the eloquent defender of the rising power of Cromwell and an advocate of the Protectorate, for what, he wrote presently, "is more pleasing to God, more agreeable to the state than that the strongest shall rule?" It was, perhaps, a natural transition, yet it is among the ironies of politics and history that the champion of freedom of speech, popular government, and liberty in all forms should lend himself to the suppression of opinions opposed to his own, and should become a denouncer of the Parliament he had once supported so warmly and the panegyrist of dictatorship.

Milton and Hall were, in fact, Cromwell's chief publicity men after Peter began to confine himself more to preaching than to pamphleteering, but if this story of early English journalists is to be even reasonably complete, it cannot omit the other characteristic figure of the time. This is one Marchamont Nedham, now associated with Hall and Milton, the great example of men of talent prepared to write for those who paid them best, the true mercenaries of the press. Nedham's career, like Hall's, was as varied as it was, let us say, picturesque. After a career at Oxford, then at Gray's Inn, some study of medicine, and an experience as a schoolmaster, in 1643 he had become the editor of *Mercurius Britanicus*, which was less a newspaper than an effort to counteract the influence of the Royalist publications, especially the court organ, *Mercurius Aulicus*. This enterprise, interrupted by arrest, ended in his being forbidden to practise journalism, from which he turned to medicine. Then in 1647 he changed sides, made his peace with the King, and began to publish *Mercurius Pragmaticus* in the royal interest. It is to his fertile pen that his public was indebted for the descriptions of Cromwell as "Copper Nose," "Nose Almighty," and the "Town Bull of Ely," and his paper was further distinguished by beginning each issue with a little poem, usually scurrilous, on public affairs. As a result, he was caught and imprisoned by Parliament and again he changed sides, marking his conversion by a defense of the Commonwealth at the same time that Milton was writing his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in defense of regicide. Thus with Hall and Milton he set up the *Mercurius Politicus*, and like them he followed the fortunes of Cromwell, whom he supported throughout the Protectorate.

From the brief sketches of a few of the earliest English journalists two things are apparent. The first is that there are to be found among them the prototypes of nearly every species of newspaperman which has flourished since their time. That profession sprang, as it were, fully armed from the head of Jove; and whatever changes there have been in dress, forms of expression, size and contents of newspapers, if one allows for alterations in society, there is little or nothing in modern journalism which has not some counterpart in those early years. The second is that journalism was reckoned, almost from the beginning of the conflict between Crown and Commons, one of the most potent of all political weapons, second only to arms themselves. That fact was early appreciated by the revolutionists, then as now acutely conscious of the importance of what we have come to call propaganda, which is, like many other modern phenomena, only a new word for a very old activity. So conscious of it were they, in fact, that, like their successors, they took every opportunity not only to control the press but to employ writers in their cause; and if Oliver Cromwell was the prototype of modern dictators in the field of politics, he is no less notable as the first of such figures to appreciate to its full extent the importance of enlisting in his cause the ablest writers he could find and suppressing those of his opponents.

The Royalists were, indeed, not blind to the importance of the press, but they labored under great disadvantages in comparison with their opponents. They were handicapped by the fact that London was the center of the printing business and was in the hands of their enemies, whether in Parliament or in the army. They were further handicapped by being, as it were, on the defensive, and in politics even more than war, if possible, the attack is the more important. None the less, they did the best they could, and they had one small advantage. This was the fact that the presses of that day were made of wood and operated by hand. They were small and easily transported. It was possible to load one of them with its type on a cart or two and carry it from place to place or hide it on occasion from the agents of the revolutionary party. The story goes that when the revolutionary leaders like Pym and Hampden set up headquarters in the country before the Civil Wars, they had as part of their equipment a printing press with which to issue their attacks on Charles I's government, and when in later years the Quakers under the lead of Fox followed a like course in attacking Cromwell's administration, they took with them one Giles Calvert to print their pamphlets. The Royalists followed the same procedure. Among the impedimenta which Charles took with him when he first set up his court at York after his flight from London, a printing press was conspicuous. Later when he established his capital at Oxford, not only from the London presses which managed to evade the vigilance of the revolutionary authorities, but from the university press were launched incessant attacks upon the "usurpers."

Yet even here the Royalists labored under great handicaps. They could not get the "distribution" of their pamphlets which the control of the posts throughout the greater part of the British Isles afforded their enemies; nor did they have the writers at their command. They had, indeed, the greater part of the faculties of both Oxford and Cambridge, but in those days, at least, the academic pen did not lend itself readily to the vivacity and scurrility which appealed to the multitude. They enlisted the aid of loyal dons, even of undergraduates. They found among the courtiers some like Digby and Jermyn who had vituperative powers, however inferior to those of their opponents. They hired mercenaries like Nedham; they set up a periodical of their own, the *Mercurius Aulicus.* But chiefly they relied on the talents of a certain John Birkenhead, sometime servitor of Oriel College, later secretary to Archbishop Laud, presently Fellow of All Souls College, and, as his activities in the world of journalism commended themselves to his party, recommended by His Majesty to the post of lecturer in moral philosophy, whose duties he discharged, it was said, "with little profit," but whether to himself or his listeners does not appear.

In this work he was much aided by the pen of the learned Dr. Peter Heylyn, lecturer in historical geography, and the life of the new periodical reflected that of its party. The first considerable battle of the Civil War was fought at Edgehill on October 23, 1642, and the King and his army, after a vain march on London, retired to Oxford a month later. On January 8, 1643, there appeared the first number of *Mercurius Aulicus*, whose purpose was declared in its opening words. It was that "the world may see that the Court is neither so barren of intelligence as it is conceived, nor the affairs there in so unprosperous condition as these [Parliamentary] pamphlets make them." For a time the new venture prospered. As the official organ of the court it sold throughout the country, even in London, despite the efforts to suppress it. But its fortunes rose and fell with those of the royal cause. The battle of Naseby was fought on June 14, 1645, and from it Charles fled to the West and Wales, having lost the greater part of his army, his money, supplies, and private papers.

Oxford remained in Royalist hands; but it was besieged by the Parliamentarians, and in September, 1645, *Mercurius Aulicus* perforce suspended publication. Birkenhead, presently deprived of his post by the Parliamentary commissioners, fled to the Continent; and Royalist periodicals were thereafter confined to the subterranean presses in London, which were in time hunted out and suppressed by the agents of the government, and the profession of journalism was confined to those who supported the Protector.

Such were some of the more conspicuous figures of those who lived precarious lives in the precarious days of early newspapers; and for the most part their careers were bounded by the decade between the outbreak of civil war and the rise of Cromwell to the Protectorate. For ten years the Long Parliament, through its so-called Committee of Examinations, did its best to emulate or surpass the activities of the Court of Star Chamber. Every effort was made to suppress all periodicals regarded as hostile or dangerous to the government, and every means was employed to that end—spies, informers, searchers, licensers, even soldiers on occasion. On the other hand, the printers used every device of anonymity, concealment, evasion, moving and hiding of presses, even forcible defense, in this long underground struggle for what has been called euphemistically the "freedom of the press." Of this the unofficial history of the time is full, and it is evident that the struggle was not confined merely to writers and printers: it affected no less, indeed often more, the distributors of these publications, the hawkers or, as they were called, the "mercuries," the posts, the booksellers, the peddlers, and the carriers.

Its most conspicuous sufferers were naturally the hawkers of the unlicensed publications, especially the Royalist pamphlets, chiefly women, whose general punishment was public whipping and imprisonment at Bridewell. Among these figures of the underground world of journalism one has found her way into history. This was an extraordinary character known as "Parliament Joan," described as "a fat woman, aged about fifty," whose husband, a Parliament spy, had been caught and hanged at Oxford. In compensation for that and for her services to the government she was provided with a house and "competent maintenance" by Parliament. She was actually assigned lodgings in Whitehall itself and given her instructions, according to report, by Bradshaw, who had presided over the High

Court of Justice which condemned Charles I, through Gualter Frost, the Secretary of the Council of State. The latter further provided her with a pseudonym which he had contrived from his own name and had used when he was a writer of almanacs. As "Mrs. Strof" she posed as a "mercury" or newsbook seller who wandered about the streets making her way into printers' and booksellers' shops, taverns, and public places, ostensibly hawking her wares, but actually nosing out Royalists and Royalist papers. From that she presently emerged as the nominal publisher of two papers of her own, which it is not surprising to note were issued from the "Fountain, King's Street," which was the address of that enterprising publisher and government agent, Henry Walker. Accosting prospective purchasers, especially those who seemed to be strangers in the city, offering her wares as Royalist productions, by one means or another she sought to entrap unwary printers, booksellers, or private purchasers and so turned their names in to the authorities, who, it was said, paid her ten pounds a capture. So having led such a life for some years, when the struggle was over and Cromwell came to power, in 1653 she was pensioned by a grateful government and she passed the rest of her life caring for sick seamen, petitioning in her last illness for burial in Westminster Abbey, though it does not appear she achieved that distinction.

Through such means, through provost marshals and their assistants or "beagles," forcible entries and no less forcible resistance, the arrest of writers, printers and booksellers, peddlers and carriers, this conflict went on until in 1653 the world of journalism took form in rigid control of the press by the government. By 1656 when Cromwell's power was secure, there were only two papers left, the *Publick Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Politicus*, which were, in effect, only the Monday and Thursday editions of the same paper and were both under the close supervision of the head of the intelligence service, John Thurloe. These, with two advertising sheets and the *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, issued by the government for circulation on the Continent, made up the whole of the newspaper world during the Protectorate, and it may be gathered that Cromwell's government had little or nothing to learn from even the most modern of dictatorships in the methods of controlling organs of public opinion. And again it is one of the curiosities of history—or it would be, if the phenomenon were not so invariable—that the champions of liberty always suppress the free speech of their enemies so stringently once they are in power.

It would be too long—and no doubt too dull—a task to trace here the later history of journalism through the contentious years of the Restoration, the Revolution of 1688, and the reign of William III to the times of good Queen Anne when the newspaper began to take on something of the form with which we are familiar. But that next period of some half a century produced three elements without some mention of which no such paper as this would be even reasonably complete. The first was the appearance of the *Oxford Gazette*, later the *London Gazette*, projected by the court, which turned the newsbook into a sheet divided by columns, thus effecting a revolution in the format of such publications. The second is the development of the private newsletter in the hands of Henry Muddiman to such a point that this forerunner of many such "services" of our time rivaled or even displaced the newssheets and newsbooks proper. The third was the failure of Parliament to renew the Licensing Act in 1695, which removed the last control of government over the printers and produced for the first time a really free press, limited only by the ordinary legal remedies for libel. And to these may be added a fourth. It was in this period that the press enlisted the support of men of far higher character and position, from Sir Roger L'Estrange through Daniel Defoe, Addison, Steele, Swift, and their fellows, who, lending or hiring their services to this new medium, evolving other forms of expression, like those essays which still delight us, contributed, among other things, to the evolution of the literary periodical or magazine which presently made its appearance on the English scene.

These, then, are some of the men and some of the movements to which the modern newspaper press, the so-called "Fourth Estate," owes its origin. Viewed superficially, no contrast could be greater than that between the little newsbooks of the early seventeenth century and the colossal issues of our day. Yet, if one looks more closely, there is no such difference as the external contrasts seem to show. All the essentials of the modern press are to be found in these earliest examples of the journalist's art, all the kinds of newspapermen we have now find their prototypes in these men of the seventeenth century. In the one as in the other, only the costumes have changed. Editor, publisher, reporter, foreign and war correspondent, publicity man, feature and editorial writer, lady journalist, advertising man, even newsboy and girl are all there. Only the comic strip and the sports writer are absent, for somehow our ancestors seem to have been able to get along without them. The presses change, but the type remains; the issues grow in size with the circulation; and methods of distribution progress with the times; but the spirit remains little altered through the centuries. The power of the press is no greater now than then, nor the uses to which it has been put. Pecke, Butter and Bourne, Walker, Birkenhead, Nedham, Muddiman, L'Estrange, once they were accustomed to the new mechanical devices of our day, would find themselves no strangers in the most modern of our newspaper offices, nor would the most modern of our methods be alien to them. There would be few tricks of the trade in the writing of news, in the molding of public opinion, or in the building up or destruction of reputations which would be unfamiliar to them either in Times Square or in Fleet Street. For, as the old French phrase goes, the more things change the more they remain the same, and in no field of human activity is that more true than in that spirit which animated the first newspapermen and still animates their latest successors. And not only in the so-called "free press" of countries still free; for not even the latest model of dictators could teach his seventeenth-century prototype anything in the method of press regulation, nor could the hired men of the press of the Commonwealth and Cromwell learn anything from Goebbels or Gayda even now.

The Proposed College in Hampshire County in 1762

By Henry Lefavour

Hampshire County had originally included all the province of Massachusetts Bay west of Worcester County, but in 1761 Berkshire County was set off, leaving Hampshire County to include all the present river counties of Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden. Worcester County was still relatively unsettled, and the journey to Boston was long and difficult, so that Hampshire was almost a distinct province. The latter county had, in 1762, twenty-nine incorporated towns, and with the ending of the Indian raids, due to the successful outcome of the recent war, settlers were pouring in from the older eastern towns to take advantage of the fertile valleys. By the time of the Massachusetts census of 1765 the number of towns in the county had increased by two, and the census reports showed a total population for the county of more than 17,000.[1]

The newcomers were either the less successful or the more enterprising of the Pilgrim and Puritan peoples of the older settlements; both alike brought with them the devotion to education that had characterized the early settlers of the colony. Not only did they see the need of the common schools, but they appreciated that there must be facilities for the training of their ministers and their civil leaders. The common schools they had, but the colleges were very far off. Harvard and Yale had their doors open, and a number of Hampshire boys had attended each and had graduated; but the journey to Cambridge or New Haven was long and expensive. The college fees were none too low, and country boys received no adequate social recognition either from their fellow students or in the college catalogue. Moreover, it was believed that the moral standards of the colleges were at a low ebb. Many unfavorable stories were told, and they lost nothing in the telling. Israel Williams, writing in 1763 about the Harvard College controversy of the previous year, said that

> . . . The present College was unhappily situated—so near the Capitol where Luxury and Wickedness (to our shame) prevail'd; . . . the Youth who were al-

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[1] There are two manuscript versions of this particular census extant, one giving a total population of 17,298, the other giving 18,472. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrison, *American Population before the Federal Census of* 1790 (New York, 1932), 21.

low'd too frequently to resort there, were corrupted in their Morals: That, instead of pursuing their studies, they too generally spent their time in places of Idleness and vanity; and how they might conform to the beau world in their dress and behaviour, to the ruin of the small fortunes of some, and very much to the Injury of all.[1]

That this was not an exaggerated picture is confirmed by President Quincy's account of those days. "Profane cursing and swearing," he writes, "habits of frequenting taverns and alehouses, the practice of using wine, beer, and distilled liquors by undergraduates in their rooms greatly increased. Tutors were insulted and combinations to perpetrate unlawful acts were more frequent. Wealthy students were accustomed to great extravagance in expenditures."[2]

But more important than the moral delinquencies of Harvard was its religious atmosphere. The farmers of Hampshire had been trained to believe in the strictest fundamentalist doctrines of Calvin. They had heard the bloodcurdling description of the tortures of Hell from the eloquent Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, and had been taught that only by faith in the grace of God could they be saved. A life of good works would not suffice. If their faith were undermined, there would be no escape, and there would be great risk in coming in contact with unbelievers. They did not wish to submit their sons to this danger. Twenty years earlier Edwards had denounced the colleges for their infidelity, and at about the same time the eloquent traveling evangelist, George Whitefield, upon his visit to Boston had roundly indicted Harvard College for its religious condition in terms that the college bitterly resented. Later these Hampshire people learned of the heretical opinions of Charles Chauncy, the minister of the First Church in Boston, and of Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church—the most influential of the Harvard Overseers.

It is no wonder that the Hampshire people craved a college of their own which should maintain a proper standard of morals and be free from any contamination of the students' religious beliefs. If at the same time it should be more conveniently situated and less expensive, it would be all the more desirable. Hence when, in 1761, the Reverend Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield conceived the idea that the residuary bequest in the will of Ephraim Williams[3] of Stockbridge might be used as a nucleus for the foundation of a Hampshire college, his scheme immediately won general support.

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[1] Israel Williams Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), II. 182.

[2] Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1840), II. 90.

[3] A brief sketch of Williams' life will be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Ephraim Williams had been an officer in the provincial army and for a number of years had been in command of Fort Massachusetts in the District of Hoosuck, the northwest corner of the province. It was one of the several forts erected by the province along the Mohawk Trail to protect the settlers against Indian raids. When the French and Indian War broke out, it was proposed to raise three regiments in Massachusetts, one of them in the western counties. Major Williams recruited a company and was made colonel of the western regiment. The Massachusetts troops were to be a part of the expedition against Crown Point under General Sir William Johnson. The rendezvous was in or near Albany. On August 2, 1755, they started north to the great carrying place between the Hudson and Lake George, and a part of the troops, including Colonel Williams' regiment, crossed over by a fourteen-mile march through the woods and encamped on the border of the lake. On the morning of September 8, when it was heard that the enemy, under Dieskau, was approaching, Colonel Williams, with about a thousand men, was sent out on a reconnaissance. They met the enemy rather unexpectedly, and almost at the beginning of the engagement Colonel Williams was killed.

While in Albany, Colonel Williams had taken advantage of legal assistance to draw his will, the final provision of which stated:

> Item It is my will and pleasure and desire that the remaining part of Lands not yet disposed of shall be sold at the discretion of my Executors within five years after an established peace, and the interest of the money and also the interest of my money arising by my bonds and notes shall be appropriated towards the support and maintenance of a Free School (in a Township west of Fort Massachusetts, commonly called the West Township) forever, provided the said Township fall within the jurisdiction of the province of the Massachusetts Bay and provided also that the Governor and General Court give the said Township the name of Williamstown, and it is my further will and desire that if there should remain, any monies of the above donation, for the said School, It be given towards the support of a School in the East Township where the Fort now stands but in case the above provisos are not complied with then it is my will and desire that the interest of the above mentioned monies be appropriated to some pious and charitable uses in manner and form as directed in the former part of this my last Will and Testament.[1]

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[1] Arthur L. Perry, *Origins of Williamstown* (New York, 1894), 482.

The alternative referred to was in another provision of his will, to take effect if his brothers died without issue:

> . . . the abovementioned estate be sold and the money be put out to interest and that the said interest shall be used for some pious or charitable purposes, as the propagating Christianity, the support of the poor in the County of Hampshire, or for schools on the frontiers in the county aforesaid to be at the discretion of my Executors hereinafter named.[1]

The executors named were Israel Williams of Hatfield and John Worthington of Springfield. The amount of the residue was estimated to be about one thousand pounds.

It will be noted that the bequest had two conditions: that the township west of Fort Massachusetts be called Williamstown, and that it be determined that this district fall within the jurisdiction of the province of Massachusetts Bay. In 1761 neither condition had been fulfilled, although it might be argued that since the executors were given five years from the establishment of peace within which to sell the remaining portion of the estate, and hostilities had ended only the year before, and the formal peace treaty had not yet been signed, it was questionable whether the alternative provision of founding a school in the County of Hampshire was operative or even of real validity. But evidently the executors did not question it.

The matter of the jurisdiction of the province over this territory had certainly not been settled. The northern boundary, separating the district from the Hampshire Grants, was not in question, for in 1749 Richard Hazen had run his line from a point three miles above the Merrimac, known as Pawtucket Falls, now in Lowell, due west until he reached the Hudson River. This was a remarkable piece of surveying, as the line had to be carried through unbroken forest, over two wide rivers and two mountain ranges; and the line remains today as the northern boundary of Massachusetts. Hazen's survey, however, was not without defect, for he had used an erroneous declination of his compass needle. The deviation between his magnetic needle and the true meridian was about 2° too large.[2] The line, therefore, ran slightly north of west as may be readily seen on any large-scale atlas of the state. This deviation produced an error at the western end of the state amounting to about five miles, so that Williamstown has today a strip five miles in width—perhaps the most valuable part of the present town—which should have belonged to Vermont.

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[1] Perry, *Origins of Williamstown*, 480.

[2] The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey estimates the true declination to have been about 8°. Hazen was instructed to use a declination of 10°.

The western boundary of Massachusetts, however, had not been fixed. The Dutch settlers in New York had been prone to carry their grants eastward, not only into the Hampshire Grants but also into Massachusetts, extending in some cases nearly to the Housatonic River. As a matter of fact, when, even as late as 1770, some citizens of Williamstown petitioned the General Court, asking that the executors of Ephraim Williams' will be required to proceed with the establishment of the free school in Williamstown, the executors replied that it was still doubtful whether Williamstown was within the jurisdiction of the province.[1] They added that the people of Williamstown had no rights in the school if it should be established, as it would not be their property, and that any other English subject might be admitted.[2] It was as late as 1784 before the disputed boundary was agreed to, and the free school was duly incorporated the next year. It was opened in 1791 and in 1793 was converted into Williams College.

Jonathan Ashley's knowledge of the Williams will may well have been due to the fact that Ephraim Williams' father had become one of his parishioners. His idea of using the Williams bequest as the nucleus of the endowment of a college in Hampshire was taken up eagerly as it spread through the county. Here at last was a chance to obtain the college of their own which they had so eagerly coveted. No one was more interested than Israel Williams of Hatfield, one of the executors of the will, who became leader of the movement. Israel Williams was one of the most important citizens of the county and probably one of the wealthiest, having obtained his means by farming, trading, and land speculation. He was one of the River Gods, as the influential group was known, and was sometimes referred to as the Monarch of Hampshire. He had a special grievance against Harvard because his son John, who was in the Class of 1751, had been placed fourteenth in a class of thirty-four in the college catalogue, the social register of that day. This was not adequate recognition of his social standing, and he accordingly sent his second son to Yale. Williams had held many offices, both civil and military, and was at the time a member of the province Council. It is from letters in the Israel Williams Papers in the custody of this Society that much of the detail bearing on this subject is found.

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[1] *Journal of the House of Representatives* (1770–1771), 108.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, LVIII. 586.

A committee of seventy-four interested citizens was formed to promote the project. The committee held several meetings, the last of which occurred early in January, 1762, at the house of Israel Williams in Hatfield. Apparently there was no doubt about the availability of the Ephraim Williams bequest, for Israel Williams said in a later letter that "the funds are already in our hands."[1] It is possible that additional individual contributions had been made or promised. The question for consideration was the mode of securing a charter. A royal charter from the Governor, acting in the King's name, had been prepared and had been thought to be the proper course.[2] The charter provided that the name of the new institution was to be Queen's College, probably in honor of Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, the recent bride of George III, although it may have been suggested by the naming of the college in New York, now Columbia University, as King's College. The board of trustees designated included the two executors of the will of Ephraim Williams and some of the relatives of Israel Williams. The location of the college other than in Hampshire County was not specified. Deerfield, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield were all aspirants, and Israel Williams hoped that Hatfield would win. Indeed, there is a tradition that a certain building was erected in Hatfield to house the college.[3] The corporation was to be authorized to hold property with an annual income of up to one thousand pounds, and to grant the honors of learning to those students properly qualified. The Governor was made the official visitor. The first meeting of the trustees was to be on March 17, 1762. Before action was taken in the General Court, it was decided to withdraw the provision regarding the giving of degrees and to add a reservation that precluded the college from receiving aid from the government. In Williams' copy of the charter the date of signing is February 27, 1762. Either this was postdated or is an error, since there is evidence that the signed charter was given to Israel Williams as early as the twenty-fifth.

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[1] Israel Williams Papers, II. 178.

[2] A draft of this charter, mainly in Israel Williams' hand, is preserved among his papers. It is printed below, pages 75–77.

[3] Daniel W. Wells and Reuben F. Wells, *A History of Hatfield, Massachusetts* (Springfield, Mass., 1910), 178. Professor Perry, in his *Origins of Williamstown*, states that he had talked with a lifelong resident of Hatfield, then ninety years of age, who declared: "There used to be a college here and I have seen it."

While there is no direct evidence as to the authorship of the charter, it seems probable that it was the work of William Smith (1728–1793), distinguished New York lawyer, jurist, and historian, the son of William Smith (1697–1769), Associate Justice of the New York Supreme Court. There was a close friendship between Smith and Israel Williams, probably arising from the fact that Mrs. Smith was the widow of Israel Williams' half-brother Elisha, the fourth rector of Yale. Williams would, therefore, have naturally turned to Smith for legal help.

After the charter was prepared, Smith came to the conclusion that "it was not good" in view of the powers that the King had granted to the General Court in the province charter, which included "full Power and Authority, from time to time, to Make, Ordain and Establish all manner of Wholesome and Reasonable Orders, Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, Directions and Instructions either with Penalties or without (so as the same be not Repugnant or Contrary to the Laws of this Our Realm of *England*) as they shall judge to be for the Good and Welfare of Our said Province or Territory. . . ." These powers do not specifically provide for corporations or college charters but seem sufficiently broad to cover both. Yet it may be questioned whether the power to authorize the granting of academic degrees could be included in a grant to a colonial legislature without the specific assent of the King, by whom, as head of the Church, such power had been inherited. Williams also submitted the question to Jeremiah Gridley, a leader of the Boston bar, who concurred with Smith that the power of granting a charter for the proposed college rested with the General Court.

It was, therefore, decided by the committee to present a petition to that body. It is described in the *Journal* of the House of Representatives as follows:

> A Memorial of a Number of the Inhabitants of the County of *Hampshire*, shewing, that there are a great Number of People in the County of *Hampshire*, and Places adjacent, disposed to promote Learning, and by Reason of their great Distance from the Colleges, and the great Expence of their Education there, many of good natural Genius, are prevented a liberal Education, and a large Country filling up at the Northwest of them, which will need a great Number of Men of Letters; they therefore pray for an Act of the Government constituting a Corporation with Power to receive Monies and improve them for

setting up a Seminary for Learning; and that a Charter may be granted to the Corporation for the said Seminary, enduing it with Power to manage all the Affairs relative to the same, and confer the Honours of Learning upon the Students of the same when qualified therefor.

The petition was signed by Stephen Williams and others.[1]

So Israel Williams took with him the charter and the memorial when he went to Boston, where he arrived in time to attend the meeting of the Council on January 18, 1762, and very quickly sought an interview with Governor Bernard. About this he writes in a letter to Mr. Smith:

When I went to Court[2] soon after, I waited upon Govr. Bernard, and let him know our design, your opinion and that Mr. Gridley was of the same. He freely and fully went into a Consideration of the affair, and express'd himself entirely pleas'd with the proposal, and offer'd sundry things for consideration, that he apprehended wou'd make the design of a School more extensively useful, not only then but frequently afterwards; but as to the Charter, he was of opinion he had a right to give one as the King's Representative, and it was a royal right reserv'd in the Crown, which by the Charter [of the province] the King had never given away. However, as he was unacquainted with the reasons upon which you grounded your opinion, he could give no answer; but if we inclin'd to pursue the method you had propos'd, and the two houses pass'd an Act of Incorporation, he wou'd give his Assent; yet should besides give us a Charter that should lead, and said that might serve us, shou'd that Chart[er] be disapproved by the King. . . . After all, his Excellency offer'd to give us a Charter; which he did in the words of that sent to Sir Jeffery, except the power of conferring the honors of Learning and the reservation, and the reason why the former was not in, was because we did not then incline to consent to the reservation with a further view to make it go down the easier.[3]

This was evidently written after the negotiations with Sir Jeffery Amherst noted below.

Accordingly, the petition was introduced in the House of Representatives on Friday, January 29, 1762, and was referred to a committee of seven. On February 20 the committee reported, and the following appears in the House *Journal:*

The Committee appointed to take under Consideration the Petition of Mr. *Stephen Williams* and others, relative to the erecting of a College in the County of *Hampshire*, made Report. Read and accepted, and

Ordered, That the Prayer of the Petition be so far granted, as that the Pe-

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[1] *Journal of the House of Representatives* (1761–1762), 212.

[2] Williams was at this time a member of the Council.

[3] Israel Williams Papers, II. 181.

> titioners have Liberty to bring in a Bill for the Purposes in the Petition mentioned.
>
> Sent up for Concurrence.[1]

No action on this report appears in the Journal of the Council. Apparently losing patience, the House, on February 17, sent up a messenger to request that the petition be sent down to them, which was done.[2]

On February 19 the bill was introduced in the House and read the first time. On the twenty-fourth it was read the second and the third time, passed to be engrossed, and sent up to the Council for concurrence.[3] This success in passing the House has been attributed by some to the desire of some friends of Harvard to conciliate the western members in order to obtain in return their votes for a proposed new dormitory for Harvard, they knowing that the Council would defeat the measure, since all the members of that body were, ex officiis, members of the Board of Overseers. It has also been stated that even in the East there was dissatisfaction with the religious atmosphere of Harvard.

On the same day, Wednesday, February 24, the Council Journal records the following action:

> A bill entituled "An act for incorporating a Society for the founding and regulating an Academy in the western part of the Province" having passed the House of Representatives to be Engrossed: *In Council:* Read a first time and the question being put "Whether this Bill have a second reading." It passed in the negative.[4]

No sooner was this action taken than it was noised about that the Governor intended to issue a charter himself, and on the following day, some of the Board of Overseers of Harvard, said to have been the ministers, waited upon him and urged him to take no action until the Overseers should have held a meeting.[5] Meanwhile, however, Bernard must already have signed the charter and given it to Israel Williams, for the latter writes: "As we were coming out of Town that day, I gave back the Charter. This was fryday."[6] Obviously the Governor had been persuaded to retrieve the charter.

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[1] *Journal of the House of Representatives* (1761–1762), 239.

[2] *Ibid.*, 246.

[3] *Ibid.*, 276.

[4] Journal of the Council, 1761–1764 (MS., Massachusetts Archives), 289.

[5] Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 106.

[6] Israel Williams Papers, II. 181.

His next step was to call a meeting of the Board of Overseers for Monday, March 8.

Two days before that scheduled meeting the following order was introduced into the House of Representatives:

> *Ordered*, That Mr. *Otis*, Mr. *Bradbury*, General *Winslow*, Mr. *Hall*, and Mr. *Cushing*, with such as the honourable Board shall join, be a Committee to wait upon his Excellency, to desire him to inform them, Whether he has delivered the Charter for *Hampshire* College; and if not, to desire him not to deliver it till the next Session.
>
> Sent up for Concurrence.[1]

This was carried and was the first vote in the House opposing the charter. It was not, as is sometimes stated, a repeal of their vote to engross the bill, though it represented a hostile sentiment. Of this Williams writes:

> But on Saturday before [March 6], just as the Assembly broke up, after the members were Generally withdrawn, young Otis [James Otis, Jr.] told the house what the Governor had done, and complain'd of it as an Infraction upon the Constitution, and by his Clamour perswaded 28, not one third of the house when together[2] tho the majority of those present, to vote to desire the Governor not to give us a Charter at present, if he had not done it. . . .[3]

Much credit for this vote in the House seems to have been given to the eloquence of James Otis, and he was appointed chairman of the committee. If, however, the attendance had shrunk to twenty-eight, it may be assumed that these would have been members living in and near Boston and consequently more favorable to Harvard, since, in view of the prorogation on that very day, those living at a distance would already have left for home so as not to travel on Sunday. The Council took no action, and because of the prorogation the order was not carried out.

On Monday, March 8, the Board of Overseers met in the Council Chamber. There were present the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor of the province, twelve of the twenty-eight members of the Council, the President of the college, the six ministers from Boston, and the minister from Roxbury. The ministers from Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, and Dorchester were absent.

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[1] *Journal of the House of Representatives* (1761–1762), 297.

[2] At the opening session of the General Court on May 27, 1761, the total number of representatives qualified was 125; there were 48 towns unrepresented.

[3] Israel Williams Papers, II. 181.

Bernard laid before the board the proposed charter for the new college, upon which they came to the following vote:

> Whereas upon the application of divers persons His Excellency Governor Bernard has prepared a Charter for the establishment of a College or collegiate school in the County of Hampshire and whereas this Board (notwithstanding his Excellency's apprehension which he has been pleased to express to the board of the force and effect of the said charter) are of opinion that the establishment of another College tho' only as a Collegiate School within this Province will be greatly prejudicial to Harvard College of which they are Overseers. Therefore
>
> *Voted* That His Excellency the Governor be requested, and He is humbly requested not to grant the said Charter, and that Brigr. Genl. Brattle, Mr. Bowdoin, Col. Sparhawk, Dr. Chauncy and Mr. Eliot be a Committee to wait upon His Excellency with a copy of this vote.[1]

The Overseers also decided to appoint a committee to draw up a statement of their objections. This was a prolonged meeting, and that it was a stormy one is shown by a statement to Williams by the Governor: ". . . he told me that many hard things pass'd; he was insulted by some of the ministers, as also the Lieutenant Governor, Secretary, and some few others who were friendly to our design."[2]

Another account of this meeting is given by Oxenbridge Thacher, a prominent lawyer but not an Overseer, in a letter to his friend, Benjamin Prat, formerly of Boston but now Chief Justice of the province of New York:

> What occasions the most gaping of late (we are not awake enough to speak) is a charter for a new college in the County of Hampshire. The monarch of the County (you know it was always under regal government) took great offence at his son's being placed some years ago something lower in a class at our college than befitted the Son of a King. He therefore and his privy council came down the last Sessions prepared with a pet[iti]on to incorporate a college in the county which they modestly said was all they desired. They wanted no money from the government to support it. A bill passed in the house for this purpose but was rejected at the board. In this situation the governor granted a charter himself by his own single authority. This alarmed both houses. They chose a committee to wait on the governor to desire he would recall the charter. At last the overseers of our college waked enough to have a meeting on the subject. There it was that your old friend Summa[3] was put to his trumps. You know he is the idol of the clergy. You know also that he is in a strict alliance offensive and defensive

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[1] Records of the Board of Overseers, MS., Harvard University Archives.

[2] Israel Williams Papers, II. 181.

[3] "Summa" probably refers to Thomas Hutchinson, then both Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature. He was a close friend of Israel Williams, both having graduated from Harvard in 1727.

with the monarch of H. and his dominions. The only card he had to play was to delay the question. This he played pretty dextrously. He magnified the abilities and the interest of the Hampshire members intimated it would be dangerous to offend them suggested that measures should be taken to quiet them and perswade them to give up. In vain for at three oclock (to which time from ten oclock the governor and Summa had prolonged the debate) it was voted to choose a committee to prepare reasons against the said college. This was accordingly done the remonstrance prepared and preferred to the governor and he has given a gracious answer promising to vacate the charter and I believe he will keep his word for your honest old friend Lyman[1] assures us the project is as much disliked in Hampshire as it is here. Thus the remonstrances of his proper subjects may reach the ear of the monarch and he may give leave to the governor to keep his word.[2]

The Overseers met again on March 18 with four of the Councillors among those present. The committee appointed to meet the Governor reported that the Governor said he would take under consideration the Overseers' request that the proposed charter be not granted. The committee appointed to draw up a statement of their objections submitted their report, which was largely formulated by the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew. It was a lengthy document containing twenty-four arguments.[3] The substance of the remonstrance can, however, be briefly stated. Harvard College had been founded by the government, and its powers and privileges had been confirmed by the province charter. It was not proper, therefore, for the government to lessen these privileges. Furthermore, a second college was not needed, and if it were established, it would compete with Harvard College in respect to both students, gifts, and bequests. The result would be two weak colleges, each unable to maintain the education that was needed for the preparation of civil servants and ministers. In some respects the new college would have superior powers, and if there were any inferior powers at the outset, they could be amended in the course of time. While it might be possible to educate more students with two colleges, their preparation would be less good. There had been no complaint as to the care the Overseers had given, and they had been happy in their close relation to the government. In closing, the Overseers urged the Governor not to issue the charter and not to facilitate an application elsewhere for such a charter.

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[1] Phineas Lyman, a Northampton lawyer.

[2] 1 *Proceedings*, xx. 47–48.

[3] The text is printed in Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 464–475.

By the reference to the superior powers in the new charter was probably meant the fact that the new college was to be allowed to hold property up to an annual income of one thousand pounds, while Harvard was limited to five hundred pounds. Possibly the proposed form of government was also regarded as more liberal. The mention of inferior powers was an allusion to the fact that the amended charter had omitted the right of giving degrees.[1] Another paragraph in the remonstrance is of interest as reflecting an apparent dispute in the Overseers' meeting:

> With the validity or legality of which charter, supposing it actually to issue, we do not now concern ourselves; being very sensible, as your Excellency intimated to us on a late occasion, that whatever our thoughts may be as to that point, it does not belong to us as Overseers of the College to declare them, or to dispute your Excellency's authority to grant charters.

This remonstrance was unanimously adopted by the Overseers.[2] At a meeting held on April 1, the following letter was received from the Governor:

> To the Honorable and Reverend Board of Overseers of Harvard College in Cambridge
>
> GENTLEMEN,
>
> I find that my Intention of granting a Charter for incorporating a Collegiate School in Hampshire has been subject to two objections: 1. That being the first Instance in this Province for granting a Charter of Incorporation, it may be suspected of being an Infringement of the rights of the people; 2. That the incorporating of this Society will in its consequences be prejudicial to the College at Cambridge.
>
> The first of these propositions you very properly decline to argue upon. Nevertheless I will take this opportunity to declare that, as it has never been my intention, either in this or any other instance, to exercise the royal prerogative to the prejudice of the rights of the people, so I shall always avoid the unnecessary exercise of such royal rights as I shall find to be disagreable to the people.
>
> As to the second proposition, you do me Justice in declaring your belief that it was far from my intention to do a real prejudice to Harvard College. My repeated declarations and some proceedings in consequence thereof ought to exempt me from even a suspicion of such a charge. But I can go further, my intention was not only just to the rights of the College, but as far as public duty would permit, partial to its Int'rests.

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[1] It may be noted that the Harvard charter of 1650 made no reference to the power of granting degrees. It seems to have been then assumed as an inherent power of a college. Nevertheless, in the five proposed revised Harvard charters of 1692–1700, none of which became operative, this degree-giving authority was specifically mentioned.

[2] Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 110.

> But whatever my Sentiments on this Subject have been, whatever they are, I think I may now be permitted to withdraw myself from a business, in which I trusted to my disinterest[ed]ness and uprightness as sufficient to secure my conduct from all exception. I therefore shall suspend the issuing of the Charter and I shall not assist any applications for a like Charter elsewhere.
>
> FRA. BERNARD[1]
>
> *Province House*
> *Mar: 31, 1762*

A committee to carry out the Governor's suggestion—"to guard against the influence of any application that may be made at Home by the Hampshire Petitioners, for a Charter from Home or elsewhere"—was thereupon appointed, who sent a letter which they had formulated, together with a copy of the remonstrance, to several influential friends in England. In this letter they doubted the power of the Governor to grant any charter. They doubted if it rested indelegably in the King. They replied to the insinuation that the authorities of Harvard College neglected to propagate orthodox principles of religion and vital piety, and stated that they thought "this insinuation . . . very injurious, not only to the immediate governors and Corporation of our College, but to the board of Overseers."[2] The fact that the remonstrance and this letter were drafted by Mayhew and approved by Charles Chauncy was ground enough to question the theology of the college.

On April 6 Dr. Mayhew wrote to Thomas Hollis, the generous friend of Harvard, explaining the danger to the college in the establishment of a second college and intimating that the support of Harvard's friends in England might be necessary to oppose an application to the Crown from the Hampshire petitioners. Dr. Mayhew's letter also contained another subject: the danger of having a bishop.

> We are apprehensive, Sir, that there is a scheme forming for sending a bishop into these parts; and that our g—rn—r, Mr. B——d, a true churchman, is deep in the plot. This gives us a good deal of uneasiness, as we think it will be of bad consequence, at the same time that we are much at a loss, how or in what manner to make opposition to it. If you should happen to hear it discoursed of, I believe I may assure you, that you could not do the body of the people in New England a more essential service, or lay them under stronger obligations, than by using your influence in such ways as may appear proper to you to prevent this project's taking effect.[3]

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[1] Records of the Board of Overseers.

[2] Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 476.

[3] Francis Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (London, 1780), I. 159.

Hollis' answer of July 28, 1762, was as follows:

> The scheme of sending bishops into your, and other parts of the British colonies, has been long talked of, and is not unlikely, some time or other, to take place. I do not think however that it will be attempted at present; but whenever it is, and succeeds, shall be heartily concerned at it.
>
> The properest person that I know of to manage an opposition to such a scheme is Mr. Jasper Mauduit, who is a worthy and active gentleman, has been for some years, especially since Dr. Avery's decline, a leader among the dissenters, and in connection with people in power; and now, I apprehend, is likewise agent for your province.
>
> He is also, for reasons before assigned, the likeliest to traverse with efficacy any application that may be made here at home for granting a charter for the erection of a new college in your province; an application which, should it succede, would not only be prejudicial to Harvard College, and the general interest of learning amongst you, but throw you again, by degrees, it is probable, with the other, into those self-same confusions that your ancestors felt once here at home, and magnanimously got rid of, by seeking out the woods of America. . . .
>
> Know then that I have long declined all public business, or the taking charges or leads of any kind.
>
> That my whole time is filled up, as an uncharged, undistinguished individual of large societies, or in certain more private studies and pursuits.
>
> Likewise that I . . . am thinking seriously in what manner, by degrees, to withdraw into the country, so as to settle there.[1]

In his *Memoirs*, Hollis comments on the situation as follows:

> These letters suggest some reflections on what has since happened in the colonies, and on the probable causes of those discontents which have had consequences by no means convenient to either England or America.
>
> Governor B——rd is said to have been an officer in an ecclesiastical court before his appointment to the government of the Massachusetts. On this view of his qualifications for government, it is natural enough to suppose, he might have a predilection for episcopal jurisdiction and episcopal discipline; and that he might endeavour to promote the designs of archbishop Secker and others, of establishing bishops in America, with alacrity. The proofs however of his immediately coöperating on this plan are not so clear as the evidence that he granted a charter for the foundation of a new college, which might be, and certainly was, understood by the people of Boston, as a preparatory step to the grand project of subjecting them to episcopal authority; for it may be taken for granted, without having recourse to the terms of the charter itself (which by this time is far enough out of the way of examination), that governor B——rd would make no concessions of that kind, merely to accommodate the non-episcopalians of that province.
>
> Dr. Mayhew, as we have seen, made it a question, whether the governor of the province did not excede his commission in expediting a charter of this kind,

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[1] *Ibid.*, 161–162.

> by his own authority; and every one who has made himself acquainted with the governor's answers to some other applications to him from the colonists, will perhaps be of opinion, that his excellency would hardly have suppressed this charter if he himself had not had some doubts of the same sort.[1]

It is hard to conceive that the Calvinist dissenters of Hampshire would, even for the sake of a college, accept the overlordship of the Church of England, whatever might have been the disposition of the Governor.

The General Court reassembled on March 31, and on April 16 the House reissued its order of March 6, but now definitely inquiring whether the Governor intended to grant the charter.

> *Ordered*, That Mr. *Tyler*, Capt. *Howard*, Col. *Bowers*, Col. *Gerrish*, and Capt. *Brown* of *Abington*, with such as the honourable Board shall join, be a Committee to wait upon his Excellency the Governor, to know his Determination with Respect to the issuing a Charter for the establishing a College in the County of *Hampshire*.[2]

The Council concurred in the action taken by the House and appointed Benjamin Lynde, William Brattle, James Bowdoin, and Thomas Flucker as its members on the joint committee. The committee's report was as follows:

> The Committee have attended the within service and received the following answer from his Excellency the Governor thereto, namely, that his Excellency did not intend to issue a Charter for the Erecting a College in the County of Hampshire.
>
> April 17, 1762 BENJAMIN LYNDE Per order[3]

This ended the legislative history of the movement.

In accordance with the Governor's suggestion the trustees named in the charter met on the date appointed therein for the organization meeting (March 17, 1762), and probably held other meetings for considering the curriculum and rules of the college. It is said that a number of students even began their preparation for entering the new institution.

Of the Governor's position, Mr. Williams writes:

> . . . his Excellency (being overaw'd, as I apprehend) promis'd to keep it back; and having been . . . much threatned (tho in his opinion not alter'd as to the utility of the design) has been afraid to redeliver the Charter, fearing it might occasion

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[1] Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 163–164.

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives* (1761–1762), 308.

[3] Journal of the Council, 1761–1764, 339.

> him trouble; and has gone so far in his panick, as to promise the overseers not to sollicite a Royal Charter, which they greatly fear'd he wou'd, from what he publickly declar'd in favour of the Scheme. He thinks himself oblig'd by his promise, tho' he has since told me, that if the affair opens in England, and he shou'd be called to give an account of the part he has acted, he will make a full representation of the Affair, justify his conduct, and to his utmost promote the design with the ministry.[1]

What should be said of Governor Bernard in his relation to this controversy? He undoubtedly wished the institution to be established. He would have been its royal visitor, and it would have been a memorial of his devotion to the cause of higher learning. It would have been a satisfaction to outwit the General Court, but, on the other hand, he could not afford to quarrel with them. It would not look well to the home authorities if he could not get along with the provincial legislators. Moreover, his salary depended upon their good will. He had thus far succeeded in gaining their approval, which they had shown by granting him the island of Mt. Desert.[2] He was a politician and, like all politicians, was inclined to accept a compromise and yield to the stronger interests, although in this case his share in the exchange of values seems rather insignificant. The applause of the eastern communities as well as that of Harvard College certainly had great weight in comparison with that of the farmers on the frontier. To suggest that he had an interest in the movement as a means of furthering the authority of the Church of England certainly seems far-fetched.

The Hampshire petitioners, as well as the Harvard College faction, had their hopes of securing favorable action in England. Their last concerted effort was an attempt late in 1762 to obtain the assistance of General Sir Jeffery Amherst, who, after a successful military campaign in which he had obtained Canada for England, was about to return home. There he might well be hailed as a great military hero and as such could exert strong influence with the government—an expectation which was largely unrealized.[3] It was decided to send the Reverend Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield to New York to lay the matter before Amherst. He was provided with a letter of introduction from Israel Williams, who had served with the General, and with a formal petition to the King.[1] This petition began with a description of Hampshire's afflictions from Indian depredations, from which they had suffered the capture of their women and children, and in which they had poured out their blood like water. Now that peace had come, the district was filling up with inhabitants who would be in danger of growing up barbarous and uncivilized unless furnished with men of learning to serve them in a civil and religious character, and because of the distance of the existing college a sufficient number of men of letters could not be obtained. There had appeared the possibility of considerable donations to lay the foundations of a new collegiate school, and much more would be contributed if it were established. Many of not great fortune would prepare themselves to preach Christianity to the Indians, whereby the Redeemer's kingdom would be enlarged and the savages would be attached to His Majesty's government. It was probable that the children of the Indians would be trained in this school. The petition then asks for a charter incorporating a college to be called Queen's College and including the usual financial provisions and the power of granting the honors of learning.

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[1] Israel Williams Papers, II. 181.

[2] The grant was not confirmed in England. *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, Edward Channing and Archibald C. Coolidge, Editors (Cambridge, 1912), 50, 221; William O. Sawtelle, "Sir Francis Bernard and His Grant of Mount Desert," *Publications*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XXIV. 197–254.

[3] For the connection with General Amherst and the related correspondence, see John C. Long, *Lord Jeffery Amherst* (New York, 1933), Chapter XIV. Photostats of the original letters are in the Amherst College Library.

Williams, in his letter of introduction to Amherst, writes:

> Our meanness as well as our Situation forbids our approaching the throne but by others. By your Excellency's powerful Application, considering your just right to favours, cou'd you, Sir, be prevail'd with to Interest your Self in our behalf, we don't doubt of Success. . . . Mr. Ashley will lay our Petition to his Majesty before you, and fully open the whole we have in view.
>
> We submit the affair to your Excellency's wise consideration and if you judge it advisable to pursue it, we humbly ask your Patronage and favorable Interposition for retaining the King's Letters Patent to enable to carry the design into Execution.

Ashley set out on his wintry journey and on the day before Christmas, 1762, had reached Norwalk, Connecticut, where he learned that smallpox had broken out in New York and on the road thither. He prudently decided to send on his documents by a reliable messenger, one Lieutenant Taylor, accompanying them with an explanatory letter. These reached General Amherst, who might have undertaken the mission except for the fact that he did not desire to have any quarrel with the Massachusetts government which would cloud his reputation in England. He accordingly replied in an amiable letter:

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[1] A draft of this petition, preserved in the Israel Williams Papers, is printed below, 77–79.

> The design appears to me to be a very laudible one, and I should gladly grant the request of Mr. Williams, by transmitting the petition to the King's Ministers, to be laid before His Majesty, but that I think the application should first come through the Governor of the province. This I have told Mr. Williams, in the enclosed letter, which I beg you will deliver to him; I have only to repeat that as I really think there cannot be too much encouragement given to promote literature in this country, it will give me the greatest pleasure to have it in my power to be any ways instrumental in procuring the royal charter prayed for in the petition when it comes from the Governor and Council of the province which appears to me to be the proper channel.

It is somewhat ironical that had General Amherst acceded to Parson Ashley's request, and had he succeeded in inducing the English ministry to grant the charter, there would have been no famous college and no popular college song to immortalize his memory in this country, but only an obscure country town to which his friend, Governor Pownall, had attached his name, though even this may have been more than he received in England. He builded better than he knew.

The failure to secure Amherst's coöperation did not, however, discourage the promoters of the new college from seeking the interest of individuals in England. Israel Williams wrote to William Smith:

> . . . the Board of Overseers . . . have . . . already written their friends in England, to use their Interest to defeat any application to the Throne, and say they have got a promise. We have this to comfort us, that we have the greatest part of the good People of this Province, and many others with us. Perhaps we have not yet hit on the right way, of which I am so far satisfyed, as to referr the whole to your and Mrs. Smiths conduct; desiring your Interest, with your friends and such Persons as you think proper to apply to, in England, for obtaining a Royal Charter. . . . I have sent another Paper to his Majesty, and leave it with you to amend and enlarge the Charter as you judge best. In the meantime, if you can devise any method that we may proceed with safety, I begg the favour of a draft under your hand, which will satisfy all, that their money is safely deposited, and keep life in the design, and encourage our begun School.[1]

It is probably as a response to this that one can account for an unsigned document in the papers of Israel Williams which appears to be a fragment of an Englishman's letter book. The writer speaks of a visit from Mr. Smith and states that he had spent the whole day and evening of Thursday, July 14, 1763, writing letters in behalf of the proposed college.

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[1] Israel Williams Papers, II. 181.

I find you wrote to Messrs. *Crisp*, *De Bards* [De Berdt] and *Sparrow* on this Head, and you desired me to write to them also and that forthwith. I have accordingly wrote to all these Gentlemen. Distinctly have given each one of them a fair state of the Case have given them my Reasons for espousing this Plan told them in what views it appeared to me important, have warmly pressed their having an immediate interview, and pleaded earnestly that they will lay the matter to Heart and unite their Councels—that they will act with Vigour and Speed, and if possible concert measures whereby the *Petition* may fairly and favourably be laid before the *King*. I have told them of the opposition made to it, and from what Quarter, and the little narrow spirited selfish motives on which the opposers act—that we fear those opposers may carry their influence into *Great Britain* and by misrepresentations prejudice some against this Plan—that we most of all fear lest *Dr. Chandler* should be prejudiced, that therefore the sooner any steps are taken the better etc. etc. To Mr. *De Berds* I have added a long postscript . . . in which I have told him the full case, and that at Bottom the opposition arises from a dislike to the great and Glorious Doctrine of the Gospel of Jesus which by the Generality in the opposition are by no means relish'd but the Contrary. I have sent the Copy of *Col. Israel Williams Letter* to *Mr. Smith* also the copy of *Sir Jeffrey Amherst* to ditto. Also the Copy of *Col. Partridges* Letter to ditto, and the Copy of the Petition to *his Majesty* to Mr. *De Berds* Care to be communicated as he sees proper.

Above all I have wrote to *Dr. Chandler* told him the Case very fairly. That the *gentlemen and ministers* concern'd in endeavouring to procure this *Charter* are among the *first Rate* for figure, Wisdom, Piety and unfeigned Loyalty in all the *New England Provinces*. That their motives are *Necessity Publick Spiritedness* and a *disinterested Zeal* for the cause of *Jesus Christ*. That the *necessity* appears from their distance from *Yale* and *Harvard Colleges*, from the dearness and great expences to be incurred in those *Seminaries* in training up their youth, which is a Bar that undoubtedly must hinder some from sending their youth, that according to the present Plan this difficulty would be removed. That it is no party matter by which the Gentlemen in *Hampshire County* are influenc'd, but by a noble *benevolent* Compassionate View to promote the best Interest of their fellow Creatures. That on account of situation with Regard to the *Indians of the Six Nations* and on account of the Knowledge the *Hampshire Gentlemen* have of the State and Temper and Interest of the *Indians*, and on account of their having an inclination and disposition to attend to those poor people in order to advance them in usefull Knowledge for both Worlds. In fine, That such is the bad state of *Harvard College* with regard to the Care of youth, and such its degeneracy and departure from what it was, that the more wise pious and considerate could not be satisfied at all to send their youth thither etc. These and such like I told *Dr. Chandler* were the motives that induc'd the *Gentlemen and Ministers* in and about *Hampshire County* to go into a Plan for *Erecting a College* among themselves, and the rather as by our late Conquests and vast increase of Territory such a College will be very necessary, and may become a means not only to furnish new Settlements with opportunity of training up their youth in Loyalty Learning and Piety, but also of supplying the Churches, likely to multiply with good *ministers.* I told the Doctor what opposition was made from what motives, from what persons (Trustees Harwood [*sic*] College) that it was manag'd by the opposers with Violence Rancour and a very bad Spirit. That we were much affraid He (the Doctor) should be hurt by false Representation from some in and about *Boston* for which reason I chose to give him a full and early account of the Case, and had desir'd Mr. *De Berdt* to lay the Copies of Petitions and Letters before him. I added that the opposers alledg'd that this scheme if it went on would ruin *Harwood College.* I told the Doctor in answer to this that it might probably be a Stimulus to that *College* to greater care diligence and Piety and to make it answer the Ends of a Collegiate Institution and thereby recover it to its former Reputation, in which case I apprehended there would be Room and Employment both for *Harwood and Hampshire Colleges.* I wrote a long letter to the Doctor in which were these things and many more. I was not satisfied to have the *Doctor not an Enemy,* I wanted him to be our *Friend* and have press'd him warmly to undertake for us and become our advocate.[1]

An echo of this controversy appears in Chase's *History of Dartmouth College*, where he is describing the efforts of Eleazer Wheelock to find a new site for his school for Indians and to change the institution to a college:

> During the summer of 1768 several offers [of land for the college] came from western Massachusetts. . . . Governor Bernard, with Oliver Partridge and Elisha Jones and others, made offers in behalf of Pittsfield, and held up as an inducement the hope that Governor Bernard would "doubtless give a charter by order of the King." . . . To doubts intimated by Wheelock it was replied: "True, the commissioners in Boston, disappointed in their own scheme, oppose the school, and will do so if it be placed in New Hampshire, if they think it vies with Cambridge. But the greatest part of the people [of Massachusetts] want another college, as a check upon the extravagant demands made there." In proof of this was cited the almost unanimous vote of the House of Representatives in favor of establishing a college in Hampshire County.[2]

This is the last trace of the movement, but today Hampshire County—even in its diminished area—has a college for young men in Amherst, two colleges for young women, at Northampton and South Hadley, and an institution for both sexes in the Massachusetts State College, also at Amherst; so there can be little complaint that the local educational needs are not met. Meanwhile, Harvard had flourished, though it may well be that it had reached a stable and prosperous condition before it had to meet competition from the West.

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[1] Israel Williams Papers, II. 180.

[2] Frederick Chase, *A History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire* (Cambridge, 1891), I. 98.

Appendices

I

The Proposed Charter for Queen's College[1]

GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God, of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, KING, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To all to whom these presents shall come,
GREETING:

WHEREAS the prosperity and wellfare of a people greatly depend on the good Education of their youth, and our predecessors have therefore at all times given encouragement to the founding and endowing Colleges, Schools, and other Seminaries for training up and instructing young people in the principles of true Religon and Virtue, and in the improvement of Learning and Science, that, when they shall come to full age, they may become most useful members of the Commonwealth:

And Whereas Israel Williams, John Worthington, Oliver Partridge, Elijah Williams, Josiah Dwight, and Joseph Hawley, Esqrs., The Revd. Stephen Williams, David Parsons, Jonathan Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Hopkins and John Hooker, Ministers of the Gospel, Have, by their Petition, represented to us that the Counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and the Country thereto adjoining, having been lately greatly augmented and now increasing very fast, feel a most sensible inconvenience from their distance from the Colleges and Seminaries already erected and endowed in other parts of New England, by which means the Education of the Youth within the said Counties and the Country adjacent is become too difficult and expensive for the ability of an infant Country: Wherefore the said Petitioners have proposed to found and endow a College, or Collegiate School, within the said County of Hampshire, and therefore have humbly prayed that we would Graciously be pleased by our Letters Patent to incorporate them, with others to be joined with them, that they may be the better enabled to pursue such their intention:

We, being well disposed at all times and upon all occasions to give all possible encouragement to the advancement of true religion and the improvement of sound learning, and being particularly desirous that our extensive and increasing Dominions in North America may be well supplied with Schools and Seminaries for the education of youth, have been gratiously pleased to condescend to their request. And We have accordingly, of our meer motion, certain knowledge and special grace, given and granted, and by these presents we do give and grant unto the said Israel Williams, John Worthington, Oliver Partridge, Elijah Williams, Josiah Dwight, and Joseph Hawley, Stephen Williams, David Parsons, Jonathan Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Hopkins and John Hooker, and such others as shall be joined with them in manner hereinafter mentioned, that they be, and We hereby make and incorporate them, a Corporation or Body Politic, by the name of the President and Fellows of Queen's College in New England, to consist of a President and fourteen Fellows, (seven of which Fellows at least shall always be Laymen); to have perpetual succession, to have a Common Seal which they shall have power to alter or change at pleasure, to sue and be sued by the name aforsaid, to have and possess goods, chattles and personal estate, and to take the same either by bequest, gift or otherwise, To have and to hold Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, not exceeding the yearly value of one thousand pounds Sterling, to them and their successors; to take the same either by Devise, Gift, Purchase, or otherwise, and to sell and dispose of the same (unless otherwise ordered by the Devisors or Donors thereof) for the use and benefit of the said Corporation; also to choose a Register and Treasurer, and to have, use exercise and enjoy all rights, priviledges and immunities of a Corporation or body politic.

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[1] From the copy in the Israel Williams Papers, II. 178.

And we do give and grant unto the said Is. Williams, John Worthington, Oliver Partridge, Elijah Williams, Josiah Dwight, Joseph Hawley, Stephen Williams, David Parsons, Jonathan Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Hopkins, and John Hooker, that they shall and may meet on Wednesday, the seventeenth day of March next, and at the same or some future meeting choose two other persons to be fellows of the said College to make up the number fourteen: which said Israel Williams, John Worthington, Oliver Partridge, Elijah Williams, Josiah Dwight, Joseph Hawley, Stephen Williams, David Parsons, Jonathan Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Samuel Hopkins, and John Hooker, and the two other persons by them elected, shall be the first fellows of said College; and the said Fellows shall, immediately after the Completion of their Number, appoint a time and place for the Election of a President of the said College, and shall, at said time and place, elect a proper and fit person to be President of the said College, which person so elected shall be the first President of said College; and whenever any one of the Fellows shall be chosen President, the President and Fellows shall elect another Fellow to supply the vacancy, and in like manner, whenever the Place of President shall be vacant by death or cession, the Fellows shall elect another president; and when the place of a Fellow shall be vacant by death or cession, the President and Fellows shall elect another Fellow to compleat the number aforsaid.

And We do further give and grant unto the said President and Fellows and their Successors, that they shall and may found, erect, and maintain a College or Collegiate School in some convenient place in the County of Hampshire aforsaid; which shall be called Queen's College; and appoint a Master thereof, with such and so many Preceptors or Tutors as shall be proper for the Education of Youth in different branches of learning, and also such officers and servants as shall be thôt necessary for the management of the said College, and shall assign the said masters, preceptors, officers, and servants out of the revenues of the said College such several and respective Salaries and other Emoluments as shall be judged fitting and suitable to their several offices and employments.

And we do further give and grant to the said President and Fellows and their Successors, power to make Statutes, Laws and Ordinances, for the regulating, governing and management of the said College, and from time to time to alter and repeal the same, provided nine of the said Fellows do agree to and sign the same; provided also that they be not repugnant to the Laws of the Land: and we do further give and grant to the said President and Fellows and their Successors power from time to time to confer the Honors of learning to such persons as they shall judge qualified to receive the same.

And we do further grant that the said President and Fellows, or the major part of them, may meet from time to time at such place or places as they shall appoint; (Notice of such meetings to be given in such manner as they shall order and direct) and that at all such meetings the President, if present, and in his absence the Senior Fellow present, (if need be) shall have a Casting Voice in every Vote that shall be passed.

Provided also, and we do hereby reserve to us, our heirs and successors, the right of visitation of the said College, by our Governor of our Province of the Massachusets Bay for the time being.

In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, and the Seal of our Province of the Massachusetts Bay to be hereto affixed. Witness, Francis Bernard, Esqr. our Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over said Province, at Boston the 27 day of Febry. in the second year of our Reign, Annoque Domini, 1762.

II

Petition to George III for a Royal Charter for Queen's College[1]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty

May it please your Majesty—

WE your Majestys Loyal and dutiful Subjects of your Majestys Province of the Massachusets Bay living in the Northwesterly part thereof, begg leave humbly to represent: That for almost a Century past, The County of Hampshire has been open and expos'd to the Invasions and Depredations of our French and Indian Enemys; who by their frequent Incursions have greatly distress'd and impoverish'd us, kill'd great numbers of Inhabitants, and destroy'd much of their substance. Specially from the Cruel Savages instigated by our inveterate foes and have been in Jeopardy; kept in constant alarms by them, our blood pour'd out like water, and the Bodys of Men Women and Children massacr'd and butcher'd to Death given to be meat for the beasts of the Land: many captivated, undergoing greatest hardships and miseries, many of our Children, who were captivated, bred up in popish and pagan Ignorance, and inlargement never granted; but have become implacable enemies to your own friends. This has been our unhappy lot, and the miseries we have undergone in maintaining our Ground are inexpressible.

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[1] From the copy in the Israel Williams Papers, II. 179.

We now sensibly feel our Enlargement and Security which our Ancestors long'd, wish'd and pray'd for, but never saw; and with grateful hearts acknowlege it to the Supreem Governour of the World, who has, by a Series of Successes granted the British Army, bro't low the common Enemy, and exalted Great Brittain in the Sight of the Nations, and plac'd your Majesty in the highest place of power, because he delighted to bless it.

We begg leave further to represent to your most gracious Majesty, That since the reduction of Canada to the British Government your Majestys infant plantations around us in the Western parts of the Province of the Massachusets Bay and New Hampshire are filling with Inhabitants and a large Extent of the Country is likely soon to be peopled under your Majestys auspicious Reign, who will be in danger of growing up barbarous and uncivilized, unless furnish'd with men of learning to serve 'em in a civil and religious Character; and we humbly apprehend its not probable, considering the Distance these places are from the Schools of Literature in the Land, (more than one hundred miles) that an equal number of men of Letters to the demand, can be obtain'd for the aforesaid purposes: and being desirous to train up some of our youth in good Literature (having now the agreable prospect of Security and Serviceableness) should gladly in this Way testify our Gratitude to our King and to the King of Kings, provided we could with any to us tolerable expense furnish 'em for publick Service. And we begg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that their has appeared of late a laudable disposition in many in the County of Hampshire and elsewhere in this and in other of your Majestys Colonys, by considerable Donations to lay a foundation for a Collegiate School near the Center of the said County, for promoting good Literature, provided such a School was well founded, and had the favour of Government, and the security and protection of Law. * And further we humbly apprehend that many other valuable ends would be answered besides those mention'd by such a School. One we begg leave to mention, viz.—the probability of many persons being at this School, who are not of great fortunes, that from their proximity and other worthy motives would chearfully spend their Time in preaching and propagating Christianity amongst the Indians, especially the Six Nations, whereby the Redeemers Kingdom, it is hop'd, would be promoted and enlarg'd and they more firmly attach'd to your Majesty's Government.

We therefore humbly for ourselves and others pray, that your Majesty, from your pious disposition to promote religion and Literature, would be most graciously pleas'd, of your royal bounty, Grace and Goodness, by your Majestys Royal Charter, to create a suitable number of Persons a body politick or corporate to take and to receive gifts and bequests, and hold in succession; with full

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* Here a word or two was added to show that this design if executed must afford the best prospects, of any thing of this kind, of serving the Redeemer's kingdom, and multiplying his majesty's faithful Subjects, as it is more likely such will be educated here than at the other Colleges who will be willing to spend their lives among the Indians in order to civilize and Christianize them; and as it is more likely also the Indian Children would be sent here than to other public schools—and what immediately follows was omitted, else the Petition went as it now appears.

power to erect buildings and Edifices for the reception and Entertainment of youth in such place in the County of Hampshire as shall hereafter be tho't most convenient; and also with power to regulate and manage, at all times, the affairs of the said *Collegiate School,* and that your Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to give it the name of Queens College, and also that the Governors of said College may be authoriz'd to conferr the honors of Learning upon all such as they Judge Quallify'd therefor.

And as in duty we shall always pray God to bless your Majestys Person our Gracious Queen your Majestys royal Issue, and the whole royal family, that your Reign may be long and prosperous, and late received to an Immortal Crown and Glory.

General Haldimand in Boston

1774–1775

By Allen French

This paper is a by-product of my studies of the Revolution, a glimpse of a man who for some eight months trod the streets of Boston in its most exciting period. He belonged to a class almost unknown in American history, though well enough known elsewhere and in earlier epochs; for he was a mercenary. Such, too, were the luckless Hessians of the Revolution, serving, or rather sold, for pay. Haldimand was a Swiss, and in his day the surplus man power of his little country often served voluntarily as mercenaries. Before coming to America Haldimand had served Prussia and Holland and England for pay. But he was trustworthy, never changed sides in wartime, and eventually became a British subject. Nevertheless he left the Dutch service and came to America wholly because he was paid to do so.

Here he attained to considerable distinction. He came to his regiment as lieutenant colonel when the rule was that no foreigner might rise higher than that rank.[1] Whether the rule referred to rank in the regiment only is not clear; but Haldimand rose to be a general in the British army, and for one period to be commander in chief in America. For several years he was governor general of Canada. He was capable and honest, a firm disciplinarian, not afraid of mobs, strong for the Crown. It was perhaps the good fortune of America that he never had a chance to show his real military capacity. Certainly he could not have done much worse than Gage or Howe, Clinton or Cornwallis. It was as administrator that Haldimand did most, particularly in holding together disturbed Canada in the late years of the Revolution and into 1784. After the war he was instrumental in repatriating American prisoners of war;[2] and it was he who conducted the negotiations that almost drew Vermont away from the Union.

Though Haldimand was such a man, and though he has even the distinction of a biography of his own,[3] he does not occupy much space in written history. While Appletons' *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, in 1887, gave him a brief notice, the *Dictionary of American Biography* does not include him. He is, of course, in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, as well as in the history of his regiment. Yet Justin H. Smith, in *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony*, while mentioning Haldimand, does not accord him the honor of one of his picturesque descriptions.

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[1] Lewis Butler, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps* (London, 1917), 17.

[2] Haldimand to Philip Schuyler, July 1, 1783. Norcross MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] Jean N. McIlwraith, *Sir Frederick Haldimand* (Toronto, 1906).

The secret of this neglect probably lies in the fact that Haldimand was called upon to play a passive rather than an active part. He was always overshadowed by someone else. Coming with Henry Bouquet to exactly similar rank in the organization of his regiment, not he but Bouquet attained fame. Bouquet and not Haldimand is admitted into the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Haldimand was almost co-commander in chief with Gage, yet it is the latter who is known. Even what Haldimand did in Canada, where he stood by himself, is forgotten except by specialists. There is a tablet to him in Westminster Abbey—but so are there others to lesser men.

Particularly is his Boston period neglected. None of the briefer biographers even mentions it. It is given but the shortest space in his full-length biography. Haldimand appears but once in an actual history of Boston's most picturesque period, and only once more in any of the well-known American letters of the time. Truly he made a very slight impression here.

To go back to Haldimand's coming to America, the cause lies in Braddock's defeat. That crushing disgrace brought home to the British authorities the need of a corps which should understand the tactics of the Indians and be able to beat them at their own game. For that reason the Sixty-second Regiment of Foot was organized, which was almost immediately made the Sixtieth and honored by the title of the Royal Americans. The regiment appears in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* and exists today as the King's Royal Rifle Corps. While the enlisted men were colonists, chiefly from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, many of them were of foreign birth, Swiss or German, accustomed to the rifle. Indeed, it was probably their kind who brought that deadly weapon to America, for it was not of British origin. And perhaps it was because of the foreign birth of so many of the expected recruits that the army heads, instead of choosing as officers frontiersmen like Washington, selected Bouquet and Haldimand as heads of two of the battalions, adding to them perhaps a third of the lesser officers from among Swiss and Dutch officers serving in Holland, the remainder being English.

Haldimand came to America in June, 1754. Born in 1718, he was then almost thirty-six years of age. There is no portrait of him at this period. Those of later life show him as a man with a firm mouth but with sensitive, almost melancholy, eyes.[1] There are no descriptions of his personality.

At first he had trouble in recruiting and in dealing with the pacifist Quakers in Pennsylvania. Wherever he went, he served acceptably. He joined Abercromby's luckless expedition at that general's request, and was wounded in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758. He was well acquainted with General Gage and was long associated with him. He commanded at Fort Edward, Oswego, Ontario, and Three Rivers, as also at Montreal in the years following the fall of Quebec. Then he was sent to Florida to succeed to the command after the death of his friend Bouquet. Here Haldimand remained a dreary six years, from 1767 to 1773.

It was in the latter year that Gage was needed in England in order to inform the government of the unrest in America. By ordinary promotion Haldimand, then a "major-general in America," would have become commander in chief; but the fact that he was foreign-born stood so much in the way that an act of Parliament had to be passed to enable him to receive that dignity. It was passed in April, 1773,[2] and Gage, sailing for England, left Haldimand in his place in New York. Here Haldimand was in highest command for about a year; and even after Gage returned to resume his former post, in May, 1774, and to take up his residence in Boston (when not in Salem), he left Haldimand in command in New York.

For New York, as well as Boston, this was a stormy period. While Haldimand was in command, there occurred the burning of the governor's house, possibly incendiary, the New York destruction of the tea, the forming of committees and congresses. Of Haldimand's share in public actions, Wilbur C. Abbott, in his *New York in the American Revolution*, says exactly nothing. The truth seems to be that Haldimand kept himself wisely in the background. There was nothing for him to do, and therefore he did it. There was no such violence as in Boston, no new acts to enforce, no appeal made to him to intervene.

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[1] Portraits are in McIlwraith, *Sir Frederick Haldimand*, and in Butler, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*.

[2] Dartmouth to Gage, April 10, 1773. Gage MSS., William L. Clements Library.

Little is known of him at this period except from letters that passed between him and Gage. These relate chiefly to military matters. As troubles grew on him, Gage felt more and more the need of reinforcements. Though he had his four thousand men, he looked with desire on the regiments that were with Haldimand in New York. Haldimand had the Twenty-third Regiment, the Forty-seventh, part of the Eighteenth, and fragments of two companies of artillery. In July, 1774, Gage wrote Haldimand[1] asking for the artillery and, if it could be spared, the Twenty-third Regiment. To bring the troops, Gage had to send transports from Boston. The Twenty-third Regiment was sent in August, but in September there was still difficulty in getting New York shipping for the other forces. The Forty-seventh Regiment went on, and eventually Gage summoned Haldimand himself. I find no record of his arrival in Boston, but from late in the fall of 1774 until the middle of June, 1775, he resided there.

Here again he is all but incognito. It is known that he rented a house in School Street, the property of one Mrs. Apthorp,[2] though John Andrews speaks of it as the house of "Old Cook." Andrews it is, writing on January 29, 1775, to a friend in Philadelphia, who tells the famous story of the coasting boys of Boston. How many realize that Haldimand was one of the protagonists of the episode? By most, I venture to say, it is ascribed to Gage; but Gage, as will be seen, enters it only at the end. Samuel Adams Drake, in *Around the Hub* (86–87), tells the story entirely wrong.[3] Here is the story as Andrews related it:

> Shall close this by giving you a small anecdote, relating to some of our school lads—who as formerly in this season improv'd the Coast from Sherburn's hill down to School street. General Haldiman, improving the house that belongs to Old Cook, his servant took it upon him to cut up their coast and fling ashes upon it. The lads made a muster, and chose a committee to wait upon the General, who admitted them, and heard their complaint, which was couch'd in very genteel terms, complaining that their fathers before 'em had improv'd it as a coast

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[1] July 14, 1774. Gage MSS.

[2] That is, to judge by a letter of Francis Hutcheson to Haldimand, October 16, 1775. British Museum, Addit. MSS., 21680.

[3] Drake puts the scene on the Common and entirely eliminates Haldimand from the story.

> for time immemorial, etca. He order'd his servant to repair the damage, and acquainted the Governor [Gage] with the affair, who observ'd that it was impossible to beat the notion of Liberty out of the people, as it was rooted in 'em *from their Childhood.*[1]

Gage, whose remark has been quoted numberless times, to this day is considered the hero of the episode, quite to the ignoring of Haldimand, whose courtesy and consideration at least deserve remembering.

Apart from this anecdote, not printed until 1866, I find almost no mention of Haldimand in those stirring times. He appears but once in formal history, when William Gordon tells an anecdote which, again, only emphasizes his insignificance. Gage, it will be remembered, took every precaution that his plans to send an expedition to Concord on the nineteenth of April should remain secret. Apparently he took Lord Percy into his confidence only because Percy was to lead the relief expedition on the following day. But according to Gordon's story, Haldimand, though higher still than Percy in rank, in this important matter was not consulted at all. Gordon writes:

> The Cerberus arrived at Boston with the three generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. . . . They were astonished at the situation of affairs, and when in company with generals Gage and Haldiman, asked how the sortie happened. General Haldiman answered, "I knew nothing about it, till the barber came in to shave me, and said, that the troops were gone out and that they had been fighting. I did not choose that he should know that I got my information from him. I therefore called my footman, and sent him out upon a frivolous errand, well knowing, that if there was any truth in what the barber reported, he would bring me word of it, which he did. In this way I became acquainted with what had happened." The newly arrived generals declared their surprise in the significant looks which followed this relation from the second in command.[2]

How much truth there is in the story there is no knowing. If true, while illustrating Haldimand's experience and discretion and Gage's vain effort to keep his plan secret, it certainly also shows that Gage did not think it necessary to consult his junior.

But in spite of this demonstration of Haldimand's insignificance in Boston during his own time, it can be shown that he has an interest for us today. It lies in the fact that, like all the other generals of his period, he kept and accumulated every paper, official and unofficial, that had to do with his private and even his public life. Official papers of the sort are now considered to belong to the government; but in those days they were kept as private property. Due to this fact, Gage's and Clinton's papers, passing down in family possession, are now in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Howe's have disappeared; but Haldimand's, a great mass of them, made their way to the British Museum, where they are kept in the manuscript room, while copies are in Ottawa. Thus, while out of Haldimand's stay in Boston there emerges little of an official character, it is possible to reconstruct something of a more personal nature. Gage apparently kept no diary, Clinton's memoirs of the war are colorless; but Haldimand at various periods made memoranda, jottings which are very illuminating.

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[1] 1 *Proceedings*, VIII. 398–399. The tablet to the occasion in front of the Boston City Hall, marking the site of Haldimand's house, says (I do not know on what authority) that the boys were Latin School boys and quotes literally the last twenty-five words of Andrews' story.

[2] William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States* (New York, 1794), I. 340–341.

Unlike his Swiss friend, Bouquet, Haldimand never learned either to speak or to write English readily. This should have been for him a heavy professional handicap, except for his years spent in French Canada. He always wrote to Gage in French, which makes one more point in the latter's accomplishments; for Haldimand's French was bad, both in its faulty construction and in its phonetic spelling—so bad, in fact, that his meaning is often difficult to determine.

Among Haldimand's papers is the little notebook from which most of the subsequent quotations are taken. So far as I can discover, no one has ever studied it. It is a thin book with pages 6¼ by 4¼ inches, easily carried in the capacious side pockets of a military coat. Its notes, except for dates of his commissions and promotions and of his journey from Boston to London, seem to be confined entirely to the Boston period. They are jottings of fact, comment, gossip, and opinion, and throw an interesting light on military thought in Boston before and during the siege. Though not one entry is dated, some can be related to well-known conditions or events.[1]

Of my translations let me say that I have made them free and colloquial, without attempt to reproduce the flavor of the originals. The latter would be practically impossible, for misspellings and bad grammar do not readily translate. His manuscript must be considered as having the verb forms of the day, and as sometimes made puzzling by expressions not always easily translated literally.

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[1] The version of the notebook in the Canadian Archives is, according to the copy kindly supplied to me in typescript, quite defective, since some of its readings of Haldimand's handwriting are incorrect, and his punctuation and spelling are not accurately followed. Moreover, some of the pages, notably those of his dates and addresses, are not included at all.

On the first page Haldimand put down several general remarks on conditions in America, conclusions all based, apparently, on the opening words: "*Isaak Low me disoit. . . .*" Now Isaac Low was, before the outbreak of war, and even for a while after it, until he turned to the British, one of the figureheads of the American cause in New York, though always a moderate. The fact that Haldimand was acquainted with him and discussed politics with him shows the General doing exactly what Gage failed to do in Boston: learning the opinions of his adversaries. These were Low's opinions:

> Isaac Low said to me that things would not have gone so far if the act for closing the port of Boston had been conditional.
>
> If the act to transport and judge criminals [that is, political criminals] in England had been better explained.
>
> If one had put [here my translation is doubtful] a tax of six pence per pound on Dutch tea, one would have prevented smuggling and would have secured legal entrance of English tea.
>
> If General Gage had at the beginning arrested Adams and Hancock, he would have been able to assemble the courts to judge them and would have been authorized by the civil laws—and would have been able to punish them.

Such were the views of a New York moderate before the beginning of war. How correct they are it is hard to know; but all these theories, except perhaps that relating to tea, have been advanced by historians.

Probably before the war, Haldimand, like a good general, noted certain facts which would be important:

> There are ninety thousand persons in the Massachusetts above the age of twenty-one years who may vote in elections.
>
> The four governments [of New England] can furnish at least sixty thousand men and put thirty thousand of them in the field without doing harm to agriculture.

They "could," Haldimand said; they should have, we might say today; but, alas, they did not. It was our ancestors' poor support of Washington that prolonged the war.

Haldimand next wrote: "Connecticut alone is so populous, that from it five thousand people emigrate yearly." In this connection he made, too, the remark that in New England they made hay in June and harvested corn, "very necessary for the maintenance of people and cattle," in the middle and at the end of September.

On general politics he made various remarks. The first explains the unwillingness of sympathizers with the British government to come out openly in support of it.

> In Europe, when there are revolutions, those who are for the government may retire into neighboring states until order is reëstablished; but in America they must join those who are against the government or submit to their yoke, and they never declare themselves for the government since they are not assured of constant protection.

In disgust with the home government's backwardness in asserting itself he wrote: "All the nations respect us, but we do not wish to respect ourselves." In another place he said:

> The evil is indeed great, and demands a remedy in proportion; if we use only a palliative, the evil will renew itself in a few years with greater force [when] they [the rebels] will be better provided. Perhaps it is fortunate that they are unmasked sooner than they wished, and while one yet might bring them to reason.

Again generalizing, he wrote: "Revolts which have happened in other nations have been occasioned by tyranny; here it is the ease of rapid fortunes and the indolence of England which have brought one on." In a moment of self-doubt he remarked: "It would be imprudent in one who does not know the constitution to advise on the measures which ought to be taken." He added, however: "Unless America should be declared in rebellion by act of Parliament or proclamation by the king."

Speculating more definitely, Haldimand suggested: "If the Americans withdrew twenty miles from the seacoasts it would be difficult to reach them. The more they withdraw into the interior the more the soil is fertile." There can be no doubt that many an American wished he might adopt such a scheme of peace. Washington wrote, probably within a year of this jotting of Haldimand's: "I have often thought how much happier I should have been . . . if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country, and lived in a wigwam."[1] On the other hand, turning to an almost similar British device, though reversed, Haldimand records: "Lord B [Lord Barrington, Secretary at War] whom it would suit to withdraw the army entirely, and employ the fleet." In the same connection, perhaps, he afterwards wrote the memorandum "to harass the Americans by little detachments," though that could quite as well be a military measure. At any rate, neither of these general policies was ever seriously considered, and it was the Americans who harassed the British, whether by sea or land. On the other hand, Haldimand was entirely correct, once Concord and Bunker Hill had shown where the American strength lay, when he wrote: "It is necessary to remain entirely inactive and even seem negative until we have assembled enough forces to assure success, and in a word it is necessary to hazard nothing."

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[1] Letter to Joseph Reed, January 14, 1776. *Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, IV (Washington, 1931), 243.

In pondering the possible course of the war, Haldimand considered it chiefly as affecting Canada, whether on its western frontiers, which he knew well, or in Nova Scotia. He may have been stirred to thought by the early acts of the rebels when he jotted down the two following memoranda: "Workmen have already set out to build vessels on Lake Champlain and to repair Ticonderoga"; "They have sent emissaries through the country, among the Canadians and the savages." Building on this American beginning, he considered facts and possibilities, all of which were of importance in what Justin H. Smith called "our struggle for the fourteenth colony." Referring to the British endeavor to swing the boundaries of Canada behind the seaboard colonies, Haldimand wrote:

> The Americans and particularly the Virginians are establishing themselves without authority on the frontiers of those colonies, and are resolved to maintain their possession by force. Examples, those who are established at Natchez. The hinterlands of America, which are so fertile and wide, well merit consideration. Those who will establish themselves there will be beyond the reach of the laws and will be very dangerous to old settlers. Would it not be expedient to establish the Province of Quebec to serve as a barrier to them?[1]

He speaks of establishments at Detroit, Louabache (the Wabash), Loio (the Ohio), and the Mississippi. All this looks forward to the British outposts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes and the expedition of George Rogers Clark against them. Thus in those events, still distant when Haldimand was writing, one may perhaps see the hand of the General, who here is meditating advice which, when recalled to London, he gave to the ministry.

In one brief statement Haldimand touched upon one of the deepest of Revolutionary subjects: "To prevent it, it is necessary to send the savages against them." There is no connection between this and the preceding note, and no grammatical antecedents to these two pronouns. What is to be prevented is not clear; but surely the "them" must be the Americans. Here appears the important subject of the responsibility for letting loose the savages (which is the word he uses—not "Indians") upon the American frontiers. Carleton refused to do this; but Gage advised it, and here is Haldimand recording the same scheme. Without going further into the subject, or laying blame upon him, I cannot help pointing out that it was under his governorship in Canada that the raiding parties against Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and other devastated places were sent out.

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[1] By this he means, I suppose, to extend the boundaries of the province of Quebec southwestward.

Others of Haldimand's speculations concerning Canada had to do with territories nearer at hand. He thought the proposed establishment of mails between New England and Canada dangerous for the latter. He thought the Americans might attack Ogdensburg and make themselves masters of the Lakes. He pointed out that the Ile aux Noix, that strategic point, if once in American hands, would bridle Canada and prevent an attack by the British on Ticonderoga. Twice he raised the question whether the Americans could not seize Halifax, where there were only two companies of troops, and which was surrounded and, to a considerable extent, peopled with malcontents. Once there, the Americans could destroy the magazines and also the dockyards, very important for the British navy. This plan concerning Canada was brought to Washington during the siege of Boston, and it was only because of American weakness in man power that it was not attempted.

Referring, perhaps, to the plan, eventually given up, to give Howe a separate command in New York, Haldimand outlines the main strategy which the British tried to follow throughout the Revolution. "We should reassemble the army and act en masse, leaving in Canada only what is necessary to guard that province, and sending all the rest to General Howe. Fortify the Ile aux Noix and the other passages, and give particular attention to remaining always master of the Lakes." Part of this plan subsequently failed in Burgoyne's surrender; but by doggedly sticking to the rest of it the British saved Canada.

Haldimand perceived one other danger which threatened England through Canada. "Could not the French," he asked, "send emissaries among the savages to regain the influence which they formerly had among them? There are a number of French officers and Canadian rangers in retirement in France who would ask nothing better and who would have much influence among the Canadians themselves." It is true enough, as reports to Gage now show, that the unreconciled French were stirring up the Indians. And it was not many years before Admiral d'Estaing was sending his proclamation and his agents among the Canadian French for this very purpose. Then it was Haldimand himself, as Governor of Canada, who had to suppress them.

One thing that he apprehended did not come to pass during the Revolution. The southern provinces, he feared, might attack St. Augustine because of its military stores, while by means of the Ohio and what he calls "la belle riviere," doubtless the Mississippi, and perhaps even by Spanish aid, the Americans could possess themselves of the territory of Mississippi and West Florida. But even though no successful attempt was made by the colonies in these directions, Haldimand shows himself, in these notes, to have had a wide interest in the far-reaching policies of the war.

What has he to say of the Americans themselves? First might be given his brief remark that America was isolated. But "how the Americans," he exclaims, "are attentive to take advantage of the least offensives against them to furnish pretexts for the general congress and animate the people!" He points out as examples the powder alarm, which occasioned his summons to Boston, and the Lexington affair. He remarks on their attempts to arm themselves.

> The design of the Friends [of Liberty] is to introduce the use of arms in every class and colony and to be always well armed and abundantly provided with artillery and ammunition. Before this epoch only the frontiersmen and hunters knew the use of arms; at our arrival in America they trembled at the sight of a bayonet. Now they forge them themselves, and if they have any success, they will despise our troops. They make good arms in Pennsylvania, especially rifles. They have wished to make powder but have not succeeded.

All the colleges, he pointed out, were seminaries of rebellion. He even wrote: "Dr. Whatherspoon [Witherspoon], master of the college at Prince Town, encourages the scholars in the practice of arms; they have bought a flag and arms at N. Y. for this purpose."

Haldimand also recognized the moral weapon which the colonists so freely used. "The argument which the rebels employ to oblige everyone to do what they wish, is to threaten to announce them to the people as Enemies of Liberty, and everyone bends."

In regard to the New Englanders he was very positive, as their opponents always have been. "It is useless to hope to recover the New England provinces by any kind of accommodation. They tend toward independence. The evil is great, and only a violent remedy[1] can cure it." Again he wrote: "The ardor which the Bostonians have always displayed to possess themselves of Quebec and Louisbourg is a proof that they have long held ideas of independence. But the ministry would never perceive it." One may suppose that here he used "Bostonians" in the Canadian sense as meaning New Englanders. Of their characteristics he wrote a little series of three remarks: "The difficulty of bringing the truth home to these people"; "Their Presbyterian priests are the most dangerous of all beings"; "Among them it is a religion quite different from Calvinism elsewhere." Of Calvinism Haldimand should have known something as he was a Swiss Protestant of Huguenot descent; but he missed the fact that "Mr. Otis' black regiment, the dissenting clergy," so much a thorn in British flesh, were not Presbyterians but Congregationalists.

All these remarks of Haldimand's tend, thus far, to be more general than particular; apparently generalizations interested him most of all. But from time to time he speaks either of the military problem at Boston or of conditions affecting it. One may wonder, indeed, that he spoke of these things so little, for there is not a word respecting definite events, particularly, of course, the affair of the nineteenth of April and the siege. To be sure, the retreat from Concord may have provided him with the remark: "The Americans would be less dangerous if they had a regular army; but all the people are an army and," he adds with a touch of bitterness, "pretend at the same time to be subject to the king." One could not expect Haldimand, any more than most Britons, to understand the American reluctance to independence so characteristic of the first year of the Revolution. But he was entirely right in stating that the Americans would be less dangerous if they would only, like Europeans, stand in the open to be shot at and charged upon. The British would have liked nothing better.

[1] Haldimand's French word which I have translated as "remedy" is practically illegible. I can make no sense out of the possible reading "seignée."

Recognizing the difficulties of the siege or possibly any campaign on the seacoast of America, he wrote: "Troops which are sent to America ought to be provided with every necessity for an expedition; no assistance is to be hoped for from the provinces." And he added what, for its language, is the gem of his notes (I quote his polyglot): "On devroit avoir des flat botom boats."

One particular problem which faced the army in Boston, the question of a voluntary removal before the winter should come on, he stated a long time in advance. "It will perhaps be necessary to winter the troops in New York or else in Rhode Island or Long Island. The reason for preferring Rhode Island is that vessels can navigate quite around it. But what measures should one take with Boston, the friends of government, and Castle William?" Gage, in the course of time, blew up Castle William; and Howe, at the evacuation, tacitly agreed not to burn Boston. But it was the lack of shipping to move the Tories that prevented an evacuation before winter, and ships were a hard problem when the time to go finally arrived.

On the Whigs in Boston Haldimand made various remarks. One seems to have been written before the siege: "The fault of allowing the inhabitants to drill in Faneuil Hall during the whole winter, also to carry away arms and other things out of the town." The following comment probably relates to the time of the siege: "The number of spies which the rebels have in the town; their indefatigable vigilance." But what incident brought out the remark, "The insolence of the Selectmen"?

There is only one comment which seems to show the Americans fortifying at the siege, when their shovel work was a marvel to the British: "The Americans work without resting and are indefatigable and unanimous while we do nothing."

With regard to the means which the Americans could use in their campaign, Haldimand, like his opponents, appealed to a classical example. "If the rebel chief had the ability of Sertorius, he would find more resources in America than that one found in Spain against the Romans." But who was to be this American leader? When we come to Haldimand's opinions on this matter, we are clearly beyond the period of his stay in Boston. To be sure, his exclamation, "The insolence of the Congress in naming Hancock president!" might have been penned before he left the town, for Hancock's election was on May 24, 1775. But his knowledge of Washington's election as commander in chief on June 15 can only have come to Haldimand after he himself had left Boston on the sixteenth, and therefore when he was in New York. As he records, he arrived there on the twenty-fifth—by water, of course—and a few gleanings of his information when there can be found in his little book. "Whashington," he wrote, "recognized his incapacity for the chief command, before accepting it." This, of course, is true. But Haldimand had the curious story that Congress had recommended to the inhabitants of New England that they remove themselves twelve or fifteen miles into the country so that if the British troops followed them, they could cut off their retreat to Boston. "This resolution," wrote Haldimand, "was sent before the departure of Whassington but arrived too late. However, one must believe that they would naturally have followed this advice if they had not heard that we wished to possess ourselves of Dorchester and Bonckers Hill, and without doubt they believed they ought to take post to prevent this."

This strange notion of American strategy leads to the fact that Haldimand himself had left Boston before—the day before—the Battle of Bunker Hill. The reason for his departure is curious. It has been seen, that in order to allow Haldimand to command in America, a special act of Parliament had to be passed. This now embarrassed the Colonial Office when it considered that, if some accident should remove Gage, Haldimand, foreign-born, would be leading British troops against British subjects. The result of such cogitations was conveyed to Haldimand by Dartmouth in the politest of letters, sent from London four days before the Concord affair. While the King, the Colonial Secretary wrote, had the fullest confidence in Haldimand's fidelity, attachment, and ability, yet the prejudices and opinions of mankind might create great difficulties should the command devolve upon any other than a natural-born subject of the King. Dartmouth depended upon Haldimand's own good sense, moderation, and respect for his sovereign to perceive the propriety of his leaving such a situation, and therefore enclosed the royal permission for him to come to England, assuring him of such a reception in the royal presence as would mark the favorable light in which His Majesty was graciously pleased to consider his services.[1] Such flattering permission was, of course, a command, and with a taciturnity which allowed him to express nothing on paper, Haldimand

[1] Dartmouth to Haldimand, April 15, 1775. Gage MSS.

took ship from Boston the day before great events were scheduled to happen.

Of course he had a share in the British plans to seize Dorchester and Charlestown and then advance on Cambridge. It is well known that American knowledge of those plans caused the fortifying of Breed's Hill before the British could act, and brought about the bloody battle. It was probably well that Haldimand was spared the sight of this; for if he was, as one may suppose, a good strategist, the blunders of Gage and Howe and the loss of so many good soldiers would have caused him great grief.

Only his ignorance of the numerous casualties and of the crippling of Gage's army would have permitted him to write when in New York: "We should have attacked Dorchester Neck at the moment when the redoubt and the Charlestown entrenchments were forced." To do this would have been in accord with the original British plan, the abandonment of which Haldimand cannot have understood. But alas for such plans when circumstances intervene! In that disastrous afternoon Gage had learned enough not to try to "buy another hill at the same price."

As Haldimand's stay in New York was for but a fortnight, there is no occasion for surprise that his notebook has few references to it. It is from a letter that he wrote Gage from New York that one knows most of him in that place.[1] The news of Bunker Hill had preceded him there. The people had at first been alarmed by the defeat, he said; but their chiefs, by the usual means of lies and false affidavits, had calmed them. Governor Tryon, as well as Washington and his staff, had arrived on the previous day (June 26), but Haldimand had nothing to remark on the effort of the authorities to welcome them both with the same escort. While Washington, followed by eight hundred Pennsylvania riflemen, was about to go on to Cambridge by land, the remnant of the British Eighteenth Regiment (finding New York too hot to hold them) were going to set out for Boston by water. Their captain would tell Gage of the humiliating state of New York province. There was now no hope except in open force and sustained success, in achieving which Gage had Haldimand's sincere wishes. No provisions were to be found for Gage in New York or the neighboring provinces. As for himself, Haldimand, not finding a ship about to sail, was going to take the July packet for England.

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[1] Haldimand to Gage, New York, June 27, 1775. Gage MSS.

In preparation for this voyage there are in his notebook certain jotted addresses, notably those of Generals Harvey and Carpenter; the others it would be hard to identify except Des Barres, a member of Haldimand's regiment, at that time engaged in the nautical surveys which resulted in the great atlas of the *Atlantic Neptune*. There are certain memoranda: to inquire about certain payments; to read the third chapter of the first volume of *L'Esprit des Lois*; to see Lord Howe and Lord George Germain; and to make an inquiry of General Amherst about a request for his *congé*—apparently his dismissal—after the taking of Canada, as if at that time he had contemplated retiring from the army. Into the meaning of these and other notes it would be fruitless to inquire.

There are three memoranda which seem to be in preparation for his life in London, when Dartmouth had assured him that he would meet the King. He writes, therefore, as if in self-admonition: "Know how to profit by circumstances"; "Be prudent, do not anticipate questions, and especially do not give advice when not obliged to." These are good precepts for any rising man, and the purpose of them seems to lie in the last: "The King [*Le R*] has a manner of putting offhand questions, against which it is necessary to be on guard."

Haldimand sailed from New York, so the notebook says, on the eighth of July and arrived at Falmouth on the fifth of August and at London on the evening of the ninth. One may be sure that he was presented to the King, gave no unwelcome advice, and was on his guard against sudden questions. And certainly he profited by circumstances. For he was awarded three thousand pounds for his expenses when in America; was given the inspector generalship of the forces in the West Indies, a sinecure; and finally was appointed to the governor generalship of Canada, the climax of his career. If all these things came to him, his short stay in Boston cannot have seemed to him a loss of time.

Jeremy Belknap

A Paper in Recognition of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Historical Society

By Samuel A. Eliot

It is indeed fitting that this Society should, in this its hundred and fiftieth year, commemorate its founder. My qualifications for paying a tribute to Jeremy Belknap rest on grounds other than original research or scholarly erudition. They are quite personal. Dr. Belknap was for the last eleven years of his life—he died at the age of fifty-four—the minister of the church which I have the honor to serve and of which I am now the minister *emeritus*. His portrait hangs in the parish house, and there, too, is the picture of the plain wooden meetinghouse, in what is now Federal Street, where he preached. Then, again, Dr. Belknap's wife—and she was evidently an important influence not only in the household but also in her husband's thought and work—was Ruth Eliot, the sister of Samuel Eliot, my great-grandfather. So to my acquaintance with Dr. Belknap as one of my predecessors as the minister of what is now the Arlington Street Church there is added this rather remote but still interesting family connection.

Jeremy Belknap was born in Boston on June 4, 1744. His father was a respectable merchant, a dealer in furs and leather goods. The family belonged to the Old South Church and ranked, so to speak, in the upper middle class. Jeremy went to the Latin School and thence to Harvard, graduating in the Class of 1762 at the age of eighteen.[1] He taught school for a while at Milton and then at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he studied for the ministry under the guid-

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[1] Of Belknap's classmates at Harvard the two most noteworthy were Elbridge Gerry, later Governor of Massachusetts, Member of Congress, Minister to France, and Vice-President of the United States; and Francis Dana, later Minister to Russia and Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. These gentlemen were both citizens of Cambridge, and they represented the extremes of political opinion in their generation. Gerry was the most conspicuous Antifederalist in New England and Dana a consistent and ardent Federalist. Very appropriately, they lived as far apart as the limits of Cambridge permitted, one at Elmwood, on the western edge of the town, and the other on what is still called Dana Hill, at what was then the eastern limit of the settled part of the town.

Jeremy Belknap

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ance of Dr. Samuel Haven. He was ordained minister at Dover, New Hampshire, then a country village, February 18, 1767, and in June of that year married Ruth Eliot and took her there to live in an unpainted, gambrel-roofed house on the north side of Silver Street.[1] There five children were born to them.

The young minister came almost immediately into public notice as an ardent leader of the patriot cause in the province. Vigorously, with voice and pen, he aroused and organized the sympathies of the townsfolk of the New Hampshire communities for their comrades in Boston suffering under the regulations of the Boston Port Bill and from the presence of the British regiments. There are few statements of the time from the American side more scathing than young Belknap's letter (June, 1774) addressed: "To the Gentlemen of the Army now encamped on Boston Common."[2] At the outbreak of hostilities Belknap made a hurried trip to Boston to rescue his father, mother, and sister. He was able to bring them in safety to the Dover parsonage, and they continued to live in Dover for the rest of their lives, the mother dying in 1784, the father surviving until 1797. The sister, Abigail, became the proverbial maiden aunt—the beloved "Aunt Nabby" of the whole village. She died in 1815. In October, 1775, Belknap was again in Cambridge, preaching to the New Hamp-

[1] The house stood until 1854, when it was torn down and the Belknap School built on the lot.

[2] In this "address" Belknap wrote: "You are sent over into America for the meanest and basest purposes—first to deprive the wretched and perishing inhabitants of this oppressed Town of their only Cow-Pasture to which they are obliged for the milk which they have substituted in the room of Tea for their scanty Breakfasts. then to terrify and distress them with the apprehension of their being murdered in the Streets in some insignificant night brawl but at best to check that noble spirit which once animated their predecessors to brave every danger to secure Liberty and Peace to their posterity, and which still breathes in our present exertions to the same worthy and virtuous purposes. . . .

"Gentlemen, you must be ashamed when you consider that the noblest purpose for which you can be here employed if you are ever so successful will not raise your Characters above the rank of a Constable or a Watchman—you will have nobody to encounter unless some hair-brained rioters should disturb the silence of the night with their senseless vociferations and amuse themselves with the rattling of broken windows—the highest manoeuvres in which you can engage will be street firings—and the fiercest oppositions you can expect will be the throwing of brickbats in which exercise a chimney-sweeper perched on his fuliginous pinnacle will have a manifest advantage over you. . . .

"Such being the disgraceful service on which you are sent, it will not be strange if your magnanimous breasts glow with resentment at your base employers, and burst in Vengeance upon them whenever you have an opportunity to do yourselves justice. For ourselves, we fear not their utmost malice—trusting in the goodness of our Cause and depending that Gentlemen of true Valour and Generosity will not degrade their Characters so far as to be instruments of oppression and lavish their lives which are too precious to be sacrificed but for the Love of their Country and the preservation of its dearest Interests in enslaving their fellow Subjects." Belknap Papers, MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society.

shire regiments and meeting not only with the officers of the army but also with Dr. Franklin and the members of the visiting Congressional committee.

After a pastorate of twenty years in Dover, Belknap returned to Boston to become the minister of the church in Long Lane, which was originally a Presbyterian society but after the Revolution declared itself in Congregational fellowship. The family lived first on Corn Lane, near the meetinghouse, and then for a while on Orange (Washington) Street, at the head of Essex Street. In 1794 Belknap built a house on "New Street," which he says was to be named Lincoln Street after General Benjamin Lincoln—the name the street bears today. In that house Belknap died on June 20, 1798. Mrs. Belknap survived him eleven years.

The portrait of Dr. Belknap—Harvard gave him his doctorate in 1792[1]—shows him to have been a stout and rather heavy man with a genial or at least an amiable expression. Josiah Quincy wrote of him: "His habit of body was plethoric and indicated a tendency to apoplexy—of which he died. Kindness and good humor predominated both in his look and address. He possessed a robust vein of humor which . . . gave a quiet yet stimulating raciness to his remarks."

Dr. Belknap earned his living as a pastor, but was also a leader in the social, literary, educational, and civic life of the community. He served assiduously on the Board of Overseers of Harvard College and belonged to all the local learned and humanitarian societies of his generation. In many diverse spheres of action he was an enlivening and enlarging influence. His church was his primary charge. It had almost disappeared in the tumults of Revolutionary times, and the meetinghouse had been closed for several years. By the energy, the friendly spirit, the genuine warmheartedness of the minister the parish was soon restored to strength. Belknap was evidently a faithful and diligent clergyman, singularly uncontaminated by clericalism. He was accessible, responsive, companionable. He was no recluse or closet scholar. He was not impatient of interruptions or fenced away from contact with all sorts of people. He took part in every kind of public occasion—a constitutional convention, a ministerial conference, a political rally, a wedding festival, a funeral ceremony, a dinner party with the rich, a tavern discussion with the poor. He was equally at home with the farm laborer, the apprentice shop-boy, the learned divine, the governor, or the senator. He respected his fellow citizens, and they liked and respected him.

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[1] The list of the other recipients of honorary degrees at Harvard at commencement in 1792 indicates the character of the company in which Belknap found his place: Samuel Adams, Francis Dana, Alexander Hamilton, John Hancock, and John Lowell, all of them distinguished national figures; Abiel Holmes, the historian of Cambridge and minister of the First Church, and Ebenezer Gay, for sixty-eight years minister of the church in Hingham, the longest pastorate in New England history.

From his printed sermons that survive I cannot believe that he was a stirring preacher. I am afraid that his discourses, judged by a modern sermon-taster, might justify the familiar heading of a stock-market report, "firm but dull." Certainly he was no such prophet as his great successor, Channing. His friend Dr. John Peirce of Brookline wrote of him: "His prayers in public were but little varied and he was almost motionless in the pulpit. Scarcely did he appear even to move his lips. Still he was always listened to with attention."

What Dr. Belknap's theological opinions were it would probably have puzzled him to explain. He was counted as a liberal, but that designation even then had a rather vague and indefinite connotation. In his preaching he evidently emphasized the ethical rather than the dogmatic aspects of Christianity. He had no love for disputation. The only error for which he had no tolerance was intolerance. He undoubtedly rejected the harsher forms of the traditional Calvinism, but he did not argue or denounce: he simply ceased to talk or preach about such matters. He did not deal in criticism or invective but broadened slowly from precedent to precedent.

Belknap's leadership in civic affairs is attested by the fact that the Massachusetts convention which debated and finally ratified the Federal Constitution met in the Long Lane Meetinghouse—a place of meeting doubtless chosen not only because it was commodious and convenient but also because the minister had a reputation for keen interest and sound judgment in public affairs.

Another important service that he rendered to and for the honor of Massachusetts was his adherence, long before the issue became critical, to the antislavery cause. He drew up and was mainly instrumental in circulating a petition to the General Court for legislation which should "totally prohibit any of the citizens of this Commonwealth from engaging in the aforesaid traffic in foreign countries," and which should "effectually prevent the innocent blacks among ourselves from being decoyed on board outward bound vessells, for the purpose of being transported to foreign countries as articles of merchandise." Due to Belknap's urgency and his persuasive power in enlisting the support of other influential citizens, the act was passed March 26, 1788.[1]

In still another field Belknap was a successful pioneer. With discriminating industry he compiled and in 1795 published his famous hymnbook—*Sacred Poetry* he called it. It was prepared primarily for the use of his own congregation, but it met a widespread need, went through many editions, and was for forty years the most popular hymnbook in the New England Protestant churches. It is rather curious to observe that there is in this collection only one hymn of American authorship—a commentary on the backwardness of American literary production. The book contains a lot of metrical psalms, the verses of Watts and Doddridge and Anne Steele, and, for the first time in any hymnbook, Helen Maria Williams' still popular hymn "While Thee I Seek, Protecting Power." The one American hymn included, "When Wild Confusion Wrecks the Air," was written by Dr. Belknap's great-uncle, the famous Mather Byles, who had been ousted from the pulpit of the Hollis Street Church because of his Tory principles but who continued to live in Boston until his death in 1788. Belknap had a very low opinion of his great-uncle, regarding him as a frivolous punster and a self-complacent snob, but he did print his hymn, and it survived in American hymnology even late enough to be included in Beecher's hymnal in 1853. In the introduction to his hymnbook Dr. Belknap gives further evidence of his intermediate or transitionary position in theology. He wished to make the collection represent or express diverse habits of thought. "In this selection," he wrote, "those christians, who do not scruple to sing praises to their Redeemer and Sanctifier, will find materials for such a sublime enjoyment; whilst others whose tenderness of conscience may oblige them to confine their addresses to the Father only will find no deficiency of matter suited to their idea of 'the chaste and awful spirit of devotion.' " That this attempt to build a bridge over which people could cross going in both directions was not altogether unsuccessful is attested by the fact that when, in 1808, ten years after Belknap's death, Trinity Church, Boston, impatient of the delay in the production of an authorized Episcopal hymnal, made and published its own hymnal, they could say in the introduction:

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[1] The petition is printed in 5 *Collections*, III. 22–23, and the correspondence about the slavery issue appears in *ibid.*, 375–442.

"In this selection, we are chiefly indebted to Dr. Belknap, whose book unquestionably contains the best specimens of sacred poetry extant. . . ."

Whatever the merits of his *Sacred Poetry*, the tribute which the present day still gladly pays to Belknap is primarily for his contribution to American history. One remembers Dr. Johnson's sneering assertion that "great abilities are not necessary for a historian . . . some penetration and accuracy will fit a man for the task, if he can give the necessary application." Dr. Belknap had those qualifications—and more besides. He had an eager, inquiring mind, a native curiosity about things and events, and especially people—and that, I suppose, is what Dr. Johnson meant by "penetration." He was scrupulously accurate, and the facts set forth in his books have never been even challenged. He was certainly inured to "application." Hard work did not frighten him, and he did not disdain the drudgery involved in accumulating information. At the same time it must be recognized that as a historian he had some special limitations which nowadays might be regarded as serious handicaps. He was a Puritan minister, and though, as I have said, the least clerical of his profession, that training and those associations might naturally, in some degree, have colored his way of looking at things. Then, too, save for one journey to New York and Philadelphia in 1785 and a visit to the Indian missions in upper New York state in 1796,[1] he does not appear to have ever stepped across the boundaries of his native New England. Moreover, he stood in natural succession to predecessors whose notion of historical writing was primarily annalistic—a mere chronicle of events from year to year.

The early history of New England was, to be sure, written at first hand by the men who were themselves making that history. Further, they were men who realized and rejoiced in the ideal or spiritual significance of their undertakings. I find, for instance, the true prophetic spirit in that splendid sentence in which Governor Bradford described the mood of the shivering, half-starved company at Plymouth: "They had great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundations." That spirit animates, too, Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New-England* and John Winthrop's journal and Roger Williams' letters. Those men had no conception, of course, of the marvelous fruits that were to spring from the seeds of their planting, but they did know that they were engaged upon a significant and hazardous adventure, and their writing bears the stamp of that high spirit. But historical writing could not keep that exalted strain. Nathaniel Morton's *New-Englands Memoriall* (1669) is hardly more than a juiceless abridgment of Bradford, and William Hubbard's *General History of New England from the Discovery to MDCLXXX* is a desiccated abstract from Winthrop and Morton. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* (1702) is, of course, a mine of information and of babbling gossip, replete with italics and capitals and classical quotations, but tedious, pedantic, and moralistic. Thomas Prince's *Chronological History of New-England* (1736) is frankly annalistic—and one must remember that Thomas Prince was Jeremy Belknap's minister at the Old South Church. Belknap was brought up under him and might readily have adopted his well-documented but utterly arid style of recording events. The annalist is inevitably colorless. His figures have no chance to come alive.

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[1] The journal of this visit to the Oneida Indians, edited by George Dexter, is printed in 1 *Proceedings*, XIX. 396–423.

Jeremy Belknap was bold enough to break away from that old-almanac school of history writing. He was neither a mere chronicler on the one hand nor, to be sure, an artist in words on the other. His gifts of observation and painstaking inquiry were not matched, as in Parkman and Prescott, by the gift of pictorial imagination and dramatic expression. There is, however, in Belknap's writing a certain solidity, a convincing realism that gives the reader confidence that this man is a thorough investigator and an accurate reporter. He was not beguiled into sidetracks or bypaths, however alluring. He did not care to follow mysterious clues. Unlike Cotton Mather, he did not dilate upon the unusual and preternatural. He stuck to the high road and worked in broad sunshine.

There are three outstanding achievements for which Jeremy Belknap deserves to be remembered as a historian—and by historians: his *History of New Hampshire*, his *American Biography*, and his competent initiative in the founding of the first historical society in the United States. He started the *History of New Hampshire* in 1772 in the village parsonage at Dover, and the first volume was published in 1784, largely by means of a subsidy provided by his friend Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia. The last two volumes were published in Boston in 1791–1792. Of that book William Cullen Bryant could say, in an address in 1854 before the New York Historical Society, that to Jeremy Belknap belonged "the high merit of being the first to make American history attractive." That was high praise, for, beyond the restrictions already noted, the limitations of a historian of a little New England province in the eighteenth century are obvious. The stage was a very small one. The characters presented no vivid contrasts. There was little chance for what is now called comic relief. Save for a few merchants and government officials in Portsmouth, the people were very much alike and were engaged in the same occupations. The New Hampshire communities, as they pushed up the valleys of the Piscataqua, the Merrimac, and the Connecticut, conformed to one pattern. Few people were really poor and fewer still were rich. No one—except the aged and infirm—was unemployed. Everyone could read and write, and everybody went to meeting on Sunday. If they did not, they got into trouble. In short, it was not a condition that lent itself to dramatic exposition. There were no striking or spectacular occurrences to relate such as presented themselves to the historians of the conquest of Mexico or the conflict of France and England in the New World.

Jeremy Belknap was one of the pioneers in the writing of history as the record of the activities, thoughts, and habits of ordinary people. He would not have agreed with the dictum: "History is past politics, and politics is present history." For him, the customs, the economic conditions, the impulses and convictions of the passing generations were quite as important as the record of rulers and the changes in governments. Edward A. Freeman once remarked to John Richard Green: "Oh, Johnny, why don't you cut out all that stuff about how people lived and dressed and furnished their houses? You may drag in all that social and religious kind of thing but I can't and won't." Belknap could and did. He realized that history is not just the story of wars and dynasties, but the story of people—their industries and institutions, their crafts and recreations, their migrations and social adjustments, their habits of household life, their religious beliefs and practices. So he was not afraid to break new ground, or rather he went back to the habit of the earliest explorers of New England, Champlain and Captain John Smith and Brereton and Rosier. Like them he described, particularly in his third volume, the topography of the country. He noted the scenery, the trees and plants and rocks. He personally explored the wilderness of the White Mountains.[1] He dealt with natural resources, with the influence of climate, with agriculture and commerce, and, above all, with social conditions, finding his material, that is, as much in the private as in the public life of the community. There he could see history in the making and he found that sort of research more interesting and rewarding than reading the debates of assemblies and the decrees of courts and the records of battles.

Belknap's biographical dictionary was begun in 1779, so that the work must have been carried on simultaneously with the *History of New Hampshire*. The first volume was published in 1794, and the second was in the printer's hands at the time of the compiler's death. The full title reads: *American Biography: or, An Historical Account of Those Persons Who Have Been Distinguished in America, as Adventurers, Statesmen, Philosophers, Divines, Warriors, Authors, and Other Remarkable Characters, Comprehending a Recital of the Events Connected with Their Lives and Actions.* These volumes are still a rich storehouse of biographical facts and a monument to the industry and impartial judgment of the compiler.[2] More than that, they demonstrate that Jeremy Belknap had at least glimpsed a point of view that now has many adherents: that the best way to teach history is by biography.

Finally, as the members of this Society know and at this anniversary time gratefully remember, Jeremy Belknap was the man who initiated and put through the organization of the Massachusetts Historical Society. On August 27, 1790, as a result of discussion with a number of like-minded men who "wished that a beginning could be made," he drew up a "Plan for an Antiquarian Society."[3] In this he notes the names of four friends to be invited to inaugurate the enterprise with him. By the time of the first meeting, on January 24, 1791, the number of founders had been increased to ten. The Honorable James Sullivan was the first President. He was then the

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[1] The chapter in the *History of New Hampshire* devoted to the mountain wilderness does not mention the fact that Belknap was himself one of the exploring party, but his account of the trip which he and six other gentlemen made in the summer of 1784 is printed in 5 *Collections*, III. 170–189. For a rough-sketch map of the region, see *ibid.*, 188.

[2] In 1842 Harper & Brothers published a new edition of the *American Biography*, and the Editor, Fordyce M. Hubbard, bore testimony to the exceptional accuracy of the original biographical sketches.

[3] A facsimile of the original manuscript, in Belknap's handwriting, appears in 5 *Collections*, III. 230.

Attorney General and later became Governor of Massachusetts, dying in that office in 1808. The Reverend James Freeman of King's Chapel was the first Recording Secretary, and Jeremy Belknap was the Corresponding Secretary. The other seven were William Tudor, the leader of the Boston bar; James Winthrop, the Harvard librarian; John Eliot, minister of the New North Church; Peter Thacher, minister of the Brattle Street Church; Thomas Wallcut, a man of repute as an antiquarian; George R. Minot, already known as a historical student and author; and William Baylies, a physician of Dighton with a taste and aptitude for historical research. Baylies, the oldest, was fifty; Freeman, the youngest, was thirty-two. Seven of the ten were Harvard graduates, three (Thacher, Tudor, and Winthrop) being of the Class of 1769.

In the original constitution the name of the organization is just "The Historical Society," and the "objects" are defined as "the preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations" which "mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progress of society in the United States. . . ." These things were to be rescued "from the ravages of time and the effects of ignorance and neglect." The "Introductory Address from the Historical Society to the Public" cites in justification of this purpose the loss of Dr. Prince's library at the Old South, "a sacrifice to British barbarity"; the destruction of Governor Hutchinson's invaluable collections by the mob that wrecked his house in 1765; and the earlier losses of books and records in the burning of the Court House in Boston in 1747 and of the Harvard College library in Cambridge in 1764.

The Society started upon a distinctly modest scale. The first constitution provided for an admission fee of five dollars and an annual assessment of two dollars which could be commuted to life membership by the payment, within six months of admission, of an additional thirty-four dollars. Judge Tudor was requested to buy "twelve chairs (Windsor, green, elbow); a plain pine table, painted, with drawer and lock and key; an inkstand, etc." Almost immediately was begun the collection of books and pamphlets and the publication, at first in a magazine called *The American Apollo*, of original manuscripts and papers relating to New England. The Society was incorporated, under an act drafted by Judge Sullivan, in 1794.

In all the early enterprises and activities of the Society Belknap was the master spirit, closely seconded by his most intimate friend and his wife's cousin, John Eliot, who succeeded him as Corresponding Secretary, an office which then included the duties of Editor, Librarian, Cabinet-Keeper, and general manager. The Society has never forgotten its founder. It has published three volumes of his papers. The first two (1877 and 1892), edited by Charles Deane, contain the correspondence of Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard[1] between the years 1779 and 1798. The third, edited by Charles C. Smith, contains the letters addressed to Belknap during the same period by many distinguished contemporaries: John and Abigail Adams; Sir John Wentworth; Generals Lincoln and Sullivan of the Revolutionary army; President Wheelock of Dartmouth; Paine Wingate, Senator from New Hampshire; Morse the geographer; Rush the philanthropist; Noah Webster the lexicographer; and, most frequently, Dr. John Eliot. These volumes are, again, a treasury of information about all the activities of the period.[2]

About the purposes of the Massachusetts Historical Society Belknap wrote to Hazard that it was intended "to be an *active*, not a *passive*, literary body; not to lie waiting, like a bed of oysters, for the tide (of communication) to flow in upon us, but to *seek* and *find*, to *preserve* and *communicate* literary intelligence, especially in the historical way." In honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society I have endeavored to do just that—to communicate literary intelligence, "especially in the historical way,"

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[1] Ebenezer Hazard was born in Philadelphia, January 15, 1744—also the year of Dr. Belknap's birth—and graduated at Princeton in 1762. He became a publisher in New York, was long the Postmaster of the city, and from 1782 to 1789 was Postmaster General of the United States. He died in Philadelphia, June 13, 1817.

[2] This correspondence justifies Mr. Charles W. Cole, in his article in the *New England Quarterly* for December, 1937 (x. 743–751), in defining Belknap as "a pioneer nationalist." He "advocated a strong central government. . . . favored the Constitution. . . . kept the minutes of the proceedings at the convention which ratified it for Massachusetts. . . . suggested . . . a huge research organization, with branch units, to promote American science for the national good. . . . advocated a strong military defense to protect national integrity. . . . favored the establishment of 'social libraries.' . . . desired national legislation for copyright . . . to promote the 'encouragement of literature and genius,' " and urged "the improvement of education. . . ."

From Scalping Knife to Can Opener:

A Sketch of the Origins and Work of an Old Massachusetts Society

By Samuel A. Eliot

The title of this paper may lead one to expect something about the fortunes and fate of our fellow citizens of native American stock. That is a reasonable conjecture, though the subject matter deals more with white men than with red men. The whimsical turn of the title is suggested by an experience that befell me some years ago when I was in California visiting Indian schools and reservations in my capacity as chairman of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. I received an invitation to address the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. That is an honor that cannot be declined. The secretary of the club came to see me and asked for the subject of the address. I said that I wished to speak about the condition and prospects of the California Indians. The secretary looked both puzzled and depressed. "That will never do," he said, "nobody here cares anything about Indians. The men simply won't come." I said I was sorry but that was the "concern" that had brought me to the coast, and that was naturally the subject that was on the top of my mind. "How would it do," I said, "if you were to give it a more enticing and mystifying title? Suppose you announce that I will speak on 'The First Families of California.' " So it was done, and we had what I was told was an almost record attendance. What did this presumptuous Easterner know about Forty-niners or the magnates of Nob Hill or the millionaires of the Comstock Lode? They had to hear about Indians, a subject that is not necessarily dry or dreary.

The choice of a subject has been suggested by the fact that there has just passed the one hundred and fiftieth birthday of the oldest missionary society of American origin, the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America—they liked to use long names in those days. There is no more appropriate place in which to tell the story of the beginnings of that Society, organized here in Boston in 1787 and still a going concern, than here; for while the men who founded the Society were not absolutely identical with the group that four years later organized the Massachusetts Historical Society, the early membership rolls of the two societies might almost be interchanged.

There are good reasons for my being interested in this anniversary and, in some measure, qualified to discuss the subject. The first justification for my interest is a matter of inheritance—a sort of ancestral trust which I share with many of the members of this Society, though they are probably quite unconscious of this particular heritage. Their forebears, like mine, belonged to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America. My great-grandfather, Samuel Eliot, became a member in 1804, my grandfather, Samuel A. Eliot, in 1838, my father in 1886, and I in 1898. My maternal grandfather and my uncles were also members, and I have served for many years as a member of the governing board, which bears the quaint and old-fashioned name of the "Select Committee."

Then, too, I have had for many years pretty close personal relations with Indian affairs. In my youth I had the rare good fortune of being the fellow traveler of General Samuel C. Armstrong on some of his journeys, and of witnessing at Hampton Institute the first modern experiments in the education and vocational training of Indian boys and girls. Then in my young manhood I was in charge for some months of a mission church in the big, straggling lumber camp which has since grown into the great city of Seattle. There I could not but become aware of the forlorn condition of the remnants of the once vigorous and prosperous Indian tribes of the Northwest Coast. My first real parish was in Denver, then an unpaved frontier town where I made my parish calls on horseback, but fast growing into metropolitan consciousness. There I got interested in the wrongs of another despoiled, plundered, and, I may add, singularly unattractive band of Indians: the Southern Utes. The tale of my relations and amusing adventures with that band makes, however, another story and need not be narrated here. In 1909, after I had returned to Boston, I was appointed by President Taft to be a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, and for twenty-four years I served in that capacity, in the later years as chairman of the board. Mr. Taft gave me that appointment, not only out of personal friendship, but also because he believed me to be descended from the Reverend John Eliot, the original "Apostle to the Indians." That relationship cannot, I regret to say, be established, but by virtue of that erroneous identification I was enabled to enjoy many years of interesting, and I trust helpful, service, with frequent contacts not only with Mr. Taft but also with Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover and with the successive Secretaries of the Interior—especially with Secretaries Lane and Wilbur, with whose plans and policies I cordially sympathized. It is one of the amusing ironies of what is called "public life" that I, a Harvard man and a lifelong Democrat, was appointed to office by a Yale man and a Republican, Mr. Taft, and "eliminated" by a Harvard man and a Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is not, then, inappropriate to observe that in my own lifetime I have seen at fairly close quarters the whole development of our ways of dealing with the native Americans, from the days of savage warfare to the days of full American citizenship. The Custer massacre on the Big Horn took place when I was a schoolboy, and I have talked with some of the warriors who took part in that bloody fight. The so-called Battle of Wounded Knee, the last conflict between soldiers and Indians, took place when I was a grown man and a minister in Denver. That, too, was a massacre, only this time it was not United States cavalrymen but Indians—men, women, and children—who were ruthlessly shot down. I have seen the progress of the Indians literally from the scalping knife to the can opener; from the hide or bark tepee to the six-room house; from the board whereon a child was strapped to be borne on a squaw's back to the rubber-tired baby carriage; from the grotesque incantations of the medicine man to the expert service of surgeons and nurses in a modern hospital; from the pony-drawn travois to the Ford car; from the desert trail to the four-track automobile highway; from a paganism which sometimes had attributes of lyric or symbolic beauty, but which was too often coarse and cruel, to some form, more or less genuine, of Christianity. All that in my own lifetime.

No one can deny that the half century has seen a remarkable transition. Often wrong leads have been followed, stupid blunders made, resentments unnecessarily perpetuated; but the fact that the native Americans have a real and valuable contribution to make to American civilization has now been well established. My old friend and fellow worker, Bishop Burleson of South Dakota, once pointed out that four steps had marked the progress of our ways of looking at and dealing with the Indians. At first almost everyone agreed that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. I have personally known people who still sincerely held that belief. "The Indian," they used to say to me, "is a dirty, vicious, savage brute, and the only thing to do with him is to shoot him on sight." Of course that relentless attitude was born of some tragic and distressing frontier experience, and I suspect that if I had lived in Deerfield or Lancaster in the seventeenth century, or in the Mohawk Valley in the eighteenth century, or had run up against an Apache marauding party in the nineteenth century, I should have felt just as the frontiersmen have always felt. Then as the advancing settlements pushed the Indians out into the mountains or deserts where white men couldn't or didn't wish to live, as superior force seized the lands and the hunting grounds and herded the tribes onto reservations, the Indian became primarily a *nuisance*. He couldn't be left to starve, but he must be segregated and restricted. And then as people realized that just stringing army posts around the reservations and sending soldiers to subdue or punish recalcitrant Indians didn't get anywhere, the Indian became a *problem*. Gradually the national conscience began to awake. We began to realize that we had some responsibility for these primitive people. We began to feel that an Indian had a right to survive and might indeed find a place in the civilization that had overwhelmed his traditionary customs and ways of life. He ceased to be a prisoner and became first a ward of the government; and then, though prematurely and still very ill-prepared, the Indian, in President Coolidge's administration, became a full-fledged citizen of the United States. Now all recognize that everything possible must be done to help him to achieve a self-sustaining, self-respecting life. His bodily health must be protected and upbuilt. The devastating diseases which afflict him and which are mostly the result of contact with white people must be eradicated. He must be made responsible to the laws of the state of which he is a citizen. A practical and vocational school program must fit him to take his part in the industrial and social life of the community. The remnants of his property must be safeguarded and utilized. His family life must be stabilized and his housing improved. His native arts must be encouraged and his special aptitudes fostered. His young people must be gradually merged, through the public schools and natural social contacts—fortunately there are not, as with black people, any serious race prejudices to interfere—into the normal life of the American community. The Indian has survived the successive stages of "savage enmity, callous neglect and tardy recognition," and at last he is slowly—you can't change people from stone-age barbarism to civilization in one, two, or even three generations—coming into his own in the land of his fathers.

Now in all this transition the Christian missionaries have been the pioneer adventurers. They have been, from the earliest Jesuit missions in Canada down to the present day, teaching and preaching and praying and helping. They have tried to champion the rights of the Indian and to protect him, not always of course successfully, from wrong. Too much of the record of the white man's relation to the primitive Americans for the last three centuries has been humiliating, not to say revolting; but the resolute persistence of missionary endeavor has been a bright page in a dark history. It is often, to be sure, a tale of pathetic failure. Often the missions have been obliterated as the tide of migration swept westward, or the best efforts of the missionaries have been defeated by the cruelty and rapacity of the conquering race; but still it is a splendid story that well deserves to be retold.

What, then, were the origins of our oldest missionary society? It is worth noting first the significance of the year in which the Society was founded—1787. At that time the town of Boston was just recovering from the long strain of the war for independence. In the years between 1770 and 1780 the population of the town had fallen, owing to the difficulties of the times and the departure of the Loyalists, from something over fifteen thousand to less than ten thousand people; but by 1787 the tide had turned, and in the next decade the population nearly doubled. The Revolutionary period and the chaotic condition that ensued had also generated widespread distress and disorder. The interruption of business, the weakness of the government, the depreciation of the currency, the confusion of the coinage, all aggravated the hardships of the times. A deluge of paper money had swept values away. There was agitation for the cancellation of all debts and for the abolition of the courts. All sorts of wild notions were advocated. It was only in the preceding year, 1786, that the unrest and discontent in the middle and western counties of Massachusetts had come to a head in the armed insurrection known as Shays's Rebellion. But the year 1787 marked in this respect, too, the turning of the tide. In January the resolute action of Governor Bowdoin and General Lincoln had dispersed the insurgents. The courts reopened, and law and order were restored. A smoldering distrust remained, to be sure, and occasionally burst into flame in political debates and conflicts. The farmers continued to be suspicious of the bankers, merchants, and lawyers, and jealous of the comparative prosperity of the seaboard towns, but there was a marked change for the better in economic conditions in all parts of the state. Most important, in the summer of 1787 the Federal Convention met in Philadelphia, and its memorable work gave assurance that the days of confusion would soon be over and that a stable and efficient government might be established. It was in January of the following year, 1788, that the Massachusetts convention, meeting in Dr. Belknap's Long Lane Meetinghouse, after eager and strenuous debate ratified by a small majority the Federal Constitution. These conditions—the growth in population, the suppression of disorder, the prospect of a stable government with justly balanced powers—restored courage and confidence. Trade rapidly increased, credit revived, markets improved, commerce expanded. The red ink entries, if they had such things, disappeared from the ledgers. Boston Harbor was again alive with shipping. The times were ripe for new adventures, not only in business and in government, but also in developing new agencies of education and philanthropy.

So much for the time. What of the place? Boston was a small community, as one judges cities nowadays, but I doubt if any town has ever contained so large a proportion of people of substantial worth. The three-hilled peninsula on which the town stood was, in acreage, less than half the size to which it has since grown by the filling in of the coves and bordering flats. What is now Charles Street bounded the dry land on the west. On the north the big millpond covered all the section where the North Station stands. On the east the town dock came up to what is now called Dock Square, and the tide ebbed and flowed where the Quincy Market stands today. Boston Neck was still a neck indeed, thin and slender, and across it ran the narrow causeway of Orange Street, soon to be renamed Washington Street. The thickly settled part of the town was at the North End, where lived the small tradesmen, artisans, and seafaring folk. The merchants and professional people lived in more or less stately wooden houses on Common (Tremont), Winter, Summer, Milk, and the adjoining streets. John Hancock's house on Beacon Hill was considered quite out of town, and eight years were to elapse before the cornerstone of the State House was laid on the next lot. The life of the town centered on the busy wharves, in the taverns, and in the churches, which, with Faneuil Hall and the Old State House, were the most conspicuous buildings of the place. The ministers, the lawyers, the merchants, and the political leaders were the outstanding people. The places of the Loyalist gentry had been taken by the wealthier or more ambitious among the country squires who had adhered to the patriot party. The Adamses and the Ameses moved in from Norfolk County, the Prescotts from Middlesex County, the Gills from Worcester County, the Lees, Pickerings, Masons, Cabots, Jacksons, Grays, and Lowells from Essex County. They bought the houses of the departed Tories or built new ones. Practically all the people were of English stock, though such serviceable families as the Bowdoins, Faneuils, Dexters, and Sigourneys were of Huguenot descent. It was a singularly orderly and self-respecting community. There was little or no real poverty. The criminal court and the lockup did not have much business. There was no need of unemployment insurance, and no one claimed an old age pension. Each man was, in large measure, the master of his own fate.

Of course there were limitations. Water-borne commerce flourished, but land transportation was difficult. Mails were infrequent, and letter postage was twenty-five cents. It took a week of hard travel to get from Boston to New York. The roads were almost impassable in early spring, and the inns were poor. But, on the other hand, life in Boston had some unique and picturesque values. The fast-growing trade with the Orient—the first American consul, Samuel Shaw, went out to Canton in 1786—brought rich cargoes and curious products into the ports of Boston and Salem, and "West India goods" were familiar commodities in the retail shops. Originality in character and conduct was more prevalent than now when the cult of monotony has overtaken us and a lot of gentlemen in evening dress look like a row of postage stamps. Clothing was bright and varied. The ladies wore silks and satins in delicate hues, gentlemen wore elegant smallclothes and three-cornered hats. Ministers and judges still had full-bottomed wigs. Governor Bowdoin went about his everyday business in a white broadcloth coat, red breeches, and black silk stockings, his hair powdered and drawn tightly into a cue behind. John Hancock presided over the Massachusetts convention for ratifying the Constitution attired in a suit of red velvet with lace ruffles and cuffs, a sword at his side, and silver buckles on his shoes. It must, however, be added that, in the words of a contemporary chronicler of good repute, "Mr. Hancock set an example of show and expenditure in equipage and entertainment that was very distasteful to the more sober members of the community." Social life was a bit formal, but people had more leisure than nowadays. The gentlemen came home from their offices or counting rooms for a mid-afternoon dinner, after which they visited or drove out or conversed or read until the nine o'clock supper. It seems to have been a life of sufficient activity, of varied interests, and of deep contentments.

So much for time and place. What now of the people who in 1787 organized the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America? The twenty-one gentlemen who signed the petition for the incorporation of the Society were a remarkable group. While they were distinctive personalities, they had certain well-defined resemblances. They were, intellectually and politically and ecclesiastically, of the same type. Most of them were Harvard graduates of the thirty years between 1747 and 1777. All of them, so far as I am aware, held the political principles which soon became identified with the Federalist party. All were active members of one or another of the Congregational churches of Boston and the neighborhood. They were staunch supporters of independency in both church and state, but they were not agitators or iconoclasts. They were men of sober habits and a high sense of duty. Scrupulous integrity characterized all their transactions. They fulfilled Goethe's saying: "He who wishes to have a useful influence on his time should insult nothing. Let him not trouble himself about what is absurd, let him concentrate on this—the bringing to light and life of good things." This community owes to their initiative and generous encouragement many of the institutions of education and philanthropy that are still our pride. They cherished and administered Harvard College. They founded not only the society I am commemorating but the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Literary Club (the precursor of the Boston Athenæum), the Massachusetts Bible Society, the Humane

Society of Massachusetts, and so on through the long list of our older educational and charitable agencies. If there is such a thing as a democratic aristocracy—and I am sure there is—these men belonged to it, not because they were wealthy—some of them had very modest means—but because they were capable, trustworthy, and serviceable, because they had gentle manners, cultivated tastes, and a sense of responsibility for social order and progress.

The oldest of the incorporators of the Society was the Honorable Richard Cranch of Braintree (Quincy). He was born in a Devonshire village in 1726. He came to America when he was twenty and soon married Mary Smith, a daughter of the Weymouth parson and sister of Abigail Smith who married John Adams. Richard Cranch was an ardent patriot in Revolutionary times, a representative in the General Court, and later a state senator and a judge. He is described as a tall, grave, dignified gentleman, self-educated, but a scholar of such wide attainment that Harvard College gave him an honorary degree in 1780. Judge and Mrs. Cranch died within a day of each other in 1811 when he was eighty-five years old. His son was William Cranch, who graduated from Harvard in 1787 and was long a distinguished judge of the Circuit Court in Washington; and William Cranch's son was the poet and painter, Christopher P. Cranch, whom some of us can remember. The family is still represented in the membership of the Society.

Judge Francis Dana was probably the most conspicuous citizen among the incorporators of the Society. He had graduated from Harvard in 1762 and lived in Cambridge where the people of his name had long been men of mark. He married Elizabeth Ellery, whose father, William Ellery, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1785 he built a stately house on what is known as Dana Hill, and the estate covered a large part of the marsh and meadow land which is now a thickly settled part of the city. His portrait shows a thoughtful, determined gentleman with the firm chin characteristic of all the Danas. Our colleague, Bliss Perry, has written of them that "their fellow-townsmen could not always tell what a Dana would *do* but they knew perfectly well what a Dana would *not* do." Judge Dana had served as a delegate to the Continental Congress, as secretary of the legation in Paris, and as the first American envoy to Russia; later he was for fifteen years the Chief

Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. He died in Cambridge in 1811.

Joseph Willard was another of the grave and reverend seniors of this group. He was a Harvard graduate of 1765, then was minister of the church in Beverly, and, from 1781 until his death in 1804, president of Harvard College. If there are any virtues which are not recorded in the inscription on his tombstone in the old Cambridge burying ground, it must have been for lack of room to enroll them or Latin words to describe them. I quote one line only: "*Viro integerrimo*, *strenuo*, *docto*, *pio*." My grandfather, Samuel A. Eliot, in his little history of Harvard College, wrote that President Willard "justified the choice of the Corporation by the energy, learning and dignity which adorned his character. He succeeded"—and remember his presidency fell in very troublous times—"in reviving to a great extent the spirit of learning, a desire for education and a respect for literature and science."

In this Cambridge group there was also Professor Edward Wigglesworth. For twenty-two years he had been the Hollis Professor of Divinity, having succeeded his father in that post in 1765. He was also a Fellow of the Corporation from 1779 to 1792. Of the quality of instruction offered by Professor Wigglesworth and his colleagues on the faculty—the Hollis Professor of Mathematics, Samuel Williams, was another of the incorporators of the Society—there are sundry amusing testimonies. It would appear to have been somewhat arid. Professor Morison quotes one bit of evidence in his life of his great-grandfather, Harrison Gray Otis. Harry Otis was a member of the Class of 1783, and, writing to a classmate, he declared: "It is now Vacation and I have a temporary Respite from Pedantry and Logic. May Father Time ameliorate his tardy Pace and hasten the desired Period when I shall bid adieu to the sophisticated Jargon of a superstitious Synod of pensioned Bigots. . . ." Harry might have been convicted, if not of "sophisticated Jargon," at least of somewhat turgid rhetoric.

One more person should be mentioned: William Hyslop of Brookline, a somewhat different type. Like Judge Cranch he was English born and not a college man. By skillful investment, apparently in real estate, he had acquired a comfortable fortune, had purchased the large Boylston place on the hill overlooking what is now the Brookline Reservoir, and lived there in considerable style. Mr. Hyslop gave the largest of the original contributions to the funds of the Society, his gift being $2,754.67. The queer sums recorded on the first subscription list reveal, no doubt, the disordered condition of the coinage. Governor Bowdoin, for instance, subscribed $1,156.67, and Jonathan Mason gave $345.45.

But how did the enterprise start? Of course it had a background. It is, as has been said, the *oldest* missionary society of *American* origin, but a mission to the Indians was not an altogether novel undertaking. The self-initiated adventure of John Eliot, the pioneer apostle to the Indians, had early enlisted the support of a group of Puritan gentlemen in the mother country, and Parliament in 1649 created a company for, as the title of the act reads, "the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England."[1] That society and a similar corporation set up in Scotland in 1709 had carried on missionary work for a century and more. But the Revolution had impaired that generous endeavor. The work of the old societies was largely transferred to Canada, and it is still carried on there and in some of the English colonies. The field was open for independent American effort. It had to be an enterprise sponsored and supported by *individuals*, for government responsibility for Indians—save to suppress or kill them—was then unheard of, and missionary societies of the type familiar nowadays, supported by churches or denominations, had not yet developed. A mission had to be inaugurated and sustained by Christian *individuals*. So these twenty-one gentlemen petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for a charter. It was granted them on November 19, 1787, and signed by John Hancock, Governor, Samuel Adams, President of the Senate, and James Warren, Speaker of the House.

Just how the signatures to the petition were gathered is not known, but one can readily guess. The men likely to be interested in such an enterprise were close friends, associated in business, in politics, and in church relations; and there was a lot of intermarriage, too, between the families. Presumably the initiative came from the younger men. Then, as they were founding a society for propagating the Gospel, it would be natural for the ministers to take the lead. The later prominence of the younger ministers in the affairs of the

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[1] See George P. Winship, *The New England Company of* 1649 *and John Eliot* (Boston, Prince Society, 1920), vi–vii, for an explanation of the different names by which the organization has been known.

Society further justifies the assumption that they inaugurated it. Two of them, to be sure, soon faded out of the picture. Timothy Hilliard of the church in Cambridge was undoubtedly one of the diligent promoters, but he died in 1790 after a brief pastorate of seven years. "No minister among us," wrote President Willard of him, "had a fairer prospect of becoming extensively useful in this Commonwealth." His successor, Abiel Holmes, took his place in the Society and later served for nineteen years as its secretary. Ebenezer Wight, minister of the Hollis Street Church, signed the petition but does not appear to have ever attended a meeting. A graduate of Harvard in 1776, he was at this time thirty-seven years old, but he is said to have been in frail health, and he was certainly depressed in spirits. The Hollis Street Meetinghouse had gone up in flames in the fire that, a few months before, had swept through several blocks at the South End, and the congregation had merged with that of the Old South while their new house was building. Mr. Wight preached only once in the new church and then retired into obscurity on his ancestral farm in Dedham. The Harvard *Quinquennial Catalogue* records that he lived until 1821, so farm life must have agreed with him. His successor, Samuel West, soon became active in the Society.

The other four young ministers were, I am confident, the prime movers in the organization of the Society. Peter Thacher[1] of the Brattle Street Church was thirty-five; John Eliot[2] of the New North Church was thirty-three; John Clarke[3] of the First Church was thirty-two; and Eliphalet Porter[1] of the church in Roxbury was twenty-nine. They were, respectively, members of the Harvard Classes of 1769, 1772, 1774, and 1777. Most of the laymen who became the early members of the Society were parishioners of these young ministers. President Willard, Judge Dana, and Professors Wigglesworth and Williams belonged to Mr. Hilliard's church. Increase Sumner, who had married the daughter of William Hyslop, and who was later the governor of the commonwealth, was a member of Mr. Porter's church in Roxbury. Judge Oliver Wendell, who was chosen the first president of the Society, Ebenezer Storer, who was for sixteen years its treasurer, and Moses Gill, who was president from 1796 to 1800, were parishioners at Brattle Street. From the Old South came Jonathan Mason, the first treasurer of the Society, and the Honorable William Phillips, his son-in-law—and president for twenty-one years from 1806 to 1827. The posts of honor naturally fell to these elder statesmen, but the young ministers evidently did the work of the Society. Peter Thacher and John Eliot were chosen assistant secretaries, and, though old Professor Wigglesworth was the first secretary, it is to be noticed that the records are all in the handwriting of Thacher, who was soon elected secretary, serving until his death in 1802.

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[1] Peter Thacher, born in 1752, was the son of Oxenbridge Thacher. He was first settled in Malden (1770–1784) but was called to the Brattle Street Church where he was installed on January 12, 1785. He died in 1802. It is recorded that "no young man ever preached to such crowded assemblies." 1 *Collections*, VIII. 280. That may not be historically accurate, but Thacher was certainly the most popular preacher in the Boston of his day. Whitefield called him "the young Elijah." Like his comrades, he was a liberal. All four were forerunners of what was soon to become the Unitarian movement. It might be said of them what was recorded of their neighbor, the minister at Medford: "He lived five miles from Cambridge and fifteen from Andover and theologically he held about the same relation to these contrasted schools of thought."

[2] John Eliot was the son of Dr. Andrew Eliot of the New North Church, and his mother was one of the Portsmouth Langdons. It is interesting to note that after graduation from Harvard he made long visits in the families of Richard Cranch at Quincy and Jeremy Belknap at Dover, New Hampshire, both early members of the Society. Belknap had married Ruth Eliot, John Eliot's cousin. Eliot served for a while as a chaplain in the patriot army and in 1779 succeeded his father at the New North Church. He died in 1813 at the age of fifty-nine. He was a Fellow of the Harvard Corporation, 1804–1813, and, with Jeremy Belknap, was the chief founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which acquired from him some of its earliest collections of books and memorabilia. His *Biographical Dictionary of New England* (Boston, 1809) is a famous monument of patient scholarship.

[3] John Clarke belonged in this group, not only because of his position as minister of the First

So I venture another good guess about the beginnings of the Society. I think I see these two young parsons, Thacher and Eliot, probably friends from boyhood, certainly from college days together, climbing into a chaise on a brisk autumn morning of 1787 and setting out to collect signatures for their petition. They would have driven out over the Neck to Roxbury and stopped at the parsonage to see their friend Eliphalet Porter, and he would have joined them to step over to the house of his chief parishioner, Increase Sumner, and get his signature. Then they would have driven over to Mr. Hyslop's in Brookline and enlisted his interest and then to Cam-

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Church, but also by inheritance and intimate social relations. His father was a sea captain and merchant, and his mother was one of the Pickering family of Salem, sister of Colonel Timothy Pickering. Four years after graduation from college, Clarke became Dr. Chauncy's colleague at the First Church, succeeding him in 1787. He died in 1798 in the forty-third year of his age and the twentieth of his ministry. Thacher preached his funeral sermon.

[1] Eliphalet Porter was the youngest of the group, and, like Eliot, was a minister's son. Soon after graduating from college he settled in the Roxbury parish which he served until his death in 1833. Like his comrades, he was an organizer and officer of most of the philanthropic and educational institutions mentioned in this paper, and for fifteen years was a Fellow of the Harvard Corporation.

bridge for the mid-afternoon dinner, perhaps with President Willard in Wadsworth House, or with Professor Wigglesworth in the house next door, where Wigglesworth Hall now stands, or with Mr. Hilliard at the old parsonage. Then they would have stopped to get Judge Dana's signature, and so back home in the dusk of the November evening by way of Charlestown and over the new Charlestown bridge that had been opened only a few months before.

The first meeting of the incorporated Society was held on December 7, 1787, in the Senate Chamber at the Old State House, but there must have been an earlier gathering to talk over plans and draft the articles of incorporation. Such a meeting would naturally have been held at the house of one of the laymen in Boston and most probably at the house of the Honorable Moses Gill.[1] He was "given to hospitality," and his house, at the corner of School and Common (Tremont) Streets, where the Parker House now stands, was centrally located. There is no picture of it, but from the description it must have resembled the dwelling of my great-grandfather, which stood diagonally across the street, opposite King's Chapel. That was a three-story wooden house like those to be seen in Salem and Portsmouth and Newburyport, set back a little from the street, with a picket fence in front and a garden behind running up toward Somerset Street. The surmise that the earlier meeting was held at Mr. Gill's is strengthened by the fact that the seventh article of the act of incorporation explicitly authorized him to call the first meeting of the Society.

There is no authentic list of the gentlemen who met there, but I think one can name them with some assurance and even watch them as they gather in the low-ceilinged, white-paneled room lighted by wax candles. I suspect that if the November evening was chilly, there was no mild decoction of tea leaves for refreshment, but that mugs of hot rum were passed around.

At the table are seated several of the older gentlemen. Ebenezer

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[1] Gill had served in the General Court, and later he was for four years lieutenant governor, becoming acting governor on the death of Increase Sumner in 1799. He had married Sarah Prince, who was the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Prince of the Old South, the collector of the famous library and the compiler of the *Chronological History of New England*. She had inherited a considerable landed estate in the country town which her father had developed and which was named for him Princeton. There, in 1767, the Gills built what is described as "an elegant and noble seat," which was long the show place of Worcester County. Moses Gill prospered in real estate speculations in various parts of the state, and the town of Gill is named for him.

Storer is there, a deacon of the Brattle Street Church and treasurer of Harvard College. Of him Samuel A. Eliot wrote in his history of the college: "great praise is due to the assiduous and skillful labor of Treasurer Storer in retrieving the property of the college"—yes, and in keeping the institution going, straightening out the confused accounts of the late delinquent treasurer, one John Hancock, and paying the bills during the tumultuous years that followed the Revolution. There, too, is Jonathan Mason, a highly respected citizen, deacon and treasurer of the Old South, and successively a selectman, representative in the General Court, and state senator. And there is Judge Oliver Wendell, identified with all good causes and elected in the following year to be a Fellow of the Harvard Corporation. His daughter married the Reverend Abiel Holmes, the successor of Mr. Hilliard in the Cambridge Church, and the name found new distinction in the persons of Judge Wendell's famous grandson and great-grandson, the two Oliver Wendell Holmeses.

Talking together at the lower end of the table are the young ministers that have been mentioned and with them two older brethren, Joseph Eckley, who was minister of the Old South from 1779 to 1811, and Phillips Payson, who has driven in from his parsonage over on Rumney Marsh. He was a Harvard man of 1754 and served for forty-four years as the minister of the scattered settlements to the northeast of Boston now gathered into the cities of Chelsea and Revere and the town of Winthrop.

There were two other ministers among the incorporators, but it is doubtful whether they were present at this informal gathering, and they rarely, if ever, attended subsequent meetings. They lived in country parishes too remote to permit of driving into town, and they did not belong to the intimate circle of this original group. They were not Harvard men, and they adhered to and remained within the more conservative branch of the Congregational Church, while the Boston members were all of the liberal wing. The actual division of the churches into orthodox and liberal had not yet occurred, and party names had not yet appeared; but there was a certain drawing together of the men who sympathized with one or the other way of looking at things. Levi Frisbie was the minister of the church in Ipswich for thirty years. He was a Dartmouth man, and may very well have been included among the original members of the Society because he had there been trained to be a missionary to the Indians and had worked for several years among the Indians in the Ohio country. His son, Levi Frisbie, became a famous Harvard professor.

The other minister who could hardly have been present was the celebrated Nathaniel Emmons, pastor and first citizen for sixty-seven years of that part of the town of Wrentham which in 1778 was set off as Franklin. As a strong Calvinist and a Yale graduate he was just a bit of an outsider in this liberal Boston group, but he was not only a great theological scholar and author but very keen about missionary work and saving the souls of the heathen. Later he was the founder and president of the Massachusetts Missionary Society and promoter of the Andover Theological Seminary. He was the last survivor of the incorporators of the Society, dying in 1840 at the age of ninety-five.

At their first meeting these incorporators at once elected to membership in the Society a number of their friends and associates whose names do not appear on the original petition but whose interest could be counted on: James Bowdoin, who had been the president of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1780 and had just finished a term as governor, and who, in 1788, was a member of the convention that ratified the Federal Constitution; Dr. Jeremy Belknap, minister of the Long Lane Meetinghouse, where that convention assembled; Judge John Lowell and General Benjamin Lincoln; the Honorable Thomas Russell, the Honorable James Sullivan, and the Honorable William Phillips—all three of them later presidents of the Society; and the ministers of the Second Church, the West Church, and the church in Charlestown, Doctors Lathrop, Howard, and Morse.

The members of the Society, by voluntary subscription among themselves, immediately raised the funds needed to launch the enterprise, and three appropriations were made: one to aid the work of the Reverend Zachariah Mayhew among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, where four generations of Mayhews had been doing missionary work;[1] another to help the Reverend Gideon Hawley[2] in his work at Mashpee; and a third for the Reverend John Sargeant and the Reverend Samuel Kirkland—the latter was the father of President Kirkland—for work among the Stockbridge and Oneida Indians in New York.[1]

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[1] The Society still, I think, holds the title to the little Indian church and parsonage at Gay Head.

[2] Gideon Hawley, in a letter or report dated July 31, 1794 (1 *Collections*, IV. 50–67), records three Indian churches on Martha's Vineyard under Mr. Mayhew's care and some eighty or ninety Indian houses at Mashpee. In all, he estimates that there were "above a thousand souls" in these Massachusetts missions.

Then came a gift that gave permanence to the Society's beneficent activity. Perhaps the founders knew of such a possibility before they organized, but if they did, it did not hinder or retard their own generosity. In the little seventeenth-century book, *New Englands First Fruits*, where the founding of Harvard College is described, it is said that "it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman and a lover of Learning . . .) to give the one halfe of his estate . . . toward the erecting of a Colledge: and all his Library. . . ." So again in the next century God stirred up the heart of one Colonel John Alford of Charlestown, also a godly gentleman and a lover of learning, and he, dying in 1761, bequeathed a considerable estate to be applied at the discretion of his executors to "promoting the glory of the Almighty Creator and to the spiritual and temporal welfare of men . . . through pious and charitable uses." The executors, Edmund Trowbridge and Richard Cary, had proceeded to make a grant to Harvard College to establish the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity. That's more than a chair, it's a whole settee; but the Alford Professorship is associated with the honored names of Levi Frisbie, Jr., Levi Hedge, James Walker, Francis Bowen, George Herbert Palmer, and Josiah Royce. A similar grant was made to the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, but it had proved very difficult to settle the remainder of the Alford estate, for much of it was unmarketable lands in New Jersey. Then the Revolution came along, and there was further delay; but in the six years following the peace things had finally been closed up, and Richard Cary, the surviving executor, addressed to the Society a long and ceremonious letter, after the formal fashion of the day, in which he stated that he was not unaware that Colonel Alford had been very "desirous that the aboriginals should be both civilized and christianized . . . that the gospel should be sent into the dark benighted parts of the land that such as sit in darkness may come to the knowledge of the truth." Hence, Mr. Cary wrote, it gave him great satisfaction to afford some assistance to a society designed to put this excellent design into execution. This legacy amounted to something over ten thousand dollars, and it was and is the backlog of the modest endowments which the Society now administers.

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[1] The Oneida mission was in a series of villages from five to fifteen miles south of Oneida Lake, and the Stockbridge band, which had removed from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, onto land given them by the Oneidas, was some six miles farther south. There were said to be 650 people in the Oneida villages and 280 at Stockbridge. The Oneidas had for the most part sided with the patriots in the Revolutionary War, and their earlier villages had been destroyed and their country ravaged by British and Loyalist marauding bands. President Kirkland, who was born at the mission and worked there for a while after he graduated from college in 1789, gave a very depressing account of the condition of these Indians. His report, written in 1795, is printed in 1 *Collections*, IV. 67–74. He describes the Indians as "vicious, intemperate, sickly and dispirited." They were, he says, "vitiated, impoverished and destroyed" by contact with the white settlers. That is a story frequently repeated in the course of the succeeding century about many once healthy and vigorous tribes and bands.

The phrase in the Society's title which refers to "Indians *and others*" has been availed of in many instances. In the early years traveling preachers were frequently sent to what were called "the Eastern Provinces," meaning the District of Maine. Ministers were long maintained also at the Isles of Shoals: indeed all the ministers there from 1799 to 1871 were largely supported by the Society. As the Indians were moved or driven westward, the Society's missionaries went along with them, and in the reports there are references to work among the Ojibways in Michigan, the Oneidas, who had been moved out to Wisconsin, and the Cherokees in what is now Oklahoma. From the report of 1840 it appears that missions were conducted at three places which have for modern ears a somewhat different connotation—at Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy; and it was thought necessary to add concerning Chicago that it is situated in "the northern part of Illinois." Schools for colored people in the South were often helped, and the beginnings of the government schools for Indians were guided and fostered. No sectarian restrictions have ever been placed upon the missionaries, and aid has been given to worthy and promising enterprises without regard to denominational lines.

The high standards of membership in the Society, which is a self-perpetuating corporation limited to fifty members, have been well sustained. In addition to the members already mentioned, and not including any that are now living, one notes Governors Davis, Washburn, and Wolcott; Presidents Kirkland, Quincy, Walker, and Eliot of Harvard College; citizens like Daniel Webster, Joseph Story, Chief Justice Shaw and his successor, Judge Bigelow, Leverett Saltonstall, Samuel Hoar, E. Rockwood Hoar, Charles G. Loring, Stephen Salisbury, Nathaniel Thayer, Amos A. Lawrence, George S. Hale, William Endicott, and Arthur T. Lyman; ministers, too, like William Ellery Channing, Henry Ware, Charles Lowell, George Putnam, George E. Ellis, Edward Everett Hale, Andrew P. Peabody, Henry W. Foote, George A. Gordon, and Phillips Brooks. Many of these family stocks are still represented in the present membership of the Society.

Since 1911 the Society's endeavors have been again wholly devoted to Indian work. Its representatives, confined to no particular field, have been missionaries-at-large, visiting Indian reservations, schools, hospitals, and homes, and advising with local, district, and national leaders. They have helped to create a sensible and Christian sentiment about Indian affairs. They have fought the avarice of exploiting showmen and covetous oilmen and predatory stockmen. They have advocated just laws and progressive policies. The present Field Secretary, the Reverend G. E. E. Lindquist, is now the nation's foremost expert in the history and conditions and needs of the Indians—sensible, reliable, and expectant of good. He counsels inexperienced or discouraged workers in all the mission fields. He plans with both missionaries and government agencies the ways and means of religious education and of character building. He helps the Indians, not only by preaching the Gospel, but also by showing them how to prevent disease, earn a living, secure an education, and develop healthy home life. He encourages Indian initiative and suggests new interests and occupations. He has vision, sympathy, and patience.

The seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts bears the figure of an Indian standing, as it were, on the New England shore and saying, "Come over and help us." The seal of the Society for Propagating the Gospel bears the cup of salvation and a motto from the old word of the prophet that describes the way of that salvation: "Not by might and not by power, but by my spirit." The Society believes that the upbuilding of Christian character is still the fundamental need *both* of "Indians and *Others* in North America."

Abigail Adams, Commentator

Edited by Allyn B. Forbes

The Society has recently, through the gift of Mr. Heyliger de Windt, received a notable addition to its collection of Adams manuscripts. Of outstanding interest among these is a series of letters from Abigail Adams to her daughter Abigail, who in 1786 married Colonel William Stephens Smith, then Secretary of the American Legation in London. At the time the bulk of these letters were written the Smiths were living in Lebanon, New York, whither the Colonel had retired to the life of a farmer after his trial for complicity in the Miranda filibustering expedition had ruined his hopes for a political career. A daughter of this marriage, Caroline Amelia, married John Peter de Wint, and it is their grandson who has now presented these family papers to the Society.

The basic facts contained in these letters are, for the most part, well known. But Abigail Adams, through the perennial freshness of her viewpoint, was always able to give a touch of novelty to whatever she dealt with. In these letters, dealing in the main with important public events vitally affecting the career of her son, John Quincy Adams, she succeeds in making what is at first sight familiar significantly new. The original manuscripts have been followed with exactness. Readers familiar with Abigail Adams' letters only through the printed versions of the last century will doubtless be struck by the many technical flaws in her writing.

JOHN ADAMS AND ABIGAIL ADAMS TO WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH

Three Cups Harwich August 5, 1786, Saturday

Dear Sir

After a very pleasant Journey here we are. We came very leisurely, dined the first day at Ingatestone and slept at Witham, dined yesterday at Mistley (Mr. Rigbys Seat very near) and slept where we now are, in full view of the Land Guard Fortification, with a fair Sun and fine Breeze. Our Carriage is on Board. as Fortune will have it, Hearn is the Captain. it is my third Passage with him. the two first were tedious, this I hope will be otherwise. The Agent for the Packett called upon us last night, in Consequence of Mr. Frasers Letter. Ld Walthams Seat, and Mr. Rigbys, we wished to ramble in. Rigbys looks at a fine Cove of salt water. as this Farm has been watered and manured with the Effluvia of an hundred Millions of Money, being the Nerves of the American War, it might have been more magnificent[1]—it is a fine Seat. My Love to my dear Mrs. Smith. Mamma sends her Love to you both.

We passed a pretty Seat, of the Family of Hoar, perhaps the same with that of President Hoar, once of Harvard Colledge.[2]

At the Sign of the 3 cups, a tolerable House where a better is not to be had, with a fine view of the water from 3 windows, and a memento mori from the fourth, viz. a burying Ground and church within half a rod of us. We are now setting at the Breakfast table. Pappa having told you where we stopd dined, slept etc. has left nothing for me to say excepting that he twic[e] mounted Johns Hor[s]e and rode 7 miles twice, which you see by computation makes 14 mi. In concequence of a Letter from the Secretary of the States office the captain is obliged to give us the great cabin to ourselves for which we must make him a compliment of 10 Guineys and 7 for the Carriage. We concluded as there were 10 other passengers one being a Lady, that if any of them were very sick we could not (doing as we would be done by) refuse them admittance. So it was as well not to retain it, as the captain promisd me a small room by myself. the Country from London to Harwich is very delightfull. We were not much incomoded with dust. We found a card at Woods, from Mr. Hollis requesting us to call on him and take a dinner or Bed etc. We reachd Woods about 2 oclock orderd our dinner and walkd to the Hide. Mr. Hollis received us with great Hospitality, and Miss Brands countanance shone. She treated us with some cake, we sat an hour took our leave and dined at Woods. Esther sighd this morning as she was dressing me and said, how strange it seems not to have Mrs. Smith with us. I had felt it strange through the whole journey—one must be weaned by degrees. I hope you are very happy. You cannot be otherways whilst you continue to have the disposition to be so. look in if you please once a week at our House, and let me know that it continues to stand in Grosvenour Square. Adieu

Your affectionately
A. A.

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[1] Richard Rigby held the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces from 1768 until 1784.

[2] Up to this point the letter is in the handwriting of John Adams. The remainder of the letter is in the handwriting of Abigail Adams.

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy March 18th 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

WILLIAM[1] has been so punctual in writing to you every week, that I have been more remiss. I cannot write in an evening, the only time in which I feel a disposition to use my pen is the forenoon. You know how buisily that is generally occupied, and more so now Louissa is in Boston; and the Farm buisness is just commencing. Mrs. Dexter is going to housekeeping. I know not where to supply her place, but her family increases mine, and the Embargo distresses us all. Yet is it a measure that I am convinced was the best calculated to avert the horrors of war, of any which prest on all sides as our Government were, could have been so resorted to, cruel and oppressive as it appears, and hard as it is to be borne, we had better suffer temporary privations, than the calamities of war, which when once commenced no one can calculate or estimate. You have expresst your surprise that your Brother attended the caucus[2] at Washington. William has coppied a Letter and inclosed to you in replie to one which I wrote under the same impression which you felt at the report; as he says he weighd well the subject before he went. I presume he considerd Mr. Madison the fittest man upon that side of the Question, and one of the most sensible and candid of Virginians, a moral man unexceptionable in private Life. in the present state of our country, union is essentially necessary to our very existance, and so small is the federal weight in the political scale that there is not the least possibility of their succeeding in any federal Character they might nominate. to obtain the best and least exceptionable on the other side is a desirable object. these were the reasons I have not a doubt which induced your Brother to attend the caucus which has subjected him to so much falshood and calumny from the federal party, for they could always perform their part, not quite so hardily however as the Antis.

In a Letter of late date, March 9th he says, I have no partialities in favour either of Britain or France. I do not believe that either of them is fighting the battles of the world, or sacrificing itself for the Liberties of mankind. During the present war the first aggression against Neutral Rights was committed by Great Britain. She it was who by her pretended rule of the War of 1756 undertook to interdict the trade of neutrals with her enemies colonies, for the purpose of monopolizing it herself. Scarcly two years have elapsed since Congress was besieged with petitions and memorials from all the merchants of the United States against this usurpation upon the most unquestionable neutral rights, a Resolution of the senate *unanimously* declared it an unprovoked aggression upon the property of our Citizens, a violation of their neutrals rights an encroachment upon our national independence. it was in consequence of a memorial from Boston on this subject that a special mission was sent to England. That special mission you know has failed. It terminated in a *treaty* so *derogatory* to our *Rights* that the President did not even lay it before the senate. A *Treaty* which would in substance have surrenderd to Great Britain the whole of her principle against which we had so formerly and so justly protested.

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[1] William Steuben Smith, son of William Stephens and Abigail Adams Smith.

[2] The Republican Congressional caucus which nominated Madison for the presidency.

With respect to foreign influence he observes thus. the speculative opinions and personal feelings of the President and Secretary of State have perhaps always inclined too much towards France; as the opinions and feelings of other statesmen equally distinguished have inclined too much towards England. there are few, very few indeed, in this great political convusion of the world whose *Hearts* have not taken a side in the struggle; but it has been, and still is my candid opinion, that so far as relates to public conduct and official acts, the neutrality of the present administration has been as fair and impartial as it was under either of those which preceeded and during the former War. The administration is and must be charged with the duty of asserting and maintaining the Rights of the Nation, but this duty it can never discharge, unless the Nation itself give it countenance and support in its measures.

"Speaking of the embargo, he writes, I consider it as the last anchor of our peace, and if it can preserve us that Blessing, heavily as it bears upon our country, I shall always rejoice at my vote in its favour, as contributing to the extent of my power to the best interest of the Nation. there is no smart like that which is felt. that we may have no opportunity to compare by this sense of actual feeling the sufferings of war with those of Embargo I do most fervently wish, but if we should, I have no doubt of the result. The little finger of war will be heavier than the loins of Embargo."

I wish I could transcribe the whole of the letter but do not feel at Liberty to, as it is written to Mr. Hall, and only lent to me. It breaths through the whole a spirit of candour impartiality and integrity which is the true Character of the Man, and which is a source of never failing satisfaction to me.

With respect to Mr. Roses negotiation, I do not believe from the statement given, that it can terminate to the satisfaction of the government. He says, I told Mr. Roses principle companion (who was an old acquaintance of mine at Berlin) that if he and I had the negotiation to conduct, and I had unlimited powers, I would ask of him one single word, and give him *Carte Blanche*. The word was *Reciprocity*, but Great Britain has no Idea of that.

I know how much you feel interested in whatever affects the Characters of those nearly connected with you, and I could not so ably defend your Brothers against the base attacks made upon it, by attributing to him views which never enterd his mind, and conduct which he scorns, as by transcribing his Letter, and giving you fully his sentiments, you can form an opinion by what is before you.

William this day has finished his school much to the satisfaction of his employers. his attention has been unremitting and his success will speak his praise. he appears averse to the Law. The Embargo is an obstical to all commercial enterprize. The Army seems to be his object, and his Grandfather has told him that he should not have any objection to writing both to the President and Mr. Madison and the Secretary of War. I have also told him that I would write to the President. Several young Gentlemen have gone from Boston to Washington for the purpose of engaging in the service upon this Head. he will consult both his Father and you. I feel loth he should leave us, but know not what to advise him to do.

Tell Caroline I will attend to her commission to her Brother, and that I shall write soon to her Mrs. Adams has had a fine getting up scarcly sick a day. her little girl grows finely and is quiet. they both went to meeting last Sunday Elizabeth Coombs is its Name. Abbe grows daily more and more interesting, dresses herself up and shakes her hand with a good by mamma, by Grandmamma, go and see aunt Miff and Caroline which she has now learnt to pronounce. She is very fond of the Baby, calls it precious sister, and teazes it so with her carresses that her mamma cannot keep her with her. My paper is almost full, yet I have many more things to say. Your father had a Letter from John this week who was well. Susan has written to Caroline, what kind of a Letter I know not as she would not let me see it. I enclose it however. Pheby is so much better that she hobbles about House. With love to all I am your truly affectionate

MOTHER

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Sunday Eve.
Quincy March 27th, 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

WILLIAM left us on thursday, and on fryday set his face towards you. We parted with him with much reluctance. his whole conduct has been so satisfactory to all of us, that our blessings and good wishes will follow him where ever he goes, or what ever his destination in Life may be. to the reading law he appeard averse and he offerd weighty reasons against it. the bent of his mind appears to be for a military Life. the present state of our country bodes employment in that department more than I wish it did. What arrangements will be made, a little time will disclose. his Grandfather will write to the proper Authority in his favour, if he should decide for the Army. if any thing should present in a civil line of Life, it would certainly meet my wishes in preference. Several Letters arrived on Saturday for him, which agreable to his request, his uncle has coverd and returnd to him One of them, from its back, I fancied might have an inclosure for me but I did not feel myself at liberty to open it. if so I shall regret that it was returned.

I sent by William a few articles which I presumed would be acceptable to you and to Caroline. My commission should have extended further, if William could have delayd his return longer, or into April. I might sometimes forward you a few necessaries if any mode of conveyence could be pointed out.

The season here is mild, and we have the appearence of an early spring. We have begun to prepare our Garden. there is a general stagnation of buisiness. the farmer knows not how to hire labour, or to pay for it rather. Commerce is dead and agriculture is chief mourner. not a ray of light breaks through the Gloom. information is arriving that Napoleon is hunting out new inventions to draw tighter the restriction with which he has bound commerce and oblige us if possible to take a part for or against him. an other unhappy affair has taken place in the East Indias between the British and Americans upon the old griveance of impressing Men, and Blood has been shed upon both sides:[1] The Anti Anglomanes seize with eagerness every cause of uneasiness and work it up to a pitch of voilence which must terminate in war. the British are very insolent and haughty, and exercise their power without much regard to right.

All events are under the controul of a Supreme Being who will order and direct them, I trust for our best good: and may it please him to avert from us the horrors of war.

I have not much of a local nature to relate to you. William will tell you all about us, of uncle and Aunts, little folks and great. his uncle Cranch he did not know was sick. he is seizd with one of his old lung complaints, which his advanced Age makes very allarming. he has had a streng[t]h of constitution which has carried him through much sickness, to a very good old Age in vigor and usefulness. So good a Man is ready to depart when calld for, yet we wish to keep him here longer. Col. Hubert of Abington died a few days since very suddenly. Who that know what a frail feeble being his wife has always been, would have supposed that she would have survived him?

You must write to me frequently. I shall want to know how you come on, when you begin to vegitate, what success you have with maple sugar? etc. What help you have, what sort of people you have as neighbours? Whether you can use a wheel carriage, whether you have a physician near you.

I saw Miss Hinkly in Boston. She regreted very much that she did not know that you was in Northampton William has taken Letters to her, and his Grandfather gave him one to Governour Strong. I suppose he will be with you by the time my Letter reaches you.

My Regards to Mrs. St. Hillair, and love to the Col. Louissa is in Boston. Mrs. Adams will write to you.

All the domesticks join in love to the dear Caroline. Mary always has her dear souls over whenever she talks of her, so Caroline may skip light as the faun, since she is always rememberd as the dear delightful Girl whom every Body loves, and no one more than her affectionate Grandmother

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[1] The *Columbian Centinel*, March 26, 1808, reports: "Accounts from *China, state,* that several melancholy rencontres have taken place at *Macoa,* between the British and American ships lying there." Two "affrays" are mentioned in particular: that between the British brig *Diana* and the ship *Caravan* of Boston; and that between the *Diana* and the schooner *Topaze* of Baltimore.

Abigail Adams

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Sunday Quincy April 17, 1808

My dear daughter

It is so long since I have received a Letter from you that I am anxious to hear from you. I have written twice since, once before William left us; and once since. I hope he has arrived in health and safety; we received his Letter from Albany and heard by way of Miss Hinkly, that his visit to Govenour Strong was very pleasing to the Govenour; I feel anxious for him. The times are very discouraging to a young man just entering upon the stage of Life, they cannot remain in this stagnant state much longer. we are driven up into the close corner and cannot move, but to our own loss and destruction. Our Government seem determined to stand still, and wait for the Salvation of the Lord; the public are now in possession of all the documents respecting our foreign Relations, candour will allow them to be liberal, wise and just on the part of our own Government, and can see nothing but forbearence Moderation and patience towards those who have abused our Moderation and insulted our patience. Mr. Roses mission could never seriously be intended to make reperation, clogd with conditions which as an independent Nation the President could never acceed to without a degradation which an injurd Nation could not possibly submit to. Your Brother Thomas has inclosed to William a Letter from your Brother J. Q. A. to Mr. H. G. Otis,[1] which will give you a fuller view of our difficulties with England than have been known to you before I presume, and will give you his reasons for voting for the embargo, a measure he well knew which would render him very unpopular. the Letter is such as an honest upright Man, need not blush to own, disclosing facts which the Nation ought to know at this critical juncture. it is, however, so bitter a pill, that the Anglo-Americans cannot swallow it so they resort to revileing and abuse, calumny and slander to injure the writer, and to draw down vengence upon him, but the curse causeless shall not come. I never expected to see what are call'd the federal papers so blindly attachd to any foreign Nation. English partizens and French partizens (tho they are fewer in number) divide our country whilst the pure and Native American can scarcly find a spot upon which he may place his foot, and make a firm stand against these encroachments. We may truly say, we are in a strait between two.

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[1] *A Letter to the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, a Member of the Senate of Massachusetts, on the Present State of Our National Affairs; with Remarks upon Mr. Pickering's Letter to the Governor of the Commonwealth* (Boston, 1808).

Our respective families are all well. Mrs. B. Adams has a daughter. our little ones are well. the Chinese Chatterer grows daily more interesting. We begin to look quite verdent here the Gooseburry bushes have leaved, and our daffies are in Bloom.

My love to Caroline. I hope an other Saturday will not pass without bringing Letters to your

affectionate Mother
Abigail Adams

Remember me to the Col. to William and all the rest of the family. I hear Mrs. Long is gone to Scotland with her Husband.

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy May 8th 1808

My dear daughter

I TOOK my pen to write to you this morning in a placid temper of mind, the news papers of yesterday lay by me, which I had not looked into comeing late last evening from Boston: papers bearing the title of Federal. I found in them such a bitter spirit of party, such uncandid constructions, such false conclusions, and such mean crouching to one power, and such bigg Blustering against an other, that I own I feel my indignation strongly excited against the writers tho unknown to me. in every paper and upon every occasion they attack your Brother with a venom and spight, which shows fully how much they dread his tallents, and how keenly they feel the force of his replie to Mr. Pickerings Letter. So totally devoted to the essex junto are all the Federal printers in Boston, that they have refused to publish a single line in answer to the false and scandelous publications with which there papers have teemed ever since the Report in the case of John Smith appeard.[1] This is the fate of every public Man who wishes to do his duty with fidelity to his country, to impartially administer equal justice to all. the spirit of party has become so rancorous that a civil war will break out, unless some method can be devised to subdue the base passions of envy and jealousy, and moderate the contending factions. candour, liberality and that Charity which the Gospel so highly recommends, which suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not which vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, this truly Christian spirit seems banished from the Hearts and pens of Men, and in lieu of it, calumny and evil speaking, falshood and deceit take the lead. can the cause of truth and justice prevail when thus borne down? this is no new thing under the sun. The History of the world is full of such base ingratitude, and for this the judgements of heaven are abroad in the earth, and for these sins we shall like other Nations be scourged. in proportion as our Family have been engaged in public Life have they shared from one and the other party their full proportion of obliqui and ill treatment, but I challenge either party, in their hours of calmness to produce a single instance, or one action where the honour independence and safety of the Country has not been the ultimate object of every member of the family where personal safety has not been hazarded, personal property sacrificed and the whole long Life of its most ancient Member solely devoted to the public interest. having given vent to my feelings excited by news paper revileings I quit the subject, and its Authors, and ask forgiveness for them as I am instructed in holy writ, and notice your kind Letters of March 6th and April 24th which I received both together and thank you for them. to hear often from you is a great pleasure to me, one of the few left me in the decline of life, when the days approach in which we are told there is no pleasure. there is an innocent pleasure to be derived from the renovating season of the spring which charms us even in age. I feel its influence in the vivid green which cloaths the earth, in the beautious Blosom which adorn the trees and in "the Charm of earliest Birds." these are all before me. the grass waves in the wind. I never saw it more forward at this season. on the 24 of April we cut our first assparagrass. on the 25 our daffies bloomd. our peach and pear and plomb trees are in full Bloom, peas ready to stick. I did not expect to hear from you, that your peas were up. I should like to have you state the progress of your vegetation that we may compare notes. our Barley is also up. I am glad to find that you have been so successfull in making maple sugar. every manafactor which will render us less dependent is a valuable acquisition. My Immagination frequently visits you, and always find you occupied. to be idel would be novel altogether to you. We cannot be sufficiently thankfull to our early instructors for teaching us habits of industery, training us up in the way we should go, that in age we may not depart from it. it is a true saying, that the devil will find work for those who have not any employment. the mind is naturally active and the body requires it also.

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[1] Senator John Smith of Ohio, whose expulsion from the United States Senate for complicity in Burr's conspiracy was recommended by a committee headed by John Quincy Adams.

Born to no end, we worse than useless grow
as waters stagnate when they cease to flow.

Mrs. T. B. A. desires me to ask you if you have not received a Letter which she wrote you in Febry. our little Abbe grows a little charmer. how she would delight to ramble with Caroline, and feed the chickins. She is a daily visitor to the puppy children as she calls them and runs as fast as a quail when she gets out. the little one is a very beautifull Baby, quiet as a Lamb, fine dark Eyes, and black Hair. She bids fair to outshine her sister in personal beauty. Mrs. Adams's sister Foster has a son about a week old—Mrs. B. Adams has a daughter. So we increase and multiply and replenish the earth.

Charlot Welch has been with us this fortnight. Susan rambles with her. She wants Caroline too. Susan scolds because Caroline does not write. Your Father received Williams Letter and was satisfied with his reasons. William must continue to write. tell him it is a habit the pleasure of which increases with the practise, but becomes urksome by neglect. Your Father sends his Love to you all. Louisa Susan and all the Domesticks desire me to make mention of their high consideration. I believe I wrote you that Mrs. Dexter and family were removed to their own House. We expect your Brother and family to arrive this week. inclosed is a Letter for Caroline.

affectionatly your Mother
ABIGAIL ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy May 20, 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

WHEN confined to my Chamber as I am at present by indisposition, I get more leisure for writing than when employd with my family occupations. tho for two day my Head has sufferd such severe pain that I could neither write or read, to day I feel much releived, and if neither chills or fever attack me to day, I shall hope to be below stairs in a day or two. I have enjoyd for a year past a greater proportion of health, than has fallen to my lot in many preseeding ones, thanks to the Giver of every good and perfect Gift. I fear I have not made so good a use of it as I ought to have done, but shall be call'd an unprofitable servant. may my future days be those of more usefullness more devoted to the service of my Maker.

Your Letter of May 1 reach'd me on the 12th. your Brother was here from Boston and kept Sabbeth with us. Mrs. Adams saw John in New York who told her that Mr. Minchin was returnd, and was gone on to Philadelphia. he supposed to be married immediately. The last letter but one which I received from Sally she informd me that she had received Letters from him, in which he acquainted her, that his Brother had ruind him, that he was not worth any thing; and that all her hopes were blasted. what new good luck may have befallen him I have not heard, but I hope she will not marry without a prospect of bettering her situation. poor Mrs. Buchannan had better have remaind single than have encumberd herself with four children and very small means to support them. her own health much impared too. I believe her Friends are of the same opinion. it is best under such circumstances to be a good Calvinist, and belive that every thing which comes to pass is foreordaind, as I have heard some good women say with respect to children that they must have their Number. This doctrine takes away the free agency of Man, but I believe serves as a consolation to those who can fully assent to it.

Your Brother Thomas sent William his Brothers Letter soon after it was publishd. It is a Letter the principles of which will do honour to the head and heart of the writer, when that heart can no longer beat for the honour and independence of that country whose rights he is defending, and whose honour he considers as grosely insulted by the Nations of Europe. he knew when he wrote it that he was exposing himself to the attacks of those who love money more than independence to those who are devoted to England, and wish a war with France, which would be in its concequences a war with Spain, Holland Prussia Russia Portugal and every power which France has in her gripe, and concequently we must confine ourselves exclusively to England, submitting to all her impositions and restrictions, her duties and taxes, mere collonies again. as to supporting all the measures of the executive, you must be mistaken, he reprobates that distruction of the Navy, that total neglect of defence which so disgrace the present administration, but as it respects the foreign negotiations, he thinks they have been conducted upon fair and honorable ground, and that without partiality to one Nation, in preference to the other. having read all the foreign communications, and believeing that fully to be the case, ought he not to have manifested it to the Nation, when publications to the contrary were daily issuing from the press. he considerd this as a part of his duty, and having dischargd it, he will not heed the abuse and calumny with which the federal presses have teemed ever since some asscribing to him views of ambition, and seeking office both Mr. Jefferson and Madison know the contrary, and will be bold to declare it. office he might have had I doubt not, and I have reasons for saying it, but he has ever declared that he had no personal views nothing to hope nothing to wish for. When these quill assailents could find no other motive to attack him, some must needs find fault with stile and metaphor. he has not replied to any of them. there are his sentiments, and they are those of a great candid liberal mind, a mind with large and extensive views, not confined to party, to state, or individuals, but to a large and growing Country whose interest lay nearest his Heart, and the benefit of Mankind, by disposing them to do that Justice to us which we were willing to extend to them.

Mr. Bareing has published a pamphlet upon the late British orders in council[1] which does him much honour as a liberal candid Man. he resided years in America, and became much acquainted with the mercantile interest of the country. he is the Gentleman who married the eldest daughter of Mr. Bingham, and is now a Member of the British Parliament. If your brother and Mr. Bareing had consulted upon the British aggressions, they could not have more fully coinsided in opinion. it was not republishd untill after your Brothers Letter, and he had not seen it. Mr. Bareing did not know of our embargo, which however a measure of necessity, is grieveous to be borne, and must be removed. the people cannot bear it and they will not. they will break out into tumults and insurrections I fear e'er long. it is yet doubtfull whether our Legislature will have a federal Majority. they will however be a much greater number of them than last year. the embargo has excited inquiry, and inquiry has convinced many persons that our National Government has been administerd upon a narrow contracted system, and that it has in a great measure brought upon us the distresses we now feel Whilst our country is so divided by party spirit, I see no prospect of its becomeing better by a change, for should the federal party prevail, all the weapons of their opponents would be leveld against every measure however wise and judicious. the great object of the honest men of both parties should be to unite for the common good, and to cultivate a spirit of candour liberality and harmony untill that can be effected our country will be torn alternately by contending factions. this is the object your Brother has in view I fear without effect.

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[1] Alexander Baring, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council, and an Examination of the Conduct of Great Britain towards the Neutral Commerce of America* (London, 1808).

I have run such a political rigg that I have little room left yet I must add that there is not any society in Boston bearing the name of Democratic. most assuredly your Father was never President or Member of any one. if his system of government had been pursued with his system of defence neither France Spain or England would have insulted us in the manner they have. we are all in pretty good health, myself and little Abbe excepted who has been sick for several days. I wish you were where you could have her to visit you. She is a lovely engageing little thing. the young one may truly be calld handsome, which I never allowd Abbe to be. tell William I was fully satisfied with the reasons given in his Letter for declineing a commission in the Army. I hope he will see better days yet.

tell Miss Caroline she is in debt to me a Letter. I pray she would inform me, "How grow the tended plant, and how the vine grows round the Tufted Tree."

I have not been in Boston since I received your Letter, but will attend to your commission. the whole family unite in Love regard, etc. etc. to all of yours. pray when you write say so to dear Caroline William and all.

most affec[tionate]ly
Your Mother
A A

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy, June 19th 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

HERE we are sitting by a good fire in the parlour, and wearing our winter coats to meeting, whilst our windows are coverd with a profusion of roses, our walls decorated with flowers expanding their Beauties to the cold northern blast, which rudely lacerates their delicate texture, unmindfull of their Beauty, and headless of their fragrance.

I rose the other morning delighted with the visit I had made you, and the pleasing interview I had with you, and the Coll. William your Brother, Mrs. St. Hillair, all but my dear Caroline not least beloved, whom I did not see. Your Father accompanied me, and we came rather unexpectedly upon you, but were not the less joyfully received. I was quite delighted with your situation, and found you so cheerfull and happy that it augmented the pleasure of my visit which was only interrupted by the strikeing of the clock at the morning hour when I usually rise. altho only a dream it left upon my mind so pleasing an impression, that I could not refrain communicating it at the Breakfast table and calling upon the family to participate the pleasure. It is some time since I received a Letter from you. Susan received one from Caroline of May 25th a few days since, full of her lovely lively spirits which delighted us all. I have been much confined at home from indisposition for three weeks to my chamber with a bad cough and some fever. it has left me, altho a change of weather produces a hoarsness. I have not been in Boston since your Brothers return there. He comes to Quincy almost every Saturday, and passes Sunday with us, but yesterday the rain and storm prevented him. Miss Kitty Johnson has been with us the week past, altho she has not so many personal Charms as Eliza, her manners are more correct and pleasing to me. I think she resembles her Mother in person and manners more than any of her other of her daughters. our little Abbe is gone with her Aunt Mary to Haverhill. you may easily immagine how much we miss her. Mrs. James Foster has an other son—thus far domestick occurrences.

You have no doubt seen that our State Legislature and Senate have a federal majority, and that they have elected Mr. Loyed a Senator to congress in the room of your Brother. Mr. Loyed is the only son of Dr. Loyed, a Merchant, a gentleman of tallents and education, of a fair and honorable Character, whom I presume will not discredit the State. how much of an Essex Man he is, time will disclose. during the present session of the House, a number of Resolutions were brought forward and adopted, with instruction to the Representitives and Senators to use their influence in congress to carry them into effect. those of them which recommend a Navy for the defence of our harbours and commerce, and fortifications for our security, not only your Brother, but every Man who is sensible of our exposed situation, and the allarming state of our country with respect to Foreign powers, would most readily assent to. but these resolutions were connected with others which calld for a decided opposition to the National Government, and in the view of your Brother, relinquished our Neutral Rights, and deserted our seamen subjects which he had ardently maintaind and strenuously asserted against British orders and French Edicts, and which he considerd as essential to our independence. consistant therefore with his principles, he could not any longer hold his seat in the Senate. he resignd it by a letter to the two Houses, like an honest Man and a true American.

The Federal party have acted towards him a most ungenerous part, one which no honest Man can justify they have vilified, abused and calumniated him because he could not adopt their principles and become a party Man, because he would have an opinion of his own, every federal printer in Boston refused to publish any thing which was written by way of justification or explanation of his conduct. let us pull him down by any means, and any falshood was the language of their conduct: the Republicans saw this, and eagerly caught the occasion to place him upon their side, and support him by their votes. this exasperated the federalist, and they rejected a man whose conduct and principles will reflect honour upon his country in spight of all their mean jealousy and narrow views. the Republicans have acted towards him with more candour and liberality than they usually practise. they have not resorted to flattery but represent him as he really is, a man of candid liberal mind, free from party views, of a pure heart, and unblemished Character, of distinguished tallents and integrity.

I cannot say that he has not felt being wounded in the House of his friends, yet his elevation of mind will enable him to bear with mildness and patience the jealousy of his equals, which upon this occasion has been very conspicuous, the ill treatment of his fellow citizens, and the calumnies of his enemies, being fully sensible that true greatness of soul consists in suffering these trials without complaining or abateing any thing of zeal for the public good. Plutarch observes that the ill usage of our Country, like that of our parents, should be borne with submission.

I must close this Letter with my best Love and regards to the Coll. who has shared largely in the *Bounties* of his Country and who knows how to estimate good report and evil report.

Verily there is a Reward for the Righteous. let us act consciencously and leave the event.

With Love to every Branch of your Family from every twig of ours, I am dear daughter

Most affectionately
Your Mother
ABIGAIL ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy August 29, 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

DO you know how long a time has elapsed since you wrote a single line to your Mother? You did not use to be thus neglectfull of your pen. I am myself frequently tardy, but I believe unless the post has failed, that I have written twice since I received a letter from you. Caroline has written once to me and once to Susan so that my mind has been releived from the apprehension that you were sick. I have had an ill turn, and been confined to my chamber for a week past with complaints similar to those which at this season usually afflict me, an irregular intermitting fever and rhumatic complaints united, my head much affected, which has prevented my writing before. it is so common for me to be indisposed that it seems a matter of course; but your Aunt Cranch has been much more sick than I have; being confined to her Bed with a virtigo in her head, so that she cannot bear a ray of light or walk or stand a moment. She has taken an emitic and been blisterd, but is not yet relieved. You will easily conceive how much her sickness has added to my anxiety and distress, that she to whom I am so much indebted for the tenderest care and assiduity, when I have been brought low, should herself want that aid I am unable to afford her: it has so happend, that this is a season when Mrs. Greenleaf and family make their visit; she is there fortunately, alltho encumberd with 5 children, and near being confined with her sixth. Yet why should I say encumberd; doth not the Scripture say that children are an Heritage of the Lord? and is not every married person desirious of building up a family. is it not their duty to do so. He who says or lives as if he thought that "it is good for man to be alone gives the lie to his Maker; sins against the constitution of his nature, dishonours his parents; defrauds another of one of the justest rights of his humanity and exposes himself to commit offences against society," says good Dr. Hunter in his Sacred Biography or history of the Patriarchs, a course of Lectures which I have lately been reading, and with which I have been highly pleased. I wish I could convey them to you. they are instructive and entertaining, excellent family Books. I should be delighted to have my Caroline read them. You must read Uncle justise this admonition. altho seperated from you as appears to me a much greater distance than when you resided in the city of N. York, my imagination follows you; and I think of you hourly, regret the seperation, and mourn that my only daughter cannot more frequently visit her parents. Yet I cheeck myself and say am I not ungratefull? has she not been with me through many of my most dangerous and painfull sicknesses, a solace a comfort and consolation to me. might she not be placed in circumstances much more distressing for me to reflect upon?

How is my dear William, laid asside his pen for the impliments of Husbandery, can the wilderness make him forget the social fire side of Quincy, the slate and pencil of his Grandfather over which he last winter spent so many—shall I say *pleasent*, or usefull evenings? From John we hear pretty often, he and his Grandfather are still correspondents. he writes for information and instruction, which his Grandfather readily communicates. I expect Susan's Mamma and Sister every day to spend some time with me. She seems to be unfortunate in her expected connexion and saucy Susan says, sighs and groans as much as if she was a *young Girl*, for the slut got her Letters to me and read them—you know she is too knowing in some things for her years. Caroline says to Susan—write me anything but politicks. If you say so too, I shall hardly know how to comply. Yet they are very vexatious topicks. Yet who can feel indifferent when the prevalence of party spirit distorts every effort for the public good into a conspiracy to overturn the constitution; and native Americans unite with foreigners to degrade the Land which gave them Birth and humiliate themselves to become tributary vassels, the vile spirit of party, has sacrificed at their shrine, honour, integrity and talents that corresponding opinions prevail in other states, I will coppy from the Newspaper an extract of a Letter from a gentleman in South Carolina to his Friend in this state—"The shamefull neglect of talents of integrity and manly candour and firmness, which has occurrd with you in leaving out John Q. Adams as Senator, excites here universal sympathy in his favour, and a corresponding disgust at the conduct of his opposers. I hear him spoken of with enthusiastic admiration, and I make no doubt but that the ill usage he has received will in the long run, prove highly advantageous to him."

With respect to the Letter so much the subject of federal censure and abuse, there is everything in it, which constitutes an upright honest candid Man, who loves his country better than Gold: and who dared to strip the mask from the face of deformity, and hold up to public view the true and real picture—I consider it as a family trophy, as a coat of arms and pride myself more in being the Mother of such a son, than in all the honours and titles which Monarch could bestow.

I am disgusted when I see low artifice substituted for candor, falshood for truth, and the same arts resorted to support a good cause, which were used to accomplish a bad one. it has been publicly asserted that your Father has said that he fully approved of the present Administration. nothing could be more false. He must first condemn all the great leading principles of his own which were neither weak or timid, rash or violent, cruel or vindictive. they were the Halcion days of America. What is to be our future Lot, Heaven only knows. May the Righteous few save our Land.

Our Friends here are well, save those I have mentiond. Remember me affectionatly to the Col. to William and Caroline. I hope Mrs. St. Hillair has recoverd from her fall for a sprain when first done, a Tea kettle of cold water poured upon it in a stream is the best thing I ever saw used, tho painfull it is salutary.

Our little Abbe is a delightfull sensible forward child, but Eliza is the Beauty—fine large chestnut eye, black hair, and fair skin, short Limbs round face and a quiet child.

I must bid you good night or I shall get a sleepless night, and then it will be attributed to writing.

Your ever affectionate Mother
Abigail Adams

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy October 3rd 1808

My dear daughter

I BEGAN a Letter to you on Sunday last in which I informed you that your sister S. Adams and Abbe arrived here the week before in good health and spirits, that they left your Mother sisters and son well. John has written me a Letter by them which is the first I have received from him, tho he frequently writes to his Grandfather. I shall not fail replying to him. Susan has been a Month at Atkinson, and Abbe Shaw with me untill last week when her Aunt Cranch sent for her to be with her. It is more than a Month since my dear sister has been confined by sickness to her Chamber, and Bed part of the time. She was seizd with a voilent virtigo in her head, so that she could neither walk or stand or raise herself up in Bed. this continued a fortnight, before she was able to sit up. Mr. Cranch was suddenly seizd with a Cholora Morbus which in a few hours, reduced him to a state little better than death. her exertions were much beyond her strength to attend upon him. he has recoverd but is still weak pale and feeble. the next calamity was Mathe the old faithfull domestick was seizd with a lung fever and confined to her Bed. all these things contributed to keep your Aunt low and the rhumatic complaint from her head attackd the Kidneys and produced an excrutiating Strangry. Bleading and Baths were the only releif she found, and she is now confined more reduced than I ever knew her before. For myself, you know the fall months are very unpropitious to me. I am frequently confined for a week or ten days, weather the attack, and get out again this has been the case for a month past. Thus much for the dismalls. I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of August 23d which I had impatiently waited for, and which you had delayd because you had not any thing worth communicating.

To know that you are well that you have Bread to eat, and Raiment to cloath you, are subjects of no trivial import, and communicate pleasure to me, as the reverse would be most painfull. Your account of the plentifull Harvest you have gatherd in leaves no anxiety upon the mind respecting want. we may truly say with respect to our country, that our lines have fallen to us in pleasent places, and that we have a goodly Heritage where famine which frequently distresses other countries is unknown. it is true we have not always power over our own lot to carve it out as we please, but the mind has power over itself, and happiness has its seat in the mind, not in external circumstances, for we frequently see the most Affluent, the most discontented and unhappy.

Our dear Caroline's chit chat letters amuse and divert us, so lively so gay, like the Bird which hops from spray to spray and carols as he sits imparting pleasure to his fellow songsters and all who hear: sweet age of innocence, the Mind pure the Heart uncorrupt. you wish to look in upon your friends here and know how they do. Mrs. Beal and family well. Mrs. Wales has a son. Mrs. T. Greenleaf no great alteration there. Mrs. Black much fallen away from long and tedious sickness, recoverd so as to be abroad. Mrs. D. Greenleaf fat and hearty Mrs. Millar and family well. Mrs. Pickering just got to Bed with a son. In Boston your Brother sister and children well, meaning Charles. John been at Quincy with me all summer. George grown a steady Boy, goes to school steadily Mr. Smith and family all well. Dr. Welch reduced very low from a Carbuncle upon his left hand, threatned with a mortification, saved by laying it open to the Bone, near three months since it first began. Charlot at Northhampton. Mrs. Storer and family well. Dr. and Mrs. Tufts tolerably [*torn*] rather invalides. Mr. and Mrs. C. Tufts well. Quincy with the Ague and fever, caught at the [   ]. So much for domestick affairs. now for a seasoning of politicks. First then I most sincerely wish success to the Spanish patriots, and hope the destroyer of Nations has finished the part permitted him to act by an overruling providence who has destined him to scourge them and to punish them. here I cannot forbear transcribeing a Character drawn of him by an able pen Dr. Rush in a Letter to your Father; he thus describes him, "to the levity of a French Man he unites the phelegm of a German the avarice of a Dutchman the coldheartedness of a Russian, the solidity of an Englishman, the gravity of a Spainiard, the subtlety of an Italian and the cruelty of a Turk.

"In no one part of his conduct do we trace the least resemblance to any one of the virtues that rescued the name of Alexander and Caesar from total infamy. he is devoid of the occasional magninimnity of the former, and the habitual clemency of the latter." I wish that our many vices and crimes may not draw upon us the just vengence of offended heaven, and that he may no further be permitted to become our scourge than he already has. if we are drawn into a war, the concequences may be similar to those of other Nations. With respect to our own National affairs, I hope we have not yet so far forfeited the protection of providence, as to be governd by our own vices and passions, but that we may be directed to men and measures which will still secure to us our national prosperity, security and independence. that the spirit of party may be divested of its malignity, that Charity peace and harmony may prevail amongst us, and render us still happy and successfull as a Nation is the sincere wish and prayer of your

Truly affectionate Mother
ABIGAIL ADAMS

P.S. Family Love accompanies this to every Branch of yours.

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy Novbr. 3d 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

YOUR Letter of Sepbr. 25 together with Carolines came safe to hand, but I have been in a kind of turmoil ever since, and never felt retired or quiet enough to sit down to my pen. it is a great misfortune to me that I cannot see to write in an evening without injury to my eyes. Your Aunt Cranch's sickness has lain heavey at my heart. She is I hope recovering, but she has been much broken down. I have never been more distresst about her. Mrs. S. Adams has been sick too almost ever since she came. the Dr. calls her complaint the Water Brash; the pain in her stomach has been intence, and the water would flow from her mouth in great abundence, whilst her hands and feet would be an Ague cold. Little Abbe has had a slow fever and been as fractious as a wasp. my daily cares you know: they are not lessned: but the Scripture tells us that no Man liveth for himself. the sordidness of that idea is sufficient to stimulate the indolent, and prompt us all to do good and communicate. that the sphere of your usefullness may be enlarged, I hope with you that you may return to the society of your Friends and connections, to me the distance is unpleasent, yet I trust that there are pleasures and comforts to be found there to a mind disposed to view objects in their best light, and to receive with gratitude the bounties of providence. Johnson in his Rassalass shows us that the happy valley must be in the mind.

I have just procured Corrinna and am reading it. I will give you my opinion when I have finishd it.

If William should think of passing the winter at Philadelphia, I should recommend him to an acquaintance with Dr. Rush's family. Richard Rush is a very fine young Man, and he will find a kind of home in the domestick circle of the Dr. I will write to the Dr. in his behalf. His Uncle Thomas will give him Letters to some of his Friends. Mrs. S. Adams thinks he may be of *essential* service to his Aunt in the care of her affairs, particularly so if she removes to her Farm as she proposes to do. a single woman whether maiden or widow, wants some Friend of the other sex to protect her and her property or she becomes the prey of every sharper. William has seen enough of the world to be even a guide of a thoughtless giddy woman and he may do it in a way that may convince her that her honour and reputation are his peculiar care. he is quick sighted and will easily discern what is proper, at the same time he will be upon his guard against the contagion of improper example. I have reasons for these hints, he will soon see whether they are well founded. I thought it probable that he might go to Philadelphia and that he ought not to be improperly associated.

Whether commerce is ever again to shake of her shackles, as respects America is doubtfull, not I fear untill she can do it by the power of her own Navy and the Thunder of her own Cannon. Brittain is jealous of our prosperity and fears us as a rival. She is determined to check us in every way which she can. France wishes to embroil us with England; and to crush us in that way least we should unite our power with hers against France. thus are we hemed in on every side. America is desirious of dealing justly by Both and extending her commerce as a Nutral Nation to every part of the globe. General Moreau compares America to the trunk and limbs of a Giant, with the Muscles of an Infant. under the present Administration she has certainly totterd and limped as if affraid to go alone. last week the report was current that Napolean had declared war against the United States, this was not believed by your Father who could not see any cause or motive of policy in the measure. his decrees are more provoking than war; we shall soon have the Bugget opend. Mr. Madison I think will be our next President. Pinckney is not the Man calculated to ride in the storm and stem the torrent. if Mr. Madison can, he will perform wonders the people are so divided that it is like a House which cannot stand.

We have had one snow storm. I thought you must have had it deep with you. It is all gone and this day is mild as May. Your Brother and sister are both well. They kept Sabbeth with us. John went home last week, having been with me four Months. Sister T. B. A. asks if you received the Letter she wrote you some months since. I was in Boston last week. our Friends all well. poor Aunt Edwards fell in her Chamber and broke her Arm, regrets it much, as she was to have made her annual visit at Quincy on the same week.

I shall write to Caroline next. My Love to her. Caroline was so womanly so correct and so pleasing in her manners, that those who came after her, when weighd in the balance are found wanting. Susan is in a voilent hurry to take the Letter to her uncles. wait I say untill I send my regards to all the Family uncles Aunts and cousins and to my dear daughter

the affection of her Mother
ABIGAIL ADAMS

P S I had a Letter from John and have written to him. his Grandfather had one this week.

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS SMITH

Quincy, December 8th, 1808

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

I AM indebted to you for two Letters one of —— the last bearing the date Novbr. 20th and 24th. I am always rejoiced to see your handwriting, altho the contents of your Letters sometimes give me pain, and none more so than those which contain an Idea that your Relatives and Friends have not exerted themselves for you as they might have done. With respect to William, your Father himself went to Town, and advised with some of his commercial acquaintance, who oweing to the total suppression of commerce did not like to take any young Gentleman into their stores, most of those who had any Number were obliged to dissmiss them. Dr. Welchs youngest son John returnd home, and he sent him to an academy to keep him out of Idleness, Mr. Greenleafs son Price is returnd home. Capt. Beals two son are here intirely out of buisness. The shop keepers have buisness for a time, but that is like to come soon to a close by the nonintercourse Bill which has recently past in Congress, so that the youth of our country have not any other resourse, but to till the land for Bread to eat. this state of things cannot last long. We are wrought up to a crissis which must break forth in vengence somewhere or other. Heaven preserve our country undesserving as it is of the favour and protection of Providence. Parson Eackly told his congregation that we were suffering the judgments of Heaven for having chosen an infidel president to rule over us. we as a people have crying sins enough beside to draw down the punishments we feel, let each individual look into his own breast, and root out every evil and corrupt propencity. then may we expect to be a people saved of the Lord.

I am much grieved at the misfortune of your Brother. a more generous benevolent Heart exists not in Man. the season of the year is in his favour, and I hope he will be spaired to his family and Friends. in the midst of Life we are in death. We have had a recent instance of this in the death of Mrs. Price, the mother of Mrs. Greenleaf—invited to a tea party, well and vigorous as age can be. She declined only on account of the late hour of Return, rose from her chair was seizd with an oppression upon her lungs, went to her Bed and expired the next day, to the inexpressible greif of her distresst and afflicted daughter. by painfull experience I know how afflictive the death of parents is, at a period when their Lives are usefull instructive and pleasent, the source of our own Life seems dried up, our best Friends and counselors removed. Yet this is the order of Nature, and we who are yet living must soon expect to follow our Aged Friend. our old friend Genll. Warren is also numberd with the great congregation. He was very infirm and aged, 84 I think. I felt as tho former Friendship demanded from me a sympathizing Letter, and regreted that the bitterness of party spirit had severd us, but after the injustice she had done your Fathers Character in her History, and the opportunity he had given her of making some acknowledgment for it, which she wholy omitted to do, I thought a Letter of the kind would appear insincere, and altho I feel for her berevement, and know how keenly she must feel it, I have declined writing to her.

We are all in pretty good Health at present. Mrs. S. Adams is much better. My dear sister Cranch is recoverd in some measure, but I can see that her whole frame is shaken, and that she is failing. Your Brother's family in Boston are well except John who I think in a very critical state of Health, he has many hetic symptoms. they all kept thanksgiving with us, your uncle and Aunt Cranch and sister Smith, all of whom desired to be affectionatly rememberd to you. We calld you all to mind, and found our party incompleat. last year you were with us. Susan desires me to present her duty to you, and to say to you that she was at Atkinson when her Mother arrived here; and did not know it for a week, when be sure she was anxious enough to return, but was obliged to wait an other week for her Aunt Peabody. T. B. A. and his Rib desire to be kindly rememberd to you. all our domesticks remember you and yours with Love and affection. I was yesterday at Weymouth. our Friends there were well. We tallk of you. I expect Aunt Edwards tomorrow to make her annual visit. She fell and broke her Arm in October, when she intended to come. I expected she would give up the Idea of her visit, but she sent me word her Arm was well, and she must come and kiss the President.

Yours affec[tionate]ly
A. ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH

Quincy August 28th 1811

My Dear Sir

YOUR letter of August 12th I received in the absence of Mrs. Smith, who was upon a visit to Mrs. Guild, and therefore I could not communicate it to her; she past several days in Boston at Dr. Welchs, and as I had requested Dr. Warren was consulted in conjunction with Dr. Welch upon her complaint, and their opinion was similar to Dr. Holbrooks who is a skillfull physician and practises in our Family. Dr. Tufts alone varies in some measure from them. he is at a loss as to its nature, but the result is, by no means to do any thing to worry or irritate the part, by no means to [*torn*] it. Would it not be best having advised with surgeons and physicians to follow their advice? She is not taking even the hemlock pills. a Lady of my acquaintance labourd under a similar Tumour and was advised to have it removed, but upon a consultation with a Gentleman of the profession, he prevaild upon her to defer it for a time. She did so, and lived to the age of 82 without any further trouble from it. I know it will be a source of anxiety to herself and Friends. I pray that it may never be more so.

Your proposition to remove near to me would of all things be most agreable to me, but I would not require such a sacrifice as you must make to gratify my desire of having my dear daughter near to me. it would give me more pain than it could possibly add to my pleasure to know that you must sacrifice your present prospects and comforts, and however gratefull I feel for the offer, and the more generous I consider it in you, the more loth I am to acceed to it.

No like Ruth of old, whither thou goest, she will go, and where thou abidest she will abide.

Your state has become in population in commerce and manufactories one of the first, if not the first in oppulence in the Union. it enroals in the Militia according to a late account one hundred thousand Men, this state only 80 thousand. we have become a great, and we might be a powerfull Nation. we shall require strong cords to keep us together. we have prospered beyond calculation for the last 20 years, considering the many difficulties we have encounted and the injustice we have met with from foreign Nations. we wax fat, and we forget the hand which has raised us up, whilst war and desolation has spread carnage through cities and kingdoms and laid them waste, we have sit under our own vines in peace and security. if we have too tamely endured insults and oppression from others, we are [*torn*] that we have done less injury. the War which has desolated Europe [has] been of a singular kind, and if we can yet mantain our honour, an[d] secure our rights, I hope our Rulers will not be driven from their Neutral Ground. You will perceive that I do not think them guilty of the charges of partiality, or disposed to favour one Nation more than an other.

At present we are in a critical situation, but as we have been deliverd in times past, I hope we shall be so again. Union amongst ourselves, could it be obtaind, would be one of the strongest Bulwarks against our Enemies, but those who were denominated Federalists under the two first Administrations, have now taken the ground of their opponents, and rise up in opposition to Government and the Laws and stile those Apostates who will not join with them.

I presume Mrs. Smith has written to you that we have Letters to the 18 of May from Mr. Adams, when they were all well, but he had not then received any Letters from America for six Months. the Baltick was not clear of Ice so that vessels could get up. several had arrived in the out ports.

Please to make my best regards to your worthy Mother and sister. I am sorry to say that Mrs. S. Adams is in very miserable Health. her complaints are such as if not soon removed will end in a decline.

I am dear Sir with sentiments of Love and affection,

Your Mother
A Adams

Being Mayor of Boston a Hundred Years Ago

By Samuel A. Eliot

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 11, 1837, the Mayor ot Boston was seated in his accustomed place in the organ loft of King's Chapel, engaged in handing round peppermints to his associates in the choir with the laudable purpose of helping them to keep awake during the service. His small children, seated with their lovely mother in the square pew below, regarded this custom with jealous disapprobation. The service was quite as soporific for them as for the members of the choir, and the tenors were said to be so fond of peppermints that there were only a few left for family distribution after the benediction.

On this particular Sunday, however, no one could be unduly sleepy. Hardly had Dr. Greenwood begun his "Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us"—and so on—when something else moved or disconcerted the congregation. The Tremont Street door of the chapel was violently burst open, and three men hurried up the gallery stairs. A moment later they came down again, bringing the Mayor with them, and they could then be heard running down School Street under the open windows of the chapel. The service went on without further interruption, though the choir missed the Mayor's fine bass voice and directing hand. The members of the congregation remembered that there had been a fire alarm earlier in the afternoon and may have surmised that some threatening spread of the fire had occasioned the hasty summons for the Mayor.

The protection of the city from fire was at that time intrusted to a number of volunteer fire companies, groups of more or less obstreperous young men who thought it fun to wear red shirts and "run with the machine." They received no pay, but they threw lively parties and often took a vociferous part in politics. There was great rivalry between the companies, and the feuds sometimes became more important than the fires. There was, of course, no fire alarm system. Whenever a fire broke out—and it's a wonder that the city, consisting mostly of wooden houses, didn't burn up every year—everybody in the neighborhood began to yell "fire," and somebody would violently ring the bell in the steeple of the nearest church. Folks would then grab the leather buckets which hung in the vestibule or entry of almost every house—my grandfather's, with the date 1825 on them, are in my front hall today—and hasten to form a bucket brigade. The volunteer fire companies would pull their hand engines or tubs out of the houses and, assisted by as many boys and bystanders as could tag on to the ropes, run the things to the scene of the fire. The water supply was dubious and capricious. A section of the city, the lowlands round the edges, was supplied by a private company which conveyed water from Jamaica Pond through an aqueduct made of wooden logs, but the almost universal reliance was upon household wells and pumps. Fortunately, no thickly settled part of Boston was at that time at any great distance from the harbor on the east and the river on the west. Until the Quincy Market was built, the tide came up to Dock Square—hence the name—and the river, except at low tide, lapped along the beach at Charles Street. What today is Harrison Avenue was then Front Street, which meant that it was the water front of the South Cove, and the name still retained by Beach Street indicates that it bordered the shore line. Of course the Neck, the causeway leading out to Roxbury, was hardly wider than the road itself. It frequently happened, therefore, that getting water to a fire meant taking it from the harbor or the South Cove and relaying it from engine to engine. One engine would be stationed at the wharfhead, and the men would pump water into the tank of another engine stationed farther inland, and so it would be relayed on to the burning house. That was where the rivalries and feuds were engendered. The men at the handles of number one would try to fill the tank of number two faster than number two could empty it, and the men of number two would try to empty their tank faster than number one could fill it, and so get the laugh—and the drinks—on their rivals. The pumping was tremendously hard and breath-taking work, but there were always plenty of additional volunteers to lend a hand.

Now on this Sunday afternoon of June 11, 1837, there had been some kind of fire out by the Neck, and the company whose house was at the foot of Broad Street had returned, stored their machine, and adjourned to a neighboring store for the customary refreshments. It being Sunday afternoon, they must have had some surreptitious means of access to the said store. When they emerged in a more or less bellicose mood, they found an Irish Catholic funeral procession forming a line of march in Broad Street. Some mocking remark or a shove or a push must have started things, for almost immediately the firemen and the fighting Irish were mopping up Broad Street with each other's carcasses. There had been for some time a seething enmity in the lower part of the city between the American-born mechanics and apprentices and sailors and the increasing horde of Irish immigrants who had formed a considerable colony thereabouts. The Irish were aliens in race and religion and social habits. They were very poor and huddled in comparatively squalid quarters. They were supposed to be undercutting wages, and American labor was as sensitive about such matters then as now. Only three years before, in 1834, there had occurred one of the most disreputable incidents in the history of Massachusetts: the burning by a Protestant mob of the Catholic convent and school on Mount Benedict. It took very little to start a real riot when pugnacious firemen collided with an Irish procession.

This particular row would not have lasted long, for the Irishmen, being in their own district, outnumbered the firemen and soon drove them into their firehouse. But some frightened citizens began ringing the bell in the steeple of the Church Green Meetinghouse, which was the alarm summoning other companies to a fire. The Irish procession had reformed but had hardly started when down Summer Street came rushing two other fire companies, and the row began again. The hearse and the mourners were hurried away, but a full-sized riot was on when the Mayor, hastily summoned from church, reached the scene. He pitched in vigorously, and, with the aid of some law-abiding citizens, endeavored to separate the combatants; but the crowd increased, and more fighters, armed chiefly with wooden billets snatched from a neighboring woodyard, became involved. The Irish were in turn driven back. The hooting crowd poured into the humble tenements, breaking windows and furniture, terrifying the women and children. There were practically no policemen on day duty in those times, probably none at all on a Sunday afternoon. Twelve constables constituted the "force," and they were on duty mostly at night, when they were supplemented by a number of men called "the watch." The Mayor sent messengers to call out the militia companies whose armory was at Faneuil Hall. The officers and men of those companies were not, as might happen to be the case today, on a June Sunday afternoon, motoring in the country or sailing down the harbor or sunning on the beach at Revere. Most of them were at church and so could be reached quickly. Dr. Edward Everett Hale was a fifteen-year-old boy, sitting in the family pew in the Brattle Street Church when, as he recorded in his diary, "Of a sudden the bell in the tower above was struck backward." Just how one strikes a bell backward I don't know, but that apparently was the alarm call for the militia, and the men hurried out of church to the armory. George Tyler Bigelow, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and then a lieutenant in the company known as the New England Guards, was the first officer to arrive, and under his command the men started, but others kept coming up, and it is said the command changed four times before the companies reached the head of Broad Street. In any case, in an incredibly short time the Mayor was marching down the street at the head of several hundred men, and the mob dispersed, leaving a wrecked and desolated neighborhood. The militiamen patrolled the region through the night, but there was no further trouble. Fortunately no one had been killed, but there were many broken heads, and a lot of damage had been done. Dr. Hale's boyish diary discreetly comments: "The Irish got well beaten, but the firemen appear to have been as much in the wrong as they."

Now the Mayor of Boston at the time of the Broad Street Riot was Samuel A. Eliot, my grandfather. He was then in his thirty-ninth year. I never saw him—he died before I was born—but I have two portraits of him, one painted when he was a handsome young man, and the other a sort of official portrait, a poor enough painting of a stalwart and rather stately gentleman in a black stock and coat, and with the spires of the city in the background. He has fluffy hair and whiskers beginning to gray, a Roman nose, rather florid complexion, and a genial expression.

I have no intention of more than sketching his honorable career, using it as a frame, so to speak, in which to set a picture of this town of Boston and its people and its happenings a hundred years ago. I should not venture to attempt even that save for the fact that I am able to draw upon certain sources of information which are discoverable only in family archives. Mayor Eliot's personal letter books, his financial journal, and the scrapbooks of contemporary clippings evidently collected and preserved by his wife may throw some new sidelights on the life of Boston in the second quarter of the last century.

Samuel Atkins Eliot was born in Boston in 1798, the sixth child of Samuel Eliot and Catherine Atkins. The father was a prosperous merchant with a countingroom and what might today be called a department store in Dock Square. He dealt in everything from diapers to tombstones, though of course the varieties in his stock were not a hundredth part of the necessary stock of such a store today. The family residence was a comfortable dwelling at the corner of Beacon and Tremont Streets, opposite King's Chapel, with a picket fence in front, stables and outbuildings behind, and a terraced garden running up the hill toward Somerset Street. Seven children, three boys and four girls, grew to maturity in that happy, well-bred family.

Sam followed his two older brothers to Harvard and graduated in 1817. College life in those days was just a bit different from what it is today. Stephen Salisbury of Worcester was a classmate of Sam Eliot, and the Salisbury family papers contain some curious glimpses of undergraduate occupations. Young Salisbury's mother wrote him, for instance, to advise him to skip rope in his room when it was too stormy to go out; and his father wrote to say: "Your Scates shall be sent to you, but you must not scate on any Ponds or Rivers nor neglect your studies for any Amusements."[1] Young Stephen records, too, that he had paid six cents for a football. Happy times! The social formalities of the period also find illustration in these papers. The Salisbury parents gave a sort of coming-out tea for their son at his room on the afternoon of Commencement Day. Here is a typical reply to their invitation: "With their respectfull acknowledgements to Mr. and Mrs. Salisbury, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln regret that indispensable avocations must deprive them of the satisfaction of participating personally with Mr. Salisbury and his friends the pleasures of a Commencement which will place on the theatre of the world their promising son."[2]

After his graduation Sam Eliot was earnest to gratify the desire of his aging father that he should prepare himself for the ministry and so, in some measure, take the place of his eldest brother, Charles, a gifted and much beloved youth who had died just as he was entering upon his chosen profession. So Sam enrolled in the Divinity School and completed the course there; but he was never ordained, for in 1820 his father died and the children came into possession of their share of his estate. Sam betook himself to Europe and traveled and read and studied there for two or three years. He met and made many worthwhile friends and, especially, acquired a sensitive love of music, skill in singing, and a keen interest in gardens, parks, and playgrounds—all of them accomplishments that proved fruitful in later years and interests that have happily continued in his descendants. Then he came home and soon married one of the belles of Boston, the beautiful Mary Lyman, daughter of Theodore Lyman of Waltham. Apparently as a wedding present to the young couple Mr. Lyman built and gave them a commodious brick house at No. 31 Beacon Street. The house faced south, looking across the Common, and on the east adjoined the garden of the Hancock house. The site is now included in the State House grounds, being that portion on which now stands the statue of Senator Lodge.

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[1] Arthur S. Pier, *The Story of Harvard* (Boston, 1913), 117.

[2] *Ibid.*, 118.

The Beacon Street house contained, or came to contain, some novelties. There was installed there the first bathtub in Boston. (I believe that claim has been disputed, but at least it was one of the first.) It could not have been a supreme convenience for, of course, there was no plumbing. The water supply was from a well under the house, with a hand pump in the basement. The tub had to be filled from pails lugged up the stairs by a maid and was later bailed out with pails. One suspects the water may have been thrown out of the window to enrich the roses in the Hancock house garden. Whatever may be the dispute over the primacy of the bathtub, certain it is that the house had the first icebox in Boston. It was the pleasant custom of Mrs. Eliot's father to send into Boston each Saturday a wagonload of fruit and vegetables—perhaps, too, a hindquarter of lamb and some chickens—from the ample supplies of the place in Waltham. These things were distributed to the houses of his children and relatives on Beacon Hill. It was a problem how to keep these supplies fresh. Mr. Eliot engaged an ingenious carpenter of his acquaintance named Eddy to build him a cold cellar or large icebox in the basement of the house. The ice presumably came from the pond on the Waltham estate. Mr. Eddy was very successful in his device and, taught by this experience, soon went into the business of manufacturing icechests. That is, so his grandson told me the other day, the origin of the business of the long-time famous Eddy Refrigerator Company.

In one other respect Mr. Eliot was a pioneer in house building. In those days long summer vacations were unheard of. People stayed in town and adapted themselves as best they might to hot weather. No one dreamed of closing a church in summer, and school vacations were limited to a month or two. In 1830 Mr. Eliot bought a rocky point at Nahant and built there a house for summer occupancy. That house is still standing, though it passed in 1857 into the judicious hands of the Mifflin family and has undergone some alterations and improvements. It was a curious design for a summer cottage, being in the form of a Greek temple, but it has a distinct charm and has long been a landmark at Nahant. There, too, in 1832 Mr. Eliot joined with his brother William and other neighbors in establishing the Nahant Church. There gather for common worship on the summer Sundays friends of different denominational traditions and allegiances. The church has been enriched by the associations of four generations of worshippers and endeared to many Boston families as a place where the real unity of the Christian spirit is avowed and practised. Mr. Eliot was one of the building committee for the original chapel and served as the first clerk of the church.

In the Beacon Street house seven children were born, of whom five grew to maturity, my father being the only son to survive. The family life was serene and harmonious—really harmonious, for the father and children were all musically gifted. Good and considerate manners were emphasized, but the severity of the old Puritan discipline had disappeared. Servants lived on terms of friendly familiarity with the family. They were all of homogeneous New England stock and intelligent coöperative helpers in the household. The family breakfasted at eight, then the children went to their schools, and Mr. Eliot walked down Beacon Street to his office, where he met appointments and transacted business in what would seem to a brisker generation a somewhat leisurely fashion. Perhaps he went on to the market and took a hand in selecting supplies for the dinner table, or he dropped in at the Old Corner Book Store to look over the books that might have arrived in the last consignment from London. At two o'clock the day's work was done, and he went home to a substantial half-past-two dinner. There followed reading or pleasant social gatherings with neighbors and relatives. Mr. Eliot's four married sisters and their families were close at hand. Catherine, to be sure, had married Professor Andrews Norton and lived at Shady Hill in Cambridge, the place which her brother, on his return from Europe, had designed and planted for her. Mrs. Edmund Dwight lived where the Athenæum now stands; the Benjamin Guilds, a little way down the slope of Beacon Street to the east; and the youngest sister, Anna, was the wife of Professor George Ticknor and lived in the fine old mansion which is still standing, though now made over into stores and offices, at the corner of Beacon and Park Streets. Then on Mount Vernon, Joy, and Beacon Streets lived Lymans and Lowells, Warrens and Appletons, Otises and Masons, and a lot of other congenial neighbors.

They were all accomplished, cultivated people. The habits of their life exhibited, to be sure, some rather curious contrasts. Some of the limitations and essential simplicities of pioneer days still existed. Outward conditions were still pretty primitive. The streets of Boston were for the most part unlighted at night. Most of them were still dirt roads. Downtown some streets had been paved with cobblestones brought in little schooners from the beaches of the islands off the coast of Maine and unloaded at the town dock. Brick was just beginning to be used for sidewalks. Transportation was by shanks' mare or on horseback or by chaise. A daily stage sufficed for travel between Boston and Cambridge, and if one went much beyond that, prayers were offered in church for one's safety. Dr. Hale, in the book of reminiscences already quoted, tells how his country cousins up in the Connecticut Valley would wish to remember their city relatives at Thanksgiving time. They would pick a lot of walnuts and butternuts and pack them in a box. A cart would take the box to Northampton. Thence a flatboat would take it down the river to Hartford. There it would be put on a sloop to carry it through the Sound and round the Cape to Boston. But sometimes, he says, word would come that the sloop was frozen in at Wethersfield or Saybrook and would not appear until spring. Such were the difficulties of sending a box 110 miles across Massachusetts in 1830.

There were similar contrasts within the dwellings of well-to-do people of that era. Plumbing, as has been seen, there was none. Sanitary facilities were still provided in unheated backhouses. Lighting was by candles or an occasional sperm oil lamp. Friction matches had not been invented, and the lamps were lighted with flint and steel. Stoves were just coming in, but much of the cooking was still done over open fires, and wood fires heated the living rooms.

On the other hand, these people were eminently cultivated folk. Boston was still, in a way, a little provincial capital, but the very provincialism had an agreeable flavor and distinction of its own. Few of these congenial neighbors had traveled far in America, but most of them had been, at one time or another, in Europe. They kept in contact with world affairs, especially with intellectual and scientific and literary affairs. They dressed with care and with a certain degree of elegance. Their houses abounded in good books and solid though not very comfortable furniture. Such things outlast the generations. Somehow life was not so crowded then. These people had time or made time for reading. They read Shakespeare and Milton, Pope and Goldsmith. They reveled in Scott and in Jane Austen and in Horace Walpole's letters. They dutifully perused Wordsworth and Southey, they sang Tom Moore's songs, and they roared over Pickwick, which began coming out in 1837. I do not find many works by American authors in my grandfather's original library. The great set of Washington's *Works* is there, for Mr. Eliot helped Jared Sparks to edit and publish them. Washington Irving is there, but most of the books of American origin came from the immediate Boston and Cambridge circle. Channing is there, of course—all Boston hung on Channing's words, written or spoken—and later the American books multiplied, for the period I have in mind is just that which Van Wyck Brooks has called "the flowering of New England." Longfellow came to Cambridge in 1836 to take the chair just relinquished by George Ticknor; Whittier's first book of poems came out in 1831, and the next in 1836. Oliver Wendell Holmes, just come of age, broke into print with the stirring lyric "Old Ironsides" in 1831. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* was published in 1836. The first volume of Bancroft's *History* appeared in 1834, and the second in 1837. Hawthorne's career as a writer began with the issue of *Twice-Told Tales* in 1837. Horace Bushnell gave his Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale in 1837, and Emerson gave his Divinity School address at Harvard in 1838. In the world of science, too, things were moving rapidly. Charles Darwin sailed on the momentous voyage of the *Beagle* in 1831 and returned to England in 1836. Morse got his idea of the telegraph in 1832 and put it into working shape in 1838, though, of course, it did not come into commercial use until later. Cyrus McCormick took out his first patent for his reaper in 1834, and John Erickson first equipped a steamboat with a propeller in 1837. In national affairs Webster's reply to Hayne was delivered in 1830 and was still echoing from every school and college platform. Garrison published the first number of the *Liberator* in 1831; Channing's more constructive *Slavery* was issued in 1835; and John Quincy Adams presented his anti-slavery petition to Congress in 1836. And let it not be forgotten that the great Reform Bill was pushed through the British Parliament in 1832, and that Queen Victoria began her glorious reign in 1837. Can it not be justly said that it was a stirring time in which to live?

If I have not mentioned the ladies who graced the society of the little city, it is not because they failed to play an important part. Few of them, to be sure, were distinguished for intellectual attainments. Education for girls in those times was confined to nursery schools and home training. Even so enlightened a statesman as Josiah Quincy, when he was Mayor of Boston, opposed the opening of the city's higher schools to girls.[1] But the ladies were distinguished for personal charm and for housekeeping efficiency. "They had," someone said, "beauty enough to make men imagine they had wit and good nature enough not to contradict the men who told them so." They were exceptionally gracious hostesses, and there was much coming and going and exchange of hospitality. The formal dinners were pretty portentous, with an endless number of courses, but there was a lot of pleasant informal visiting. There were no cocktails or mixed drinks, but the handsome decanters of madeira and sherry always stood on the sideboard available for all callers, and there was plenty of good talk. Taken all in all, it is difficult to imagine a more contentful and satisfactory life than that which these families of intelligent, well-bred people enjoyed in this old town of Boston in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

I have mentioned the journal in which my grandfather kept in his own clear, handsome handwriting the record of his financial transactions. A glance into it will reveal another of the distinguishing traits of these people. Here are the summaries of his receipts and expenditures from January 1, 1825, the year after his return from Europe, to January 1, 1848, together with the inventories of his investments and securities. They are very different from similar lists today. One notes, for instance, that, without exception, all his investments were in Boston corporations. He bought the stock of three Boston banks, three Boston insurance companies,[1] and two Boston-owned manufacturing companies. It is evident that the Boston of that period was singularly self-contained and self-reliant, perhaps one should add self-complacent. He listed also his share in the Boston Athenæum, his pew at King's Chapel, and certain loans or advances to other churches, to the Academy of Music, and to the *North American Review*. With his older brother William, whose chief enterprise it was, he put money into the building of the Tremont House at the corner of Beacon and Tremont Streets, said to have been the most comfortable and ornate hotel in America in its day. As the years went by, he gradually dropped his bank stocks, put some money into shipping, and bought increasingly into manufacturing companies—Chicopee, Nashua, Lawrence, and the like. In 1836, when he was elected Mayor, his two largest investments were in the Tremont House and the Chicopee Manufacturing Company. The word "salary" appears for the first time in the account in 1837. This must have been his salary as Mayor, listed that year as $1,157. The noteworthy thing about these inventories—and the same thing could be said about the investment accounts of most of the substantial citizens of Boston—is the complete absence of railroad securities. The decade of the 1830's was a period of rapid railroad development. The Boston and Worcester was chartered in 1831, and the other New England roads shortly afterwards; but the banks and the well-to-do people were distrustful and did almost nothing to help in that development. It is evident that the New England railroads were initiated and financed by groups of small investors. The average number of shares subscribed for was ten. Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, when he was Mayor in 1831, did raise the question whether railroads might not be subjects of what he called

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[1] In 1836 six out of the ten grammar schools in Boston taught both boys and girls, but the school committee was divided as to the merits of the procedure, a minority still holding "that the tendency of mixed schools is to demoralization." In 1838 the audiences at the Lowell Lectures jeered if women attended, and not until 1852 did ladies appear at public or political dinners.

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[1] In 1838 when the companies first began to make returns to the state, the Boston insurance companies had at risk about fifty millions on marine ventures and fifty-two millions in fire policies. The Hospital Life Insurance Company began in a small way in 1823, and the New England Mutual Company was incorporated in 1835.

"lucrative speculation"; but he added that "it would be quite premature to enlarge in a dissertation on particulars connected with this subject."

It is evident that Mr. Eliot might have led a quiet life of domestic felicity and scholarly ease, but that did not suit his temperament. "He became," wrote Dr. Andrew P. Peabody in the biographical sketch which is the best record of his career, "in the highest and best sense the servant of the public and no man ever filled that place with more faithful industry, with more entire disinterestedness and with more utter absence of all selfward considerations." He first became a member of the school committee and had the pleasure of introducing the teaching of music into the public schools, making Boston the first American city to include music in the school curriculum. Then, with other public-spirited citizens, he founded the Academy of Music. They reconstructed the old Federal Street Theatre into a concert hall, the precursor, of course, of the Music Hall and Symphony Hall of later days, and Mr. Eliot gave at the opening of the Odeon the president's address, which is the most enduring of his public utterances. There, at his initiative, was given the first performance in Boston of a Beethoven symphony. He translated Schiller's *Song of the Bell* so that it could be sung in English to Romberg's music, and I am told that it still sometimes appears on concert programs. For twenty years he directed the music at King's Chapel and sang in the choir. From the school committee he went on to serve as an alderman and as a representative in the General Court, and then in 1836 he was elected Mayor of Boston.

Politics were racy in those days, and enmities were bitter and rancorous. The language of hostile parties was quite as vituperative as nowadays. The Democrats under Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren ruled in Washington, but the old Whig families still controlled affairs in Massachusetts. Daniel Webster represented them in the Senate, Edward Everett was Governor of the Commonwealth, Lemuel Shaw was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Josiah Quincy was President of Harvard College. Mr. Eliot's book of clippings taken from Boston newspapers illustrates the current political feelings and events. Here, for instance, is the account of the Fourth of July celebration in Boston in 1834. It was exclusively a Whig affair. Samuel A. Eliot was chief marshal. His aides were Messrs. Bigelow, Fessenden, and Winthrop. A "splendid pavilion," seating two thousand citizens, was set up on the Common. The procession marched thither from the assembly at Quincy Market, then just completed, and the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (July 7) says that "in consequence of the excellent arrangements previously made by the Chief Marshal, by which a separate entrance was provided for each division, the whole of the vast procession . . . were seated without the slightest interruption of order. . . ." At the banquet there were more than forty toasts, over half of them "volunteered" or proposed by the long succession of speakers at the end of their addresses. One must on such an occasion drink to the health of the President of the United States, but the wording of the toast on this occasion could not be called ardently loyal: "*The President of the United States*—We cannot rank *him* among the planets, though he stands high enough to cast a blighting shadow over all the land." Here is another in the same vein: "*Our Country*. If she can stand the doses administered by *Doctor* Jackson, it must be owing to the natural strength of her Constitution." Another, proposed by Leverett Saltonstall after he had addressed the company at some length, strikes a curiously contemporaneous note: "*The Senate of* 1834—worthy of the best days of the age of Washington—illustrious for talents, eloquence and learning—it will be forever memorable for its defence of the constitution and laws against Executive encroachments." I note, too, with interest the close of the *Advertiser's* account of what it called "a most imposing spectacle" and "a festival long to be remembered." "It is," says the *Advertiser*, "a fact worthy of mention, that the value of the articles broken at this dinner party of two thousand persons, did not exceed four dollars." After five hours of dining on a hot July afternoon and more than forty toasts, that was certainly a remarkable testimony to the self-control of the Whigs of Massachusetts. I hope folks were equally orderly upon another occasion where Mr. Eliot participated: the celebration two years later (September 8, 1836) of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College. There they had a two-hour oration from President Quincy in the morning, with the accompanying prayers and hymns—"Fair Harvard" was there sung for the first time. Then they marched across from the church into the Yard for dinner in another great pavilion. For seven mortal hours they sat at table—orations by Everett and Webster and a lot more, overflowing with classical quotations and allusions and apparently without a trace of humor from beginning to end. "An occasion," says Arthur S. Pier in his *Story of Harvard*, "which to an audience of the present would have been a monumental affliction held our solemn forefathers rapt and attentive and provided them with a lifelong, pleasant memory."

Turn now to municipal affairs. Boston had been incorporated under a city form of government in 1822 when it had a population of 45,000 people. John Phillips, father of Wendell Phillips, was the first Mayor. He lived in the first brick house built on Beacon Street, the house at the corner of Walnut Street. When he built there, his uncle, Judge Wendell, asked him why he had moved out of town. All Phillips' early successors—Josiah Quincy, Harrison Gray Otis, Charles Wells, Theodore Lyman, Samuel T. Armstrong, Samuel A. Eliot—were men of intelligence and integrity. Most of them belonged to what I have called the old Whig families, and the fact that such men as those named held the office of mayor is additional evidence that these families owed their continued dominance in the community not to inheritance or wealth but to their serviceableness.

These were years which marked many changes in the map of Boston and a steady, even rapid, growth in population.[1] I suppose it was Josiah Quincy, the second Mayor, who gave the city its civic set-up. His statue rightly stands in front of the City Hall. He had vigorously opposed the city charter, believing the town form of government to be better suited to the New England tradition and temperament, but he took hold of municipal affairs with his accustomed energy and set high standards of efficiency. He was, of course, a man of exceptional administrative ability and not unaware of that

[1] The South Cove Associates, for instance, incorporated in 1833 as the South Cove Corporation, acquired a large tract of marsh and flats on the southeastern edge of the peninsula and proceeded to fill the greater part of the cove with gravel hauled from the Roxbury and Dorchester hills. In six years seventy-seven acres were thus added to the area of the city, and the Boston and Worcester Railroad terminus was established on the reclaimed land. The enterprise had some trying experiences but was ultimately very successful. It was nearly dragged down to failure by the building of the United States Hotel, then the largest structure of the kind in the country. However, the agent of the South Cove Corporation, in his report of 1838, insisted that the hotel was not too large because "the Worcester railroad now transports about one hundred passengers daily." The same sort of development went on across the harbor. In 1833 Noddle's Island—East Boston—was a treeless waste of marsh and upland with only one house. Then General Sumner organized a company that took title and began to sell lots. In three or four years there were six hundred people in East Boston, and soon the location there of the Cunard docks and the first terminus of the Eastern Railroad assured the rapid growth of the island ward. Shipbuilding began at East Boston in 1843, and the famous shipyard of Donald McKay was established in 1845.

unquestionable fact. He was, indeed, very much of a dictator, for he made himself chairman of every committee of the city government and attended and presided at every meeting. He cleared up health conditions, established sanitary ordinances, and built the Quincy Market and the workhouse—or House of Industry as it was called—at South Boston. In spite of these improvements one notes that the tax rate was $8.10 per thousand and that the assessors in making the rate were accustomed to assess real estate at one-half its probable market value.

The patriarchal character of the city government is illustrated by the fact that the next Mayor, Harrison Gray Otis, if he felt indisposed or perhaps a bit indolent, was accustomed to invite the Board of Aldermen or the City Council to meet, not at the Council Chamber, but around the mahogany table in the pleasant dining room of the Mayor's residence. The two most notable events of Otis' administration seem to have been the assumption by the city of the concerns and obligations of Suffolk County, a burden which became in later years decidedly onerous, and the exclusion of cows from the Common. At the time it was the latter ordinance that stirred up the most commotion. From the time when it was first set off, the Common had been recognized as a pasture for cows, a playground for children, a place for beating carpets, and a training ground for the militia. It is said that if the cows had behaved with greater respect to the ladies who had occasion to cross the Common, Mayor Otis would never have interfered with their ancient privileges. From the same agitation dates the defeat of Mayor Quincy's proposal to change the name of the Frog Pond to Crescent Lake.

The administration of Theodore Lyman, Samuel A. Eliot's brother-in-law, is chiefly remembered because of two unseemly riots that occurred: the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown and the first of the violent demonstrations against the abolitionist leaders. The Mount Benedict riot actually occurred outside the city limits although its roots were certainly as deeply embedded in Boston as in Charlestown.[1] On the occasion of the second affair the Mayor acted with courage and promptness, though of course he did not escape abusive criticism from the extremists of both factions. The real accomplishment of Mayor Lyman was in making a start on providing the city with an adequate water supply. He secured the appointment of the distinguished engineer, Loammi Baldwin, to make a survey and report upon the sources of supply. Many years were to elapse before the Baldwin plans were finally adopted and work begun, but the development of the water system went forward for half a century along the lines then laid down. In Mayor Armstrong's one-year term of service (he did not desire reëlection) the Common again provided the chief occurrence, for in that year was built the iron fence that still borders three sides of it.

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[1] See Ray A. Billington, "The Burning of the Charlestown Convent," *New England Quarterly*, x (March, 1937), 4–24.

Mayor Eliot's three successive inaugural addresses are forthright statements of the needs of the city. There is no flourish of eloquence and there are no purple passages. The addresses are not couched in the Websterian paragraphs that were the fashion of the time but are modern, businesslike papers, cogent, sensible, and directed to practical possibilities. Here was evidently a man of experience in city affairs, a man of sound judgment and disinterested purpose, a man who knew what was needed and how to get things done.[1] Mayor Eliot's addresses are interesting both for what they emphasize and for what they omit—schools, for instance, usually the largest item in the municipal budget. In his first address the Mayor did not even mention them. In the second there was just a line or two to report that eight thousand children were under instruction and that the schools were in "good and improving condition"; and again, in the address of 1839, just the briefest mention noting an increase in attendance and in the number of buildings and the excellent quality of the instruction. The reason for the omission or slight attention is not to be found in any lack of interest in educational affairs but in the fact that Eliot had served as a member of the School Committee and had already been able to bring the schools to what he thought a high standard of excellence. Parks and playgrounds were matters in which he always had a keen interest, but again that subject is hardly mentioned, for open spaces still abounded in and about the city. Roads and bridges and the disposal of waste got very little attention, for the system of street cleaning and waste collection established by

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[1] A picturesque event of Mayor Eliot's first term was the visit to Boston, in October, 1837, of a delegation of Sac and Fox Indians, including the famous chiefs Black Hawk and Keokuk. There was a reception at Faneuil Hall with an address by the Mayor translated into three Indian tongues, a similar reception at the State House with an address by Governor Everett and responses from the chiefs and an interchange of gifts, and then a great concourse on the Common where "the warriors performed a great variety of war dances." *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 31, 1837.

Mayor Quincy still worked well. The emphasis was on three points: first, and all-important, the bringing of an adequate supply of pure water into the city as a matter, he said, of "health, security, cleanliness and comfort." That continued to be Eliot's primary plea throughout his three years of service, and while the fulfillment of his hope was delayed, steady progress was made in the development of plans and of public support for them. Next he urged improvement in the care of the defective and delinquent: the removal of the old jail, the separation of the insane and feeble-minded from the malefactors in the House of Correction, and the need of better discipline and of vocational training in the correctional institutions. These were all improvements that Mayor Lyman had initiated, and they were carried out by Mayor Eliot.[1]

The third point emphasized by Mayor Eliot was the complete reconstruction of the antiquated and inefficient system of fire and police protection, a point which was accentuated by the incident of the Broad Street Riot, which occurred in the middle of his first year. That issue became at once a matter of violent controversy. The volunteer fire companies were deeply intrenched in their privileges and habits. They were politically powerful and defied the Mayor to dispossess them. They could depend on the backing of local sentiment, for the engines were objects of local pride and endearment. "What," cried the people, "turn out the boys of old Niagara 3 or Daniel Webster 6? Only over our dead bodies!" The opposition to the proposed reform soon became vicious and unscrupulous. Eliot's life and property, even the safety of his children, were threatened. Vociferous parades of protest marched through the streets. I do not discover that the Mayor ever indulged in answers to the abuse showered upon him. He remained patient, firm, and unshaken. The majority of the City Council backed him up, and finally the companies capitulated, still vowing vengeance but surrendering their city-owned houses and equipment. For a short time the city, so far as protection from fire was concerned, was somewhat like the Boston of twenty years ago at the time of the police strike. A considerable number of young men of the best Boston families jumped into the breach, manned the firehouses, and endured the ridicule of the mobs around them until a well-constructed salaried force could be organized—"base hirelings," the ex-firemen called them.[1] Eliot pluckily stood for reëlection, hampered not only by the controversy over the fire department but also by the financial panic of 1837 when four Boston banks closed their doors and commercial failures were numerous. An exciting campaign ensued. Eliot's book of newspaper clippings carries echoes of that contest, some papers and placards denouncing him as the most intolerable and tyrannical of despots, and others defending him as the most humane and upright of magistrates. His deportment, says the *Boston Daily Atlas*, "has been characterized by unyielding integrity and intrepid determination to obey nothing but his sense of duty." But on the other hand the *Morning News* "flayed"—to use modern jargon—"this weak, imbecile and cowardly magistrate who has thrown a wanton insult upon a large and eminently useful body of our citizens. His imbecility is equalled only by his obstinacy. We suppose that Samuel A. Eliot will next forbid us to think or breathe the air of freedom that blows o'er Bunker Hill. We promoted the first election of this foolish functionary, God forgive us!" Another clipping illustrates the habit of mind—if it can be called a mind—of too many voters even today. It is headed "A Dialogue."

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[1] It is interesting to observe that these reforms are still, one hundred years later, matters of immediate public concern, though now transferred from city to state jurisdiction. Enlightened citizens and civic associations are demanding the removal of Charlestown Prison and the adoption of wiser and more promising methods of penal administration; and the Governor, in his 1939 message, called for a new institution to provide for the separation of the insane and the delinquent now herded together at Bridgewater.

> Who are you going to vote for on Monday, Ned? I dunno, Tom, but I won't vote for Samuel A. Eliot at any rate. Why you aren't an ex-fireman, are you? No, but he's oppressing the poor and I have my rights. How about it? asks Tom. Well you know the benches on the Common, nice place to sit summer evenings, good chance to try the temper of your knife whittling the bench. Do you know what he's done? He's had the seats edged with sheet tin—just wants to spoil an honest man's occupation. I won't vote for him.

Eliot won the election handily, was reëlected in 1839, and retired at the end of his third term amid great popular acclaim.

It remains only to record that his public usefulness did not end when he left the mayor's office. He continued his active service along the lines with which he had made himself familiar. For eleven years, 1842–1853, he was the Treasurer of the Corporation of Harvard College, serving with unstinted devotion and without pay. He wrote *A Sketch of the History of Harvard College*, which was long the best authority on the origins of the earlier endowments. Continuing his interest in the prevention of crime and the treatment of criminals, he founded and was President of the Prison Discipline Society, a name which does not indicate that it was the first organization in this country dedicated to the reform of our stupid and often cruel penal procedures. Interested, too, in the prevention of poverty and the encouragement of thrift, he, with his minister, Ephraim Peabody, and his friend, Francis Parker, founded the Boston Provident Association. That beneficent and reliable institution still goes on. He prepared for publication and wrote the introductions for the volumes of the sermons of his ministers at King's Chapel, Dr. Greenwood and Dr. Peabody. As a Webster Whig he was elected to Congress but served only one term. Though he was a thoroughgoing antislavery man, and though he knew that his vote would end his political career, he voted for the Fugitive Slave Law, believing that civil war would certainly break out if that compromise measure were rejected, and convinced that just and peaceful means of freeing the slaves could be adopted and applied. Looking back over the history of the ensuing years, one may well believe that he was right and that if wise and temperate counsels had prevailed, the results of the Civil War might have been attained without bitterness and bloodshed. He did not stand for reëlection but continued as a private citizen his generous efforts in behalf of the colored people. In the financial panic of 1857 a commercial house in which he had a considerable interest, though no active participation, crashed. He was not legally responsible, but he insisted that his property should be used to satisfy the legitimate demands of the creditors. The Beacon Street house was sold, and Mr. and Mrs. Eliot went to live in a modest dwelling which their son, then an assistant professor in the college, built for them in Cambridge. Mr. Eliot was not yet sixty years old, but it does not seem to have occurred to him or to anyone else that there was still time for him to recuperate his fortune. In those days a man of sixty was through. Thus, as his biographer, Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, says, "From ample wealth, honorably held and used, he sank, or rather rose into an even more honorable poverty—this, too, with an undisturbed spirit, and, as his wife told me, without the loss of a single night's sleep." He died at Cambridge in 1862.

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[1] New York did not have a paid fire department until 1865.

This is the record of a man of probity who did a solid and constructive piece of work. He was in no sense remarkable and had no superior gifts, but he had good common sense, sound principles, and resolute fidelity. It was of men of this sort that the Son of Sirach wrote more than two thousand years ago: "Without these shall not a city be improved nor shall men sojourn or walk securely up and down therein—for these maintain the fabric of the world."

Extracts from the Correspondence of

John Murray Forbes

With His Partner and Cousin, Paul Siemen Forbes Head of Russell & Company in China

By W. Cameron Forbes

John Murray Forbes (1813–1898) was the youngest son of Ralph Bennet Forbes, who died insolvent leaving his penniless widow, the former Margaret Perkins, to bring up her large family of three sons and four daughters. Her slender resources were eked out by what she was willing to accept from her three brothers, who were the partners of the important mercantile house of Perkins & Company of Boston, which did business with the West Indies and China.

The oldest of their three nephews, Thomas T. Forbes, went to China as representative of his uncles' house, and on his first return home used his first money to hunt up and pay off his father's creditors. Later, as a result of a yachting accident, Thomas lost his life by drowning at Macao. At his death the oriental business of the Perkins house was transferred to that of Russell & Company. Robert Bennet Forbes, the second son, took to the sea and at the age of twenty-one was in command of his ship and sailed in the China service.

John Murray Forbes attended Round Hill School in Northampton, where he sat next to the dashing Phil Kearny, who as general during the Civil War was killed at Chantilly. At this school young Forbes was taught horsemanship and acquired a taste for riding which continued until his death in his middle eighties. At the age of fourteen he left school and went into his Perkins uncles' counting-house in Boston. Three years later he went to China where he made so much progress in the house of Russell & Company that, by the time he reached twenty, he was, to a very important degree, conducting their business. He was the confidential agent of the Chinese merchant prince Houqua, for whom he entertained unbounded admiration; and Houqua conducted all his foreign business through this youthful agent in Russell & Company. It is reported that while still in his teens Forbes had half a million dollars' worth of merchandise afloat at one time, all in his own name but belonging, of course, to Houqua. His name was even then well known in the Barings' house in London.

Returning to the United States for his first leave, he was married just before his twenty-first birthday but had to leave his wife behind when, after a brief honeymoon, the time came for his return to China. Arriving in Canton while still twenty-one, he found himself head of the house of Russell & Company. He retired from that business at the end of his second tour of three years and returned to the United States to find the country plunged into the Panic of 1837.

He then founded the house of J. M. Forbes & Company in Boston and engaged in mercantile and shipping business. Soon, however, he became greatly interested in railroads, and to these enterprises of his he gave close attention for many years. He took a very active part in politics and public affairs, especially during the Civil War when he acted as advisor and assistant to Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. During the Lincoln administration he was sent by the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Treasury to London where he negotiated the sale of some millions of United States government bonds. He also had a part, although he never regarded it as by any means the controlling one, in the negotiations which resulted in stopping the sale of ironclads which were building at Laird's to go out as raiders for the Confederacy.

Forbes was a stanch supporter of the Republican party until the nomination of Blaine, which so troubled him that he became active in organizing what was known as the Mugwump movement, supporting Cleveland. He was, however, in his Republican days never convinced of the desirability of a really high tariff. In his later years, in political matters he was an independent. He died on October 12, 1898, at the age of eighty-five.

Upon Forbes's retirement from the house of Russell & Company, his first cousin, Paul Siemen Forbes, took over the reins; and for the next fifty years one or another Forbes was active in connection with the house, which finally got into financial difficulties in the early nineties, when Siemen's son, William Howell Forbes, was in control. Other members of the family who went to China and were active in the affairs of Russell & Company included the Robert Bennet Forbes already mentioned, who retired from the sea to become a merchant; Francis Blackwell Forbes; his brother John Murray Forbes (1844–1921); and the late James Murray Forbes, son of Robert Bennet Forbes.

After returning to Boston, John Murray Forbes, the subject of this paper, sent periodic letters to his cousin. The latter had an official as well as a business position in China, being the American Consul General in Canton, in which capacity he was mentioned by Admiral Perry in recording his historic visit to Japan.

The correspondence between the Forbes cousins began in 1843 and continued for over twenty years until 1866. During most of this time Siemen was domiciled in China. The quotations which follow cover a variety of subjects: employees, commodities, shipping, the effect of the gold fever, and investments. I preface these excerpts with one from a significant letter addressed by John Forbes to an old friend, the Chinese merchant prince Houqua, and dated August 5, 1843:

> If . . . the mandarins continue to exact money from you I do not see where it will end unless you will make up your mind to take possession of one of my ships for the conveyance of yourself and family—and come to this country where every man is called upon to pay only his fair share of the expenses of the Government. My direct taxes, for instance, are only three or four hundred dollars, besides which if I choose to buy silks or foreign woolens, or other foreign commodities I pay a higher price for them inasmuch as the Government has exacted duties on them—but then I need not use them unless I choose as we make all the necessaries of life here at very low prices. Possibly the climate might be too cold for you just here, but if so you would find St. Augustine in Florida very much such a climate as that of Canton, or you might resort to one of the West India Islands where the climate is beautiful and where for a small sum you could buy as much land as is covered by Canton and have just such an establishment as you pleased.

In the light of John Forbes's later history, working as he usually did until one-thirty in the morning and being up again and at his desk at six to write innumerable letters and telegrams in longhand, it is amusing to find him writing to his cousin on November 29, 1847: "I mean to bend all my energies now to getting out of business—so that I may next year have more time for *fun* and for my children."

His observations on the subject of employees have great interest. In a letter dated July 31, 1846, he says to his cousin:

> In getting clerks I would *pay well* but would avoid holding out expectation of

admission into the house so as to leave you entirely free to choose from your corps those who are to be advanced. For 1000$ per annum or a trifle more I can send you the best clerks in the country who would aspire to nothing more but who might turn out the very best men for Partners but while I would not be democratic in taking clerks who aspire to be Partners I would equally avoid the Aristocratic clerks who profess to bring business. This Species of animal may do for a small house just beginning but you are beyond it. You have reputation, credit and a first rate list of correspondents and all you have got to do to keep and increase them is to get such a force of Partners and clerks as will enable you to do full justice to the business that you will have. This with the patronage in the way of freight which H's shipments give you is all you want for success. Don't forfeit your good position by taking M. to please H. and A. nor G. to please the G's.

Writing on June 29, 1848, he begins:

If you go in for conciliating big folks . . . I can only repeat that I would not take anybody except from a conviction of his fitness and if you don't think . . . [he] would be valuable for his services I would not have him on any terms.

On April 11, 1850, he writes:

If you could find a good tea taster that Cary & Co. know and can recommend—who will go right out or within two or three months—one who knows New York Teas, and can do other work too—I think well of the plan—paying him anywhere from 3000 to 3500$—but I would either get the right man or none and would give Cary & Co. as much time as they want to find him. I would avoid promising him promotion.

A few quotations selected more or less at random give an idea of John Forbes's comments on commodities. On February 27, 1846, he writes:

There is hardly a doubt that the Tariff will be modified and very little if any doubt (happen what will to Cotton, Sugar and Iron) that Silks will come in after next October at 25% ad valorem duty on Invoice cost. In view of this strong probability I think there will be orders sent out for Silks by this mail and if the price happens to be low and you have any funds of mine on hand I should rather see them promptly invested in Silks and sent home *soon* in some good ship than invested in Teas unless Teas are low. I think too that the duty will be reduced on Sugar and if you have any of the vessels I am concerned in still on hand (say the Jones or Akbar) I should rather see them sent home with Sugar, Hemp and Cassia at moderate prices than to be laying idle. There are two expeditions under way for Manila, one by R. G. Shaw and one by Lombard & Whittemore.

[December 31, 1846] What is more certain however is that goods will be down to the lowest point ever known at the time you answer this letter for the factories lay in large stocks of cotton at these low prices and in about 6 months there will be a great stock of Goods on hand here.

[May 31, 1848] Should teas be very low this year I should not be surprised to see the profits on this side but I have not got much speculation left in me. I hear good profits have been made even this year on Shanghai Teas.

[August 1, 1848] I look for hard times for a year to come. Still the time to buy Teas is when they are made very low by a small demand and small *shipments* and such may be the case next year and I shall try to send £20,000 out by the next steamer in credits if Ward will trust me with cargo at 8$ to 10 Taels.

[October 3, 1848] Our whole trading community you know trades in *every* thing—Grocers own factory stocks, and railroads and perhaps ships and when everything else goes down—it will drive down Tea. Then again it is utterly impossible to combine to hold up teas—even in China I never knew a combination that did not harm prices instead of helping them for by keeping people back a while with orders accumulating and ships, it always seemed to produce *higher* prices than if the demand had been supplied gradually.

[October 29, 1849] I don't see myself when we are to mend unless we can get a tariff that will check importations and enable us to spend our money at home. I therefore look for hard times *for a year to come* and if you or Houqua have any spare cash I think there will be a great chance to invest here next spring either in stocks, or cotton, or Domestics. The two last will be lower than ever before known.

The following quotations have to do mostly with shipping:

[September 30, 1846] I think it may be very possible I may be ready to build a 700 Ton Ship with you say 7 months hence when I shall get an answer to this. She should be sharp in the ends—Sharper than the Paul, a foot or two wider and capable of carrying 1400 Tons of Cargo. Such a ship I think (cutting off Jimcracks) may be built for $45,000 coppered—and say for leeway and outfits for a long voyage 50,000—but I don't know how I shall feel then.

[October 31, 1846] If, however, you feel disposed to take a quarter or more of a new ship, to be an improvement on the Paul, send word and I think I shall get up one to replace the Akbar which I intend to sell. With two good ships in the trade for spring and fall I think money could be made—and that would be about all the shipping I should care to own. *I don't recommend* this but merely suggest it in case you have a fancy for a piece of a ship.

[November 29, 1847] Freights are and will be low—and I could probably get a ship to take out cotton and carry home China Goods at $20 per ton for the round voyage port charges paid.

[January 27, 1848] I would never send any business to a house (except for personal considerations) who were engaged in business in any way either as shippers or freights. Suppose I put a ship out wanting freight and did not make a bargain I should have reason to fear that she would go empty while any freight they could command or get hold of on the market would go to fill the tonnage they were encumbered with. Or suppose I sent an order for Goods to be bought at discretion and shipped on freight I should not venture to send it to a house who might want any freight to fill their ships.

[May 31, 1848] I forgot to write you about the Gr. Britain. When she arrives if the orders are positive to buy her in, which I think they are, we shall do so; if discretion is given I think we shall use it to get you clear of her for I feel quite strongly that your policy is to keep clear of ships except a station ship and perhaps a clipper or two. If we had funds of yours to load her with Cotton that would be her best operation and she would make a good store ship, but still I have a prejudice against your being concerned in too many ships.

[October 3, 1848] Your new Ariel spec. will pay a trifle which is a pity. You *ought to lose* whenever with your splendid coms. business you spend your funds on buying Goods. I wish you would send me half a Million Dollars to invest in Michigan R. R. 8% Bonds and other such securities.

[April 9, 1850] I have spent morning with Hall and have pretty much agreed with him upon a contract at *31,000* complete with one suit of sails—not coppered but *he* to put copper on—in stocks or in Dock as we please—32 foot cabin.

[July 2, 1850] The Barque must have some ballast. What do you think of putting 30 tons hard Coal on board—it will be what she wants for California, and for Canton would not be amiss.

In the middle of the period covered by these letters the California gold fever broke out, and this complicated shipping problems very materially. The following quotations indicate how this situation was envisaged:

[January 23, 1849] The fever takes so many ships away that I think ships will be enhanced in value until the Gold Haulers begin to return. 80 ships are up for California, and if the accounts continue I think 200 to 300 will go and how can they get back? So there is reason to think ships will continue high here and there is danger of their being too plenty with you.

[January 29, 1849] I would not send property there [California] except in charge of a Captain and Supercargo in both of whom you could rely for pluck and honesty and if to these you could add one or two mates who look for promotion rather than temporary gain it would be well, for there will be the *Devils* own state of things out there. If Muskets are *cheap* with you I should not wonder if they proved the best gold winners altho all the surplus stocks of fancy arms have been shipped out there. . . . You will have more or less ships getting across to China with gold enough to buy cargo for home, and if any good is to be done this year with China cargo it must be bought before these gold folks reach China and sold here before their return in China goods comes into this market.

By the 1st. Sept. next my impression is that from 10 to $20,000,000 of gold will have been dug and a good deal of it on its way here, and that there will be an expansion which will make trade more brisk next fall.

[February 4, 1849] If gold turns out as plentiful as is expected people will distrust *its value* continuing compared with silver and it is *possible* that its value may *fall* here and in England—whereas you will know its exact value in China and can get your money back there and turn it into silver before any change can take place in China.

[April 2, 1849] The Gold fun is checked for the moment but will break out again with the next news and you may rely upon it there is to be an enormous population in that whole coast neglecting agriculture and depending upon commerce for luxuries and necessaries. Milres [William Appleton's agent in California] tells me he has sold 5000$ worth of silks and shawls to two squaws in a morning who never had a petticoat to cover them before. White sugar is the least they will look at—*Fancy things*, furniture etc. must pay largely but I hope you will get back Howell soon after you receive this if he has made a good voyage and been able to get a crew.

It is amusing to find John Forbes lecturing his cousin; typical instances are found in letters of June 30 and August 31, 1846:

Pray reduce everything to a system and to regularity à la George Perkins as much as possible or in other words pray *do as I say* and as far as possible from what I do.

What the Deuce do you expect from a retired partner whose duty it is to live at home at ease? Now I very often scold you and R & Co. because I consider it essential to the welfare of a great commission house to have its *friends* find all the fault they can. Indifferent people won't take the trouble to scold. When you get very careless they *cut you*. So I feel it is my duty to scold in order to keep you in order. At the same time I may well tell you once for all that "*Do as I say and not as I do*" is my Motto. . . . I'm a farmer, a Tree Planter and a Hunter and now Prest. of the Michigan R. Road! ! ! So my dear fellow after this you'll save your breath instead of trying to reform such a brazen and hardened sinner as I am. I do believe that in the main I manage my business and yours well but in details I don't pretend to be good. You may say the same but this is certain that if you don't manage well in *great* and small things too you'll lose your business.

The following quotation on general business policy is very pertinent and illuminating:

[July 21, 1846] I would say in confidence that H. and A. have a good deal of paper afloat and *are going pretty* fast in the way of expensive houses, ships, and doing a very dashing business generally and I should strongly advise your keeping on the safe side in regard to advances. A. is intelligent and talented but he is not the *safest* person I know. He is well disposed towards you and you are sure of his business so long as you do it well.

In 1847, soon after the discovery of ether, John M. Forbes endeavored to introduce the new anesthetic into China by sending some cans of it to his partner and cousin in Canton. Desiring that the son of his old friend and patron, Houqua, should get what credit at Court would come from being the first to introduce the use of this new medical discovery into China, he wrote to Siemen on July 25, 1847:

> I enclose a letter which please read, seal and deliver to Houqua and explain its contents to him. . . . If my Old Friend were alive I know it would do him good service. I do not wish to urge it however but merely to suggest it. It is the greatest discovery ever made in medicine and promises to alleviate every kind of disease. Its great value too for the purpose of making an impression is that its use can be so easily demonstrated. The New York and Southern Physicians generally set their faces against it but here and in London and Paris it carries all before it.
>
> I shall send you the article by next ship. . . . Drs. Bigelow, Channing and even cautious old Dr. Jackson recommend its use in all ordinary cases of child birth though it is only three months since it was first tried for this purpose. I beg you especially to make Houqua feel that I do not *urge* it but only offer it, and if he does not take to it I can only say that I shall be saved considerable trouble.

On the same day he wrote to Houqua, "My dear Friend":

> A discovery . . . has lately been made here which I am sure would have been valuable to your Father by giving him an opportunity to offer to the Emperor and to the whole Country the greatest medical invention which has ever been brought to light—*not* excepting vaccination—I know not whether you retain the same connection with the Court and the Public Officers which your Father did, but I feel bound as an old Friend of his to offer you the means of introducing this great medicine, leaving it entirely to your own judgment whether to take any further steps. . . . I have ordered some of the Ether prepared to be sent to Mr. Paul S. Forbes with directions for its use and you will be able to see for yourself its effects but if these details impress you with the importance of the discovery *as they have me*—I would suggest whether it will not be worth your while to take prompt measures say by return mail for making arrangements to have it properly introduced into China under your patronage. I suggest prompt measures because the first introduction will deserve the Thanks of the Emperor—and if possible I wish you to have this opportunity. . . . I would therefore suggest that if you think it worth while to do anything about it, you should send back to me an order by return mail to send out a Physician who has acquired the use of Ether—with a view to his being introduced first to the Vice-Roy of Canton and afterwards to the Govt. at Pekin. Through your influence with the Governor you could have it tried at first on criminals condemned to die.

Unfortunately there is no record of the action taken as a result of these letters. Possibly there is reference to the matter in letters received in reply which are not at the present time accessible.

Others of John Forbes's letters deal with the invention of the telegraph.

[October 31, 1847] How would the Magnetic Telegraph do for China? It would cost less than 1/10th as much as a Railroad probably only a twentieth and would seem just the thing for a despotic Government—this would need two Engineers, who could go out with all the materials from here and build their line to Pekin via Nankin in a year or two and then be ready for the next thing—probably the poles could be sent from here, the wires probably cheaper from England.

[May 30, 1848] In writing you about Electric Telegraph I believe I overstate the expense. It costs here only a little over $100 per mile for posts and wires and the batteries cannot be expensive.

Some quotations from letters on investments follow:

[November 30, 1845, speaking of the Housatonic Railroad, he says he has subscribed for stock at 80, and goes on:] This new stock pays off all the debts and relays the road with a solid Rail and before the old stock gets any dividends the new is to have 8$ a share—the road costs about 22,000 per mile including depots and machinery of which the old Stockholders had paid about 10,000 per mile—leaving the new to pay about 12,000 per mile on which dividend up to $8 per share must come.

[September 30, 1846] I believe Bennet has told you of my being President of the Michigan R. Road—it gives me lots of work—it is to run from Detroit to St. Josephs 200 miles and is ¾ths done and in operation. Look on the map and you'll see; but of this hereafter too. I only accepted the office to get the thing a going and keep it *warm* for Bennet. It will be a grand property and is in good train.

[October 31, 1847] You can hardly imagine the number of good things that offer to a man situated as I am in the focus of business, and if our friend Houqua or anybody should offer to send half a Million to be managed by me on a joint account at a Moderate interest say 5% you need not by any means refuse. I really don't believe he could make as much money in any other way. Boston is become the focus of all the Union for capital and if breadstuffs keep up the U. States will be the Fountain head of Wealth instead of England.

Whenever any coal mines are to be made accessible or ill managed Rail Roads made available, or indeed any scheme that requires Capital and Intelligence they come to Boston for help and those that take hold do it on such terms that they play with sure cards. I think at this moment I could place a Million of Dollars where it would give 30% profit within a year.

[March 23, 1848] Why don't you salt down 25 to 50,000$ in a safe place for the children—so that come what may their education and a fair start in life will be made sure—placed where you cannot touch it.

[September 4, 1848] If the Michigan R. Road is not different from any other Road it will cost some 100 to $200,000 more than the estimates—and if so this will be apparent about the time I get your answer to this.

[April 2, 1849] I don't like Indiana or any other state bonds which require taxation to meet the interest.

[October 13, 1854] In short, if money enough can only be obtained we can afford to pay high for it, rather than to wait until Railway enterprise in the West revives again, *which it is sure to do.*

The Rail Way in our Western prairies is the most economical labor saving machine ever invented, for it doubles and often trebles the value to the farmers, of the coarser grains, by bringing them within reach of water carriage and by bringing the customers to their doors. Railways in the West are just as sure to extend universally through those rich districts, as the Patent Reaper of McCormick is in some shape or other, just as sure as the Cotton Gin was to be used or as the Iron plough to displace the old wooden sharpened stake, which is even now used in many countries. The richness and depth of the soil at the same time furnishes business for the Rail Road, and renders it impossible to transport the rich products of the soil to market by any other mode.

Since Railways have been made in Illinois it is far easier to sell land in their neighborhood at $10 than it was to sell it at $1.25 years ago.

The Mo. land is unquestionably superior to the Illinois—the country more rolling, better drained and wooded and more healthy, and what is most important, in comparing this Road with the Illinois Central, our Road runs East and West, and in the direct line of traffic, while a certain portion of that road will for some time to come be a drag on the rest.

[February 25, 1855] I shall not be surprised to hear of you in Paris but doubt whether in the present state of affairs there money can be had—as Napoleon seems to have a first rate faculty at tapping their pockets. I suppose the Rothschilds operate as our Brokers here to turn the *nimble* penny instead of the slow pound—otherwise I cannot understand how shrewd men like them can trust their rotten, Bankrupt Empires and Monarchies instead of thrifty vigorous institutions here. England or France even may repudiate any day that their interest seems to demand it and as for the rest of the European States I would not trust them as quickly as our worst repudiating states.

In his letter of October 31, 1847, he deals with the possibility of railroads in China:

If the Chinese Government were going to do anything the true way would be for them to build a Rail Road somewhere—where it would pay. This would furnish them a corps of engineers who could be used without suspicion to build Forts and do anything else. If there could be a Road from Canton 40 or 50 miles in any direction thro tolerably level country it would be a grand thing. Taking into view cheapness of Iron from England—of sleepers from here and of labor on the ground I think (the Govt. taking the Land despotically and paying what it is really worth) such a road could be built for about $20,000 a mile and then it must be equipped with Engines costing in China $10,000 each and passengers cars $2000 and freight cars $200 to $300 each. From Canton to Whampoa would be a cheap experiment and might pay by carrying cargo down. I should like to build the first Rail Road in China! ! !

The Military Telegraph in the Civil War

By Roscoe Pound

Some years ago I was called on to make a study of coöperation between state and nation in connection with the enforcement (or want of enforcement) of the National Prohibition Act. This led to a study of coöperation or non-coöperation in the enforcement of law generally in the United States. It was soon apparent that the attempt to enforce prohibition simply brought out in striking fashion a deep-seated characteristic of our polity.

Take some typical instances. In a well-known case a husband went to South Dakota and there sued his wife for a divorce. He was editor of a paper in New Jersey, and his wife sued him in that state for an injunction to restrain him from going forward in South Dakota with his divorce proceeding. The court in New Jersey granted the injunction and the court in South Dakota went on and granted the divorce. A contempt proceeding in New Jersey was followed by an attempt by the Governor to pardon the husband, committed for disobeying the injunction until he should take steps to have the South Dakota decree vacated. In a habeas corpus proceeding it was held that the Governor could not pardon in such a case. There was a long and complicated process of what amounted to interference by each state, and by different agencies of the same state, with the legal course of law enforcement as conceived by each.[1] Again, in the case of Dodge, who was wanted in New York for perjury and had fled to Texas, before he could be taken back to New York there were four writs of habeas corpus in which different courts re-opened the proceeding for extradition; there was a conflict of jurisdiction between state and federal officials; there were four extradition warrants, one injunction, one appeal, and one contempt proceeding. Even then it was necessary for a masterful detective to take the bull by the horns and put the fugitive into the hands of justice by an extralegal coup.[2] A like case is that of Norfleet, in which an accused was chased over nearly the whole of the United States, the conflicting action of courts and officials enabling him to hold off attempts to take him by extradition to the court having jurisdiction to try him.[1]

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[1] Kempson *v.* Kempson, 58 N. J. Eq. 94; 61 *ibid.*, 303; 63 *ibid.*, 782. See the history of the case in Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and Sidney P. Simpson, *Cases on Equity* (Cambridge, 1934), I. 165–171.

[2] The details may be found in Arthur Train, *True Stories of Crime* (New York, 1908), 341–371.

Want of coöperation begins at the bottom of our political and legal scale and goes on to the top. A tradition, sometimes amounting to a settled habit of non-coöperation, begins in the locality at the bottom of the administrative scale. It is manifest in lack of coöperation of administrative officials in the same locality with each other; in lack of coöperation among the independent detecting and investigating agencies in the same locality; in frequent lack of coöperation between local prosecutors and local courts; and in friction between local courts and local administrative officials as has been seen here in Massachusetts so frequently in the case of the district judges and the Registrar of Motor Vehicles. It is manifest between locality and locality. I remember a case where a fire occurred in a town, about fifty feet from the town line. There was a fire station in the adjoining town about three hundred yards off. There the firemen sat out in front of the station on a hot summer evening and watched the fire burn while the firemen who "had jurisdiction" came a mile and a half to put it out. There is the same want of coöperation of locality with state, frequently showing itself in friction between local and state police or in the ignoring by one of opportunities to aid the other. Different departments or officials of the state frequently fail to work together and even seek publicity at each other's expense. Failure of state to coöperate with state is to be seen frequently in extradition cases where the governor of the state to which an accused has fled refuses to issue a warrant because he has no confidence in the courts of the demanding state. In the enforcement of the National Prohibition Act it happened continually that different departments of the federal government worked at cross purposes or even that different bureaus in the same department refused or neglected to assist each other.[2] Conflicts between federal agencies and those of the states were chronic before the Civil War under the Fugitive Slave Law and again, recently, under the régime of prohibition.[3] Races for possession between receivers appointed by state and by federal courts, habeas corpus proceedings in federal courts where murderers have been convicted in state courts, habeas corpus proceedings in state courts where federal military tribunals or officers have acted in punishing deserters or shooting to prevent escape of convicted soldiers are familiar phenomena.[1] Indeed, in our polity a president or a governor is a Tudor or Stuart king, ruling rather than reigning: ruling with Congress or the legislature if he can, and in spite of them if he must.

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[1] See J. Frank Norfleet, "*Norfleet*"; *The Actual Experiences of a Texas Rancher's* 30,000-*Mile Transcontinental Chase after Five Confidence Men* (Fort Worth, 1924).

[2] National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on the Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws of the United States* (Washington, 1931), I. 18–19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 37–43.

Many things have entered into this tradition. One might note at least the Protestant tradition of individual interpretation and its postulate, the supremacy of the individual reason; the Nonconformist tradition of self-sufficiency of the individual, consociation, not subordination;[2] and the Whig tradition, the "right of revolution."[3] In all these the individual is left to his free personal judgment, and one cannot wonder at American courts which have left it to juries to decide whether, under the circumstances of particular cases, a reasonable, prudent man would have ignored the requirements of a statute or a municipal ordinance.[4] Possibly another element is what Beseler calls *Kleinstadtismus*—small-townism or perhaps Mainstreetism—which he considers a characteristic of the peoples of northern Europe.[5]

Is this historical explanation the whole story? Are things better in a highly centralized polity where, if bureaus or individual officials fail to coöperate, there is a well-organized administrative hierarchy to make them "track"? When I looked into this, it occurred to me that the best organized activity is military. Probably nowhere else is there such complete subjection of the inferior to the superior. Certainly nowhere else is complete subordination in every respect more urgently called for. Hence it seemed that military administration might throw light on the subject. Accordingly I began a study of the military telegraph in the Civil War, on which I have been at work, as I could find time, for the past five years. Certainly the Civil War brought out most strikingly the characteristic American cult of independent individual judgment and non-coöperation, especially on the Northern side. But, what is particularly enlightening, it displayed this characteristic as much as anywhere else in the administrative field, which was thoroughly organized in bureaus.

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[1] Roscoe Pound, "Coöperation in Enforcement of Law," *American Bar Association Journal*, XVII (January, 1931), 9–14, 63–64.

[2] See Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London, 1906), 200.

[3] James Wilson, *Works*, James D. Andrews, Editor, I (Chicago, 1896), 18; James D. Andrews, *American Law* (Chicago, 1908), I. 147.

[4] Knupfle *v*. Knickerbocker Ice Co., 84 N. Y. 488.

[5] *Volksrecht und Juristenrecht*, Chapter 4.

From almost the beginning the Union armies had an elaborate system of military telegraph. By 1864 the wire was transported on reels in the field behind the lines and in the Atlanta campaign sometimes followed on the very heels of the skirmish line, using trees, fence posts, or anything at hand.[1] The advantages of this over transmission of orders by aides on horseback is manifest. If, for example, Pope could have sent by wire the orders which went by horseback at the Second Bull Run, or Lee could have used the telegraph to make the attacks on the second day at Gettysburg simultaneous, the results might have been different.

But highly developed as the military telegraph was as a useful means of communication, it was not under the control of the local army or department commander, who most needed to use it. It was specially organized under a Superintendent of Military Telegraphs at Washington, who was responsible only to the Secretary of War,[2] and so, in practice, only to himself. He had complete control over the telegraphers, and as they were conscious of responsibility to him only, they acted not merely with the utmost independence of the army and department commanders but even in defiance of them.[3] In one signal instance the Superintendent of Military Telegraphs held up peremptory orders of the General in Chief in accordance with the Superintendent's personal view as to what should be done.[4] The result was an incredible degree of non-coöperation with army and department commanders which, in more than one critical situation in the course of the war, rendered the military telegraph wellnigh useless and sometimes made it a downright menace.

The organization of the military telegraph administration as a distinct bureau at Washington under Colonel Anson Stager as Superintendent of Military Telegraphs, with the telegraphers as his subordinates, taking orders from him only, and free from all control by the department commanders, assumed that the telegraphers, without being ordered, would, as a matter of voluntary coöperation, do what was requested or required. All military experience shows that coöperation of this sort in military operations cannot be expected in practice. More than once in the Civil War important operations came to naught because, instead of putting one commander over the other, thus making one of them responsible, two corps commanders were ordered to coöperate.

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[1] There is an interesting contemporary sketch of a field telegraph station, directly behind the line, with wires to the front, made during the assault at Kenesaw Mountain, in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, Editors, IV (New York, 1888), 272. See also Jacob D. Cox, *Atlanta* (New York, 1882), 61–62; Colonel Stager's report in *The War of the Rebellion. A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (cited hereafter as *W. R.*), Series I, LII, Part I, 482–483; Van Duzer's report, *ibid.*, 694; Bruch's report, *ibid.*, 479. For an account of the field telegraph at the Battle of Spotsylvania, see *Meade's Headquarters* 1863–1865, George R. Agassiz, Editor (Boston, 1922), 110.

[2] *W. R.*, XVII, Part II, 347. [3] *Ibid.*, 377–379.

[4] David H. Bates, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office* (New York, 1907), 313–315.

There was a striking illustration of this on the first day at Spotsylvania. The Fifth Corps had been slowly pushing back the Confederates who were blocking the way to Spotsylvania Court House. The Sixth Corps had come up, but so had Confederate reinforcements, and there had come to be a deadlock. General Meade came on the field and, seeing that independent action of the two corps on two roads was achieving nothing, sought to bring about united action. As General Wilson tells the story:

> Meade turned to Warren and . . . said: "Warren, I want you to coöperate with Sedgwick and see what can be done." Whereupon Warren, who had been Meade's Chief of Staff and had doubtless been accustomed to speaking plainly with him, said: "General Meade, I'll be God damned if I'll coöperate with Sedgwick or anybody else. You are the commander of this army and can give your orders and I will obey them; or you can put Sedgwick in command and he can give the orders and I will obey them; or you can put me in command and I will give the orders and Sedgwick shall obey them, but I'll be God damned if I'll *coöperate* with General Sedgwick or anybody else."[1]

When highly trained soldiers, men of caliber, major generals commanding army corps, in the presence of their immediate commander object to coöperating, what could be expected of little men, with the rank of lieutenant of military telegraphs, called on to exercise their independent judgment as to coöperating with an army commander, there being no common superior short of Washington?

As a result of this régime of theoretical coöperation of the administration of military telegraphs with the army and department commanders, instead of putting the department superintendents on the staff of the commanding generals, there developed a bad spirit of insubordination, of independent judgment on the part of each telegrapher as to where he should go and what he should do, inconsistent with the exigencies of military operations. Likewise a bad spirit grew up in the subordinates. They were not in the immediate presence of their superior. The Secretary of War was too busy with other things to give them real supervision. Colonel Stager developed an *esprit de corps* among them that could have been a good thing. Practically, it led to standing by their fellows against the army commanders and threatening to strike whenever pressure was brought to bear on one of them by a commanding general.

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[1] James H. Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* (New York, 1912), I. 396.

Thus when of three operators with General Schofield's army in the fighting between Columbia, Tennessee, and Nashville in November, 1864, one played the coward while another got drunk, thus depriving the commander in the field of use of the telegraph, and General Schofield put the two under arrest, the third swore he would not work until the two were released.[1] So, too, when General Grant found it impossible to get along with Van Duzer, Superintendent of Military Telegraphs for the Department of the Tennessee, the chief operator of the "Advance Telegraph Corps," laying the line as the army advanced, wired to Colonel Stager that the men all wished to leave because the commanding general ordered the line extended to the front,[2] and another wired Colonel Stager giving his views as to what General Grant should be required to do.[3] Colonel Stager in the meantime (November 28, 1862) had issued this order:

> *All Operators in the Department of the Tennessee:*
>
> Mr. J. C. Van Duzer has been assigned to the management of the United States military telegraph lines in the Department of the Tennessee. You will obey instructions received from him. Orders from any other source will not be obeyed.
>
> A. Stager,
> *Colonel and General Superintendent of Military Telegraphs.*[4]

This Van Duzer was a cantankerous fellow, at best willful and obstinate, and, worse than that, given to preferring private messages to military telegrams. He ought never to have been in such an independent position. Yet he demanded to be reinstated in Grant's department, where he had systematically thwarted the General's desires and even compelled the General to superintend the laying of the advanced line himself, and insisted that he could prove himself right and Grant wrong.[1] Grant was so firm that Colonel Stager could not reinstate Van Duzer. But Van Duzer was put in the same post with the Army of the Cumberland, and the operators arrested by General Schofield for gross dereliction of duty were reinstated from Washington.[2] Van Duzer sent messages to Colonel Stager during the Atlanta campaign very hostile to General Schofield.[3] It certainly was none of his business to criticize army commanders. He had no knowledge except gossip at the headquarters of the Army of the Cumberland. But this judgment of department and army commanders by a captain of military telegraphs speaks for itself, especially when one remembers that the captain was to exercise his independent judgment as to coöperating with the major general.

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[1] *W. R.*, XLV, Part I, 1172.

[2] *Ibid.*, XVII, Part II, 385–386.

[3] *Ibid.*, 394.

[4] *Ibid.*, 379.

How lack of control on the spot could operate was brought out in a way that should have been a warning to the War Department by the experience of General Grant after his great victory at Fort Donelson. On March 3, 1862, General Halleck at St. Louis (in whose department Grant then was) telegraphed General McClellan at Washington, then commander in chief, that he had not heard from Grant for a week, that he was unable to get returns from Grant, and that the latter, puffed up by his victory, was sitting down and doing nothing.[4] The same day McClellan (with the authority of the Secretary of War) telegraphed Halleck to arrest Grant and put Charles F. Smith in command.[5] Grant, when it was brought to his attention that Halleck had received no reports, at once wrote that he had telegraphed to Halleck's adjutant general every day.[6] On March 15 Halleck withdrew the charges and explained that the failure to receive reports was due to what he somewhat euphemistically called "interruption of telegraphic communication." At one time it was supposed that Halleck wished to supersede Grant and that when President Lincoln called for a bill of particulars and it appeared that he might have to prove specific charges, he retreated gracefully with the excuse of failure of the telegraph. But Grant says that the operator at the end of the advancing wire proved to be a rebel and deserted his post after a short time and went south, taking the dispatches with him.[1] Colonel Conger doubts this because, he says, the messages sent to be transmitted should be in the papers of the department even if not transmitted by the operator and not received.[2] But it must be remembered that at this time Grant had anything but an efficient staff. Even later, before Vicksburg, he had no adequate engineers assigned to him. His adjutant general was a volunteer, all his aides were without military training or experience, and he says of himself that the only place he knew of in which to file papers was his pocket. It is very likely that he wrote out his reports to Halleck himself, sent the originals to be telegraphed, and made, and so kept, no copies. At any rate, a telegram sent him from Washington on February 16 did not reach him till March 3.[3] Had the telegraph at each end been in the control of the military commander on the spot, it would not have taken so long to discover that no one was at the end of the advancing wire, and the contretemps that very nearly lost the country its best commander might have been avoided.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 377–379, 394. [2] *Ibid.*, XLV, Part II, 289–290.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, Part V, 232, 364, 388, 481.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII, 679–680, 682. [5] *Ibid.*, 680.

[6] *Ibid.*, X, Part II, 4, 62–63.

Often the claim of the military telegrapher on the spot to exercise his independent judgment covered up a disinclination to face the hardships, inconveniences, and privations at the front. In Grant's first movement against Vicksburg, Captain Van Duzer, then the Superintendent of Military Telegraphs in Grant's department, persisted in staying back at Cairo. Grant advised the War Department that he himself had had to superintend the extension of the telegraph behind the advance and the establishment of offices.[4] The War Department took no notice of this and confirmed Van Duzer in his view that he was a law unto himself.

Again, on one occasion during the battles in the Wilderness in 1864, while the fighting was going on at Spotsylvania, there was a delay of twelve hours in Grant's dispatches to the War Department because at 1:30 A.M. the operator could not be found.[5] This brought a sharp letter from Secretary Stanton to the Superintendent at Belle Plain.[6] The next day the Superintendent reported that dispatches from Grant's headquarters had not arrived but that he had a party at work putting up poles and expected to have direct communication in another day.[1] As Grant had moved ten days before, it is evident the telegraphers were in no hurry to extend to the front until the Secretary of War stirred them up vigorously.

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[1] *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1885), I. 325.

[2] Arthur L. Conger, *The Rise of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1931), 211*n*.

[3] See also Grant's inquiry, in his letter to Halleck of March 21, as to what had become of the operator at Fort Henry. *W. R.*, X, Part II, 56.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVII, Part II, 377.

[5] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, Part II, 769, 770.

[6] *Ibid.*, 770.

Often the operators were cowards and would not stay where they were needed, just behind the lines, but ran off and established themselves out of the reach of danger, where they were of no use. If ordinary soldiers had done this, they would have been punished severely. But attempts of commanders in the field to punish or even discipline these offenders were regularly thwarted from Washington.

There was a particularly flagrant case of this sort at Gettysburg. During the fighting of the second and third days and for two days thereafter, it took from eighteen to twenty-four hours for dispatches to be transmitted between Meade's army and Washington.[2] Not only this, but, what was worse, on the morning of July 3 Meade wired General Halleck that the Washington dispatches of the day before had come but were undecipherable because Operator Caldwell had disappeared with the code.[3] On July 4 Meade wired again that he was still unable to read the dispatches, now forty-eight hours old, and that the reason was that the operator at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac had insisted on his independence and had selected his own location at Westminster, Maryland, twenty-five miles off.[4] It seems he became scared during the fighting of the second day, which got uncomfortably close to Meade's headquarters, and rode back to Westminster, where he set up his office, safe but useless. One can understand his being frightened when one reads the accounts of the destruction about headquarters during the great cannonade the next day.[5] But a superintendent of telegraphs who was a member of General Meade's staff and was amenable to discipline would not have dared let his fright take him away from his duty. As it was, the best that could be done was for General Haupt, Superintendent of Railroads, to set up a pony express service between Gettysburg and Westminster.[6] This had to suffice. Meade sent Caldwell a peremptory order telling where his headquarters were

[1] *Ibid.*, 799–800.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXVII, Part I, 74.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 78.

[5] E.g. see the account of an eyewitness, Jesse Bowman Young, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (New York, 1913), 296; Oliver O. Howard, *Autobiography* (New York, 1907), I. 436–437.

[6] *W. R.*, XXVII, Part III, 494.

and requiring the operator's "immediate presence."[1] So far as the records show, no attention was paid to it.[2]

There was a like incident at the Battle of Monocacy in July, 1864. General Lew Wallace, with such fragments as he could gather up and part of one division of the Sixth Corps, put himself across Early's path at the crossing of the Monocacy, where he fought the battle deservedly called by him "the best little battle of the war."[3] Although finally driven from the field by Early's overwhelming force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, Wallace was able to hold Early back two days so that his chance to take Washington was lost. Only part of the Third Division of the Sixth Corps was on the field. The rest was coming up by train. Two troop trains, with parts of the division, stopped thirteen miles short of the battlefield for want of orders.[4] At the beginning of the fight, however, the operator, who should have been with General Wallace behind the line of battle at the front, cut the telegraph line and ran.[5] In consequence, General Wallace had no means of communication with these veteran troops nor they with him, although the trains were in immediate proximity to the telegraph line along the railway which ran immediately to the bridge behind which the General had taken his stand. President Garrett of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad got word of the situation, took the bull by the horns, and ordered the trains to go on.[6] But by that time it was too late to get these much needed troops to the battle, where they might have changed the result and enabled Wallace to hold on all day, as he almost succeeded in doing.

Nothing seems to have been done to the operator. Here, as in most of the cases disclosed by the records, the actions of the operators were promptly and fully reported to Washington, where the reports were received and placed on file, and the matter was allowed to rest.

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[1] *W. R.*, XXVII, Part III, 1088. The seriousness of this may be understood when it is noted that Meade's orders to Couch went by horseback to Westminster, thence by wire to Washington, and thence by wire to Harrisburg. Meade was trying to bring about an interruption of Lee's communications or, later, a harassing of his retreat. *Ibid.*, 566, 577, 580, 585. Movements were so slow that, as President Lincoln said, they were "as likely to catch the man in the moon as any part of Lee's army." *Ibid.*, 612.

[2] At any rate, we find Caldwell still in charge of the telegraph at Meade's headquarters in May, 1864. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, Part III, 321. Major Eckert, Assistant Superintendent of Military Telegraphs, in his report actually praised Caldwell. *Ibid.*, LI, Part I, 200.

[3] *Lew Wallace; An Autobiography* (New York, 1906), II, Chapter 70. See also Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 306.

[4] *W. R.*, XXXVII, Part I, 197; *ibid.*, Part II, 137.

[5] *Ibid.*, Part I, 197; Wallace, *Autobiography*, II. 783. See also *ibid.*, XXXVII, Part I, 179. The operator at Ellicott's Mills was not accessible during the retreat.

[6] *Ibid.*, XXXVII, Part II, 137.

What looks suspiciously like another case happened during the siege of Petersburg when the chief operator at the headquarters of the Army of the James took away the telegraph office which General Grant had established with the siege batteries. Once before the chief operator had taken away the office, and it had been reëstablished by order of the General in Chief because of serious interruptions in the supply of a line of batteries seventeen miles long.[1] But the chief operator persisted, thinking the hospital of the Army of the James a preferable location.[2]

A clearer case happened at the outset of the Appomattox campaign at the end of March and beginning of April, 1865. The evening of March 31 was a most critical time. Pickett's division and Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry had pushed Sheridan, with two divisions of cavalry, back to Dinwiddie Court House. There was an obvious chance to take Pickett in the rear and smash him up, just as he was taken in flank and smashed up later the next day at Five Forks. At Dinwiddie the result would have been more immediately decisive, and the opportunity was one seldom offered. Grant and Meade were straining every nerve to get troops to Sheridan and to move part of the Fifth Corps in Pickett's rear during the night. Grant had moved his headquarters up immediately behind the lines at the point where movements were to be made. Just at this juncture, when time was all-important, one finds Grant writing to Meade (the message going by horse carrier) that the operators at his headquarters had "gone back"[3]—apparently to the old headquarters not so uncomfortably close to the lines where the fighting was, and Grant and Meade had to communicate in the emergency by messengers on horseback at night and on bad, muddy roads.

But the most flagrant case, and one which came very near having fatal consequences, happened in the Franklin-Nashville campaign. Sherman was marching to the sea almost unopposed. Thomas was gathering an army at Nashville to oppose Hood's advance into Tennessee. Schofield was out in front at Columbia, Tennessee, with orders to hold back Hood as long as possible in order to give Thomas time to concentrate and organize. Hood had about twice as much infantry as Schofield and was overwhelmingly superior in cavalry. In consequence, Schofield was taking almost desperate chances so as to stay at Columbia till the last moment, as Thomas desired. Hood was eager to force a decisive battle in which he would have the odds strongly in his favor. At this critical juncture McReynolds, the operator at Schofield's headquarters, became scared. He left Columbia and set up his office at Franklin, well in the rear.[1] He had the code, hence the messages and orders from Thomas to Schofield went by wire in code from Nashville to Franklin, where there was no danger of interception by the enemy, and then went by messenger, decoded, from Franklin to Columbia, where there was great danger of interception both because of a hostile population and because of the activity of Forrest's cavalry.[2] In fact, two such decoded messages were actually intercepted.[3] Here again one sees the vice of the independent organization of the military telegraph. The chief commissary, the chief quartermaster, and the ordnance officer were on the staff of the commanding general. So it was, even with the chief of railroad transportation. These officers were always at the call of the head of military operations in the field and alert to carry out their part in furthering his plans. The chief of the telegraph was at the call of the commander only when and as he chose, and was quite indifferent to the exigencies of military operations.

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[1] *Ibid.*, XLVI, Part III, 385, 386. [2] *Ibid.*, 442. [3] *Ibid.*, XLVI, Part III, 338.

In Schofield's slow retreat from Columbia to Nashville, however, the worst feature of the telegraph administration was the inexcusable delay in transmission of messages and orders. On November 25 Thomas complained that it was taking twenty-four hours to telegraph from Nashville to Columbia, a distance of forty miles.[4] On November 27 Schofield wired that he was having to decipher Thomas' telegraphed instructions by guesswork, after twenty-four hours' delay in receiving them, or else await the leisure of McReynolds at Franklin.[5] On November 29 the operator at Thomas' headquarters reported that the cipher operator had not as late as 6 A.M. sent off

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[1] *W. R.*, XLV, Part I, 1172; Jacob D. Cox, *The Battle of Franklin* (New York, 1897), 30; John M. Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army* (New York, 1897), 168–169. General Thomas supposed that the wires were down between Franklin and Columbia. *W. R.*, XLV, Part I, 1036, 1057.

[2] Cox, *Battle of Franklin*, 30–31.

[3] *W. R.*, XLV, Part II, 289; Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 218.

[4] *W. R.*, XLV, Part I, 958.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1085–1086.

Thomas' orders to Schofield of 3:30 A.M.[1] By this time it was taking from eight to forty-eight hours to get messages between Thomas and Schofield.[2] Either of these generals could have remedied this at once if the Superintendent of Military Telegraphs had been on his staff. As it was, days elapsed, and then it turned out that Operator Everett was drunk. The person immediately in charge was Captain Van Duzer, of whom something has already been said and of whom more will be said presently. He was superintendent at Thomas' headquarters but was responsible only to Major Eckert at Washington. Van Duzer did not like Schofield, as his messages to Colonel Stager during the Atlanta campaign reveal clearly, and did nothing to relieve the situation which was cruelly embarrassing to the General.

On November 30 Schofield could stand the condition of things no longer and wired Van Duzer that he had arrested McReynolds for disobedience of orders, Everett for drunkenness, and the third operator for swearing that he would do no work until McReynolds and Everett were released.[3] Needless to say, Van Duzer's only action seems to have been to complain to Major Eckert, who later showed hostility to Schofield in holding up Grant's orders when Thomas seemed reluctant to move against Hood.[4] McReynolds was tried by court-martial under Schofield's orders, convicted, and condemned to a month's labor on the forts.[5] By order of the War Department the sentence was at once remitted, and McReynolds was restored to duty.[6] In other words, the War Department promptly made it clear that the military commander in the field had no power in such matters. Fortunately, while this bad condition of communication with his superior seriously endangered Schofield's army, he pulled through by tenacity, with the help of a skillful subordinate and good luck.

As has been seen, some of the operators in the military telegraphs administration were cowards, some were disinclined to face hardships, and some were drunkards. There were many who stood out as doing their duty faithfully and intelligently, and Grant commended one of them as "one of the best of men."[7] But, unhappily, some were venal, and these made quite as much trouble for military operations as the cowardly, the lazy, and the drunken. There was no money in sending military dispatches—nothing but the pay of the operator's rank in the service. On the other hand, there was money in sending private telegrams from the front, especially in sending press dispatches and dispatches likely to affect the stock market[1] or having to do with the trade in cotton. Hence there was a strong temptation and in too many cases a habitual tendency on the part of military telegraph operators to give precedence, even in military emergencies, to business and press dispatches.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1137.

[2] *Ibid.*, 958, 1036, 1056; Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 206.

[3] *W. R.*, XLV, Part I, 1172.

[4] Bates, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office*, 313–315.

[5] *W. R.*, XLV, Part II, 289.

[6] *Ibid.*, 290.

[7] *Ibid.*, XXXII, Part II, 323.

Unless this is borne in mind, many things in the War Record Series seem inexplicable. For example, when Grant, who had been disabled by the fall of a horse, was at Vicksburg, he was ordered to go to Cairo as soon as able to take the field, and to report to Washington. He arrived at Cairo on the morning of October 16, 1863, and at 9 A.M. reported by telegraph that he had just arrived and was prepared to take the field. This message, which was what the War Department was eagerly awaiting, was not received until 10:40 P.M.[2] Later, at 11:30 A.M., Grant wired again, giving news he had received while coming up the river. This message, about which there was no hurry, saying, of course, nothing about his having his staff and headquarters with him prepared for the field, was received in Washington at 9 P.M.[3] In other words, the important message, sent to be telegraphed two hours and a half before the unimportant one, arrived an hour and forty minutes later. The only explanation is that the important message was laid aside until private and press messages had been sent out, and then the military messages which had piled up were sent out in inverse order of their receipt.

Grant had called attention more than a year before to this tendency on the part of the operators. When he was moving upon Vicksburg from Corinth in 1862, he found that his dispatches were frequently being delayed a whole day. On investigation the reason proved to be that private, paying dispatches were being given the right of way. Thereupon Grant made an order allowing private (i.e., cotton and press) dispatches only before 10 A.M., and then only if they did not interfere with military business, and put one of his aides in charge to see that the order was carried out. Some days later Grant found that dispatches he had sent into the office in the morning had not been sent off until ten o'clock at night and on calling on the operator for an explanation, was told the wires had been used for sending cotton dispatches. Let Grant's report to General Halleck, Commander in Chief, tell the rest of the story:

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[1] LaFayette C. Baker, *History of the United States Secret Service* (Philadelphia, 1867), 124–126.

[2] *W. R.*, xxx, Part iv, 403.

[3] The dates of sending and receipt are on each telegram.

> I reminded Van Duzer [Captain Van Duzer, Superintendent of Military Telegraphs at Grant's headquarters] that my order . . . was still in force. . . .
>
> Mr. Van Duzer replied that my orders should be obeyed, but immediately removed the operator who had always been at my headquarters office and put in a new man, evidently because the first had done his duty in informing me why my dispatches had been detained. I sent for Mr. Van Duzer and warned him against making changes at my headquarters in the future without consulting me. I permitted the change to take place, however, notifying Mr. Van Duzer that I would have no person about the office who would not let me know when dispatches could not be sent and the reason why.[1]

Van Duzer, however, had control of communication by wire with Washington, and although he knew very well who Grant's aide was and for what he had been put in charge, he telegraphed the War Department that "a man signing himself John Riggin" was interfering with the management of telegraphs in Tennessee. This brought a message to Grant from the War Department ordering him to arrest Colonel Riggin as an impostor. And after Grant explained, he was told peremptorily that "Colonel Stager has appointed deputies believed to be competent," and any dereliction should be reported to Washington, not dealt with on the spot.[2] In addition, an order, which Grant with some reason believed emanated from Van Duzer, went out to "all operators in the Department of the Tennessee" to obey no orders from anyone but the latter. Thereupon Grant, who suspected, as has been said, that Van Duzer was using the name of the authorities at Washington, arrested him and ordered him out of the department so that he could not bring about a strike.[3] Indeed, the operators threatened to strike, but Grant told them that if they struck or did not stay on the job, he would put them to work on the forts. Telegrams arrived at once, purporting to come from the War Department to post commanders all along the line, ordering that Van Duzer be released. But Grant, who was always scrupulously subordinate, considered that they probably came from Van Duzer himself or his men who took directions from him, and so would not release him till he was out of the department. Indeed, Grant went so far as to threaten to shoot him if he came back,[1] since his willful insubordination and obstinacy made him a menace.

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[1] *Ibid.*, XVII, Part II, 378–379. [2] *Ibid.*, 347. [3] *Ibid.*, 370.

No direct notice was taken of Grant's very full and clear report of the affair to General Halleck, although he asked to have it brought to the attention of the War Department.[2] But Colonel Stager evidently did not dare to go too far. He sent another man to Grant's headquarters but put Van Duzer at Nashville as Superintendent of Military Telegraphs for the Department of the Cumberland. There Van Duzer reverted to his old-time practices so that in June, 1863, during Rosecrans' Middle Tennessee campaign, one finds General Garfield, Chief of Staff to Rosecrans, ordering Van Duzer (apparently with no result) not to send dispatches for the press over the wires without authority from headquarters.[3]

As has been said, no direct notice was taken of Grant's report. But it seems to have been made to appear to the Secretary of War that the General wished to control the financial part of the military telegraph, and a message from General Halleck, by direction of the Secretary of War, informing Grant that purchases for telegraph purposes could not be made by the General from funds of the Quartermaster's Department,[4] naturally drew an indignant and emphatic reply.[5]

No less serious than the difficulties already mentioned was the operators' monopoly of the cipher. This was jealously guarded, and by means of it a lieutenant of military telegraphs could defy and embarrass a major general in command of a department and army. It has already been seen how this control of the cipher embarrassed Meade at Gettysburg and deprived Schofield of the benefit of Thomas' orders and directions in the critical period between Columbia and the Battle of Franklin. Two other examples may be worth while.

In June, 1863, during the investment of Vicksburg, Grant telegraphed to Schofield at St. Louis (to Memphis by steamer and from Memphis to St. Louis by wire) for some hurry-up supplies for the siege. The dispatch went from Memphis to St. Louis (where there was no special danger of interception) in cipher. When it came, the operator at Schofield's headquarters could not be found. So General Schofield himself, who had some skill in such matters, worked for twelve hours on the dispatch, from 3 A.M. to 3 P.M., till he guessed the meaning and sent the supplies, after twelve hours of delay.[1]

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[1] The whole series of letters and telegrams is instructive. *W. R.*, XVII, Part II, 346, 347, 368, 377, 379, 382, 385, 386, 394.

[2] *Ibid.*, 377.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXIII, Part II, 448.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVII, Part II, 386.

[5] *Ibid.*

An even more enlightening incident happened in East Tennessee in January, 1864. Things seemed at a standstill at Knoxville, and Grant went there in person to see what was the matter. The journey to Knoxville involved great hardship and privation. The intervening country was exhausted, and Knoxville was on the verge of starvation. The operator at the headquarters of the Military Division of the Mississippi, who alone had the cipher, was left back at Nashville. When messages from the War Department came to Grant directly, they were in cipher. No one at his headquarters could decipher them.[2] A delay of a number of days ensued, and to Grant, who thoroughly appreciated the value of time, this seemed intolerable. Accordingly, when he returned to Nashville, he ordered the operator at his headquarters to give the cipher to Colonel Comstock, of his staff, so that someone could be assured to be always at hand to read messages.[3] The operator reported this to Colonel Stager, who promptly removed the operator, put in a new one, and put in a new cipher. A long correspondence followed between Grant and the War Department and ended with a virtual rebuke to Grant for taking the sensible course under the circumstances.[4] It is not easy to find an answer to Grant's observation in his letter to Halleck: "I could see no reason why I was not as capable of selecting a proper person to entrust with this secret as Colonel Stager."[5]

It is quite possible that there are other cases which I have not as yet found. The indexes to the War Records do not contain the term "military telegraphs," and it is only by patiently leafing through the volumes of correspondence page by page that one can find the material for a judgment on how the system worked. That it could work well when the operators were up to their work, free from temptation to send private messages, and too close to Washington for the department superintendent to set up an independent régime, was brought out at the time of the Confederate attack on Fort Stedman on March 25, 1865. General Meade was at General Grant's headquarters at City Point. But the telegraph enabled General Hunt to send at once for artillery and notify General Meade,[1] enabled the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac to notify General Parke at once that he was in command,[2] and enabled the latter to call a division of the Sixth Corps to come to the assistance of the Ninth and to start two divisions of the Fifth Corps toward the point of danger.[3] Aides on horseback could not have done this so quickly.

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[1] See General Schofield's account and comments in *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 232–233.

[2] *W. R.*, XXXII, Part I, 323.

[3] *Ibid.*, Part II, 150.

[4] *Ibid.*, 159, 161, 172, 324, 361.

[5] *Ibid.*, 324. See General Cox's comments on this episode in *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), II. 135–137.

If the telegraph could be so useful, what were the reasons for perpetrating or tolerating the absurdities which have been recounted? The answer is partly to be found in the Anglo-Saxon instinct for decentralization, checks and balances, and blundering through without coöperation. A further explanation is that such things seem to be inevitable incidents of a system of bureaus. British military history is full of examples, and not long before our Civil War the Crimean War had shown how inefficiently the bureaus of the British War Office could function under the stress of a campaign. The Bureau of Military Telegraphs was not the only one in our War Department that was conducted as an end in itself rather than toward the ends of effective military operations. In the Knoxville campaign one finds a lieutenant of the ordnance department defying General Burnside, then in command of the Army of the Ohio, and refusing to arm a regiment by filling a requisition for arms he had on hand.[4] In consequence, the army was deprived of the regiment on the eve of battle. When the lieutenant had sworn at the General's Chief of Staff, and the General had sought to maintain discipline by arresting the lieutenant, a telegram came from the War Department vindicating the independence of the lieutenant and rebuking the General.[5] But one is impelled to suspect that Secretary Stanton, whose name was used, may never have heard of the matter. It is quite possible that the Secretary's name was used by some bureau official who was zealous for the independence of the bureau. General Schofield says that bureau officials habitually used the name and authority of the Secretary.[6] Perhaps it will never be known how much Secretary

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[1] *W. R.*, XLVI, Part III, 113, 120.

[2] *Ibid.*, 146.

[3] *Ibid.*, 147.

[4] *Ibid.*, XXIII, Part II, 186, 209.

[5] *Ibid.*, 210.

[6] In Baker, *History of the Secret Service*, 179–180, there are a number of illustrations of how the telegraph was abused in this way; see also Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 474–476.

Stanton really had to do with the messages which Colonel Stager or his subordinates sent out in his name.

It has been suggested by General Cox, who commanded the Twenty-third Corps from Columbia to Nashville and saw the practical workings of the operators' exclusive control of the cipher, that Secretary Stanton wished to keep a certain espionage upon his commanders,[1] or at least to insure that they could send no messages which he or the department subordinates could not read. At first this seemed to me incredible. But light is thrown upon this theory by a story told by General Horace Porter, as related by Senator Nesmith of Oregon to General Grant in General Porter's hearing:

> "One day the Secretary of War sent me a message that he would like to see me at the War Department, at the earliest moment, on a matter of public importance. . . . I hurried up to his office, and when I got in he closed the door, looked all around the room like a stage assassin to be sure that we were alone, then thrust a telegram under my nose and cried, 'Read that!' . . . I ran my eye over the despatch, seeing that it was addressed to me and signed by [General] Ingalls [chief quartermaster of the armies in the field] and read: 'Klat-a-wa ni-ka sit-kum mo-litsh weght o-coke kon-a-mox lum.' Stanton, who was glaring at me over the top of his spectacles . . . now roared out, 'You see I have discovered everything!' I handed back the despatch, and said, 'Well, if you've discovered everything, what do you want with me?' He cried: 'I'm determined, at all hazards, to intercept every cipher despatch from officers at the front to their friends in the North, to enable them to speculate in the stock-markets upon early information as to the movements of our armies.' I said: 'Well . . . it seems to me you omitted one little matter: you forgot to read the despatch.' 'How can I read your incomprehensible hieroglyphics?' he replied. 'Hieroglyphics—thunder!' I said; 'why that's Chinook. . . . Chinook is the court language of the Northwestern Indian tribes. Ingalls and I, and all the fellows that served out in Oregon, picked up that jargon. Now I'll read it to you in English: "Send me half barrel more that same whisky." You see, Ingalls always trusts my judgment on whisky!' . . . That was too much for the great War Secretary, and he broke out with a laugh . . . but I learned afterward that he took the precaution, nevertheless, to show the despatch to an army officer who had served in the Northwest, to get him to verify my translation."[2]

It was great good fortune that this desire to prevent stock speculation did not lose Schofield's army at Columbia or Spring Hill, did not lead to a retreat at Gettysburg, and did not delay Five Forks, and so Appomattox, longer than it did.

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[1] *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War*, II. 136–137.

[2] Horace Porter, *Campaigning with Grant* (New York, 1897), 358–359. See the story from the side of the one who verified the translation, Baker, *History of the Secret Service*, 124–125.

Why Did Not England Recognize the Confederacy?

By HENRY ADAMS

On October 13, 1862, Lord John Russell, British Foreign Secretary, sent out a call for the Cabinet to assemble on the twenty-third. As it was generally known that mediation in the American Civil War was the subject to be brought up, it was expected that, pursuant to a Cabinet decision, it would be voted to abandon the existing policy of strict neutrality and recognize the South as an independent nation. The day passed and no action was taken. Everyone, including the American minister, Charles Francis Adams, believed that, for some reason unknown, a decision to recognize the South was reversed; and some have held that opinion down to the present day, even after having made exhaustive examination of evidence since made public.

Charles Francis Adams, son of the American minister, has written three papers on this subject, each time, as he had access to more information, attributing the reversal of such a supposed decision to a different reason. First he traced it to a change of opinion by Palmerston caused by jealousy of Gladstone aroused by the latter's speech at Newcastle in which he declared that Jefferson Davis and the Southern leaders had made a nation.[1] Next he accounted for this shift by the theory that the Cabinet meeting called for October 23 was postponed by Palmerston because of jealousy, that during this postponement the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation was made known, and that approval of the Proclamation by the working classes of England made it impossible thereafter to recognize a slaveholding people as a nation.[2] Finally, in 1914, the year before he died, Mr. Adams decided, as a result of further investigation of private correspondence, that the postponement of the Cabinet meeting and the change of mind on the part of the premier were not due to any collision with Gladstone, but to the fact that Palmerston found neither the rest of the Cabinet nor a majority of the voters in England in favor of recognition at the moment, and thought that if he

[1] "Queen Victoria and the Civil War," *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (New York, 1911), 410.

[2] "Dis Aliter Visum," *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity* (Oxford, 1913), 105–107.

just waited, the South would surely win anyway and no move need be made. Hence action was deferred, and Antietam and the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation then made recognition impossible.[1] In all three papers Mr. Adams assumed a reversal of a decision by Palmerston for immediate recognition, and, through him, by the Cabinet.

James Ford Rhodes also thought there was a change of plan on the part of Palmerston and Russell. He attributed it, however, to the knowledge they had that Minister Adams had been instructed that if the South should be recognized, he was to close his office immediately and return home, even if it meant war with all Europe.[2]

Dr. Alfred Worcester, a close friend of the younger Adams, assumed, in an unpublished paper, that a definite Cabinet plan for immediate recognition was suddenly abandoned because of the Queen's disapproval. His paper is a reply to Adams and is based on the belief that, inasmuch as Adams did not have access to the archives at Windsor Castle, he was not fully informed. Since, however, Adams, in "A Crisis in Downing Street," refers to the documents Dr. Worcester quotes from that source,[3] it is obvious he had arrived at his conclusion after taking them fully into consideration. Dr. Worcester says that another paper not mentioned by Adams, calling for immediate recognition of the Confederacy, was presented to the Queen, and that she abruptly refused to sign it. As there is no record of such a paper in the Windsor archives, and since the only evidence for its existence is the recollection of Prince Leopold, at the time of the supposed episode a boy of nine, who did not see the paper and would not have understood it if he had, and only remembered his mother's remark about it, there is not enough support for this story to justify the acceptance of it as the cause of a complete reversal of a Cabinet decision.

Professor Ephraim D. Adams, who used new material that Charles Francis Adams had collected for use in the biography of his father in which the two were collaborating, concluded that it had been decided to recognize the South, but that Palmerston withdrew his support of Russell because he felt the time had not yet come but would come shortly. Professor Adams, like all except Henry Adams, decided that there was a change of plan.[1]

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[1] "A Crisis in Downing Street," *Proceedings*, XLVII. 414ff. This paper is a thorough study of the case. It gives an outline of the law and explains the influences that affected the decisions of the different Cabinet members.

[2] *History of the United States*, IV (New York, 1899), 342; *History of the Civil War* (New York, 1917), 269–270.

[3] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 384.

Henry Adams, who was his father's secretary in London during the Civil War, wrote forty years afterward, when diaries and letters of participants had been published, that there was no decision to recognize the South, and that if there was any plot or plan to bring this about, it was confined to Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone.[2] But he gives no reason for their failure to influence the rest of the Cabinet, devoting all his attention to the strange behavior of these three and to admitting how mistaken he had been in his judgment of them at the time.

Dr. Worcester's criticism of the conclusions reached by Charles Francis Adams revived my interest in this controversy, and, largely to defend Mr. Adams, I made a study of it myself. I could produce no new information, but after reading everything upon which these different conclusions had been based, I found to my surprise that I disagreed with all, except possibly Henry Adams: so far as I could see, there never was any fixed plan to recognize the South, only two of the Cabinet ever favored immediate recognition, and Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone did not constitute a controlling power.

In the spring and summer of 1862 the tide of war had set against the Northern arms. By autumn the Union army had been rolled back from Richmond; Pope had been defeated at the second Manassas; and Lee's army was invading Maryland. Although in 1861, when England recognized the South as a belligerent, the Queen had issued a proclamation of neutrality, it was generally hoped and expected by the governing classes that the South would prove itself unconquerable and could then be recognized as a nation. The only question was how soon.

In England the situation was strange. The governing classes strongly disapproved of slavery yet desired the slaveholding states to win. On the other hand, the working classes in Lancashire, who were starving because the mills could not get Southern cotton, were willing to suffer that the slaves might be freed. The North had many friends, among them Cobden, Bright, Forster, and Argyll, but among the elements in power the general feeling was one of hostility. In the Cabinet, out of twelve members, four—the Duke of Argyll, Thomas Milner-Gibson, Sir George Grey, and Charles Villiers—openly favored the North; two—Russell and Gladstone—were in favor of immediate recognition of the South; and the remaining six, including Palmerston, Sir George Lewis, Lord Granville, and the Duke of Newcastle, all men of influence, hoped that the South would attain such military success as to justify recognition, and wished to wait till then. It was the opposition of these six that Russell and Gladstone had to overcome to obtain immediate recognition of the South, and that could be done only after a crushing Union defeat.

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[1] *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (New York, 1925), II. 43, 44, 56.

[2] *Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1918), 154ff.

Palmerston and Russell had for some time been preparing a plan to lay before the Cabinet when this defeat should take place, and after Lee's victory over Pope at the second Manassas, Palmerston thought the time near when proposals of mediation and recognition could be presented to his colleagues. Consequently, on September 14, 1862, he wrote to Lord Russell, then in attendance on the Queen, who, prostrated with grief over the death of Prince Albert, was living in seclusion at Gotha:

> The detailed accounts given in the "Observer" to-day of the battles of August 29 and 30 between the Confederates and the Federals show that the latter got a very complete smashing; and it seems not altogether unlikely that still greater disasters await them, and that even Washington or Baltimore may fall into the hands of the Confederates.
>
> If this should happen, would it not be time for us to consider whether in such a state of things England and France might not address the contending parties and recommend an arrangement upon the basis of separation, and whether, if the Northerns should refuse to negotiate upon that footing, England and France might not acknowledge the independence of the South as an established fact.[1]

It is surprising that little attention was paid in any of the articles cited above to Palmerston's final paragraph qualifying the conditions under which neutrality was to be abandoned and the South recognized. Charles Francis Adams did not even quote it.[2] Yet what does smashing an army and occupying an enemy's capital mean? It can only mean that the army has ceased to exist as an organized military force, and that the victor is in possession of the seat of government. Napoleon I was smashed at Waterloo, the Russians at Austerlitz, and Napoleon III at Sedan; and Lee surrendered his army because, although not smashed, it was surrounded, starved, and unable to resist. Under such conditions an offer of mediation and recognition might well be proposed.

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[1] Spencer Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (London and New York, 1889), II. 349; Windsor Castle Archives.

[2] *Studies Military and Diplomatic*, 404; *Trans-Atlantic Solidarity*, 99; *Proceedings*, XLVII. 383.

To Palmerston's letter Lord Russell replied on September 17:

> Whether the Federal army is destroyed or not, it is clear that it is driven back to Washington, and has made no progress in subduing the insurgent States. Such being the case, I agree with you that the time is come for offering mediation to the United States Government, with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates. I agree further, that in case of failure, we ought to ourselves recognise the Southern States as an independent State. For the purpose of taking so important a step, I think we must have a meeting of the Cabinet. The 23rd or 30th would suit me for the meeting.
>
> We ought then, if we agree on such a step, to propose it first to France, and then, on the part of England and France, to Russia and other powers, as a measure decided upon by us.[1]

In this letter Russell first showed his hand when he brushed aside Palmerston's restriction that they must first wait for a severe Union reverse. Of this Palmerston reminded him in his reply, quoted later.

On the previous day, September 16, Lord Russell, at Gotha, had sent the Queen the following written message:

> Lord Russell . . . hastens to lay before Your Majesty the letters he has just received from Lord Palmerston and Mr. Stuart. It is probable that on Lord Russell's return to England a Cabinet will be held, of which the result may be to advise Your Majesty to consult France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Spain and Italy as to an offer of mediation, and on such an offer being refused, a recognition of the Confederate States.[2]

With this letter Lord Russell enclosed Lord Palmerston's above letter to him of September 14. On the seventeenth, the same day that he wrote to Palmerston, Russell had his last interview with the Queen. Of this he wrote Palmerston on the twenty-second: "I told the Queen what we thought of. She only wishes Austria, Prussia and Russia to be consulted. I said that this should be done, but we must consult France first."[3]

The Queen had merely agreed that when the Northern army had been destroyed, Baltimore or Washington occupied, and four nations consulted, then mediation might be offered, with recognition of the South to follow if the North refused. It is only because the royal archives at Windsor Castle state that Russell called on the

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[1] Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, II. 349.

[2] Windsor Castle Archives.

[3] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 384; Palmerston MSS.

Queen on this date and presented a paper, and the nine-year-old Prince Leopold remembered that the Queen on some occasion refused to sign a paper of some sort and said she would sign no paper unfriendly to the United States, that Dr. Worcester believes she reversed a Cabinet decision and prevented the South from obtaining recognition. But the only paper known to have been presented to the Queen was Palmerston's letter of September 14 with its restrictions.

With this plan for an offer of mediation and recognition under these conditions approved by the Queen, Russell returned to London, leaving Newcastle and then Granville in attendance on the Queen. Before leaving, Russell left a message for Lord Granville that the Cabinet was to be assembled to consider "under the present state of the American question whether the time had not come to offer the mediation of H. M.'s Government, and in case of refusal to recognize the Southern Confederacy."[1] Granville's biographer terms this letter "bellicose." Lord Russell had probably written his own point of view, not Palmerston's. The letter drew from Granville, under date of September 27, a strong reply disapproving any action at this time. In it he expressed forcibly the difficulties of mediation even if requested: friction with other nations who were also mediators; the approval of slavery; if either the North or the South accepted mediation, something would be expected in return; if the South alone accepted, England could not refuse recognition, but it would not remove the blockade; recognition of the South would involve England in the war to get the blockade removed. Granville closed his letter with these enlightening paragraphs:

> By the time you will receive this letter, you will probably know more of the relative positions of the combatants. At present we know that the Federals have been defeated in their attempt to conquer the South, but we also know that the two parties have changed parts in the great tragedy. The Southerners, instead of being invaded, are become the invaders.
>
> It would not be a good moment to recognize the South just before a great Federal success. If, on the other hand, the Confederates continue victorious, as it is to be hoped, we should stand better than now in recognizing them. . . .
>
> I have come to the conclusion that it is premature to depart from the policy which has hitherto been adopted by you and Lord Palmerston. . . .[2]

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[1] Lord Edmond George Fitzmaurice, *Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville* (London and New York, 1905), I. 439.

[2] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Granville,* I. 443–444.

Lord Granville was no friend of the North. He wished the South to win and felt sure that it would win without England's being drawn in by an attempt at mediation. For that reason only, he was opposed to Russell's step.

On October 1 Granville wrote to Lord Stanley in disapproval of Russell's idea of immediate recognition: "I have written to Johnny my reasons for thinking it decidedly premature. I, however, suspect you will settle to do so! Pam, Johnny, and Gladstone would be in favour of it; and probably Newcastle. I do not know about the others. It appears to me a great mistake."[1]

Of this letter Henry Adams wrote:

> Out of a Cabinet of a dozen members, Granville, the best informed of them all, could pick only three who would favor recognition. Even a private secretary thought he knew as much as this, or more. Ignorance was not confined to the young and insignificant, nor were they the only victims of blindness. Granville's letter made only one point clear. He knew of no fixed policy or conspiracy. If any existed, it was confined to Palmerston, Russell, Gladstone, and perhaps Newcastle.[2]

Of these four, Palmerston was not in favor of immediate recognition, and Newcastle voted against it, leaving only two, Gladstone and Russell, to favor it. Of the other eight in the Cabinet, of whose opinions Granville was as ignorant as was Henry Adams, not one was in favor of immediate recognition.

Palmerston and a majority of the Cabinet—possibly all but the four real friends of the North—were confident that the Northern armies were about to be destroyed and Washington and Baltimore occupied, and that the North would then be ready to accept mediation. To be prepared, a Cabinet meeting had to be held to approve the form of procedure in offering mediation. Consequently, on September 23 Palmerston, in reply to Russell's letter of the seventeenth, wrote as follows:

> Your plan of proceedings about the mediation between the Federals and Confederates seems to be excellent. . . .
>
> As to the time of making the offer, if France and Russia agree,—and France, we know, is quite ready, and only waiting for our concurrence—events may be taking place which might make it desirable that the offer should be made before the middle of October.
>
> It is evident that a great conflict is taking place to the north-west of Washington, and its issue must have a great effect on the state of affairs. If the Fed-

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[1] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Granville*, 442.

[2] *Education of Henry Adams*, 154.

erals sustain a great defeat, they may be at once ready for mediation, and the iron should be struck while it is hot. If, on the other hand, they should have the best of it, we may wait awhile and see what may follow.[1]

Palmerston thought that the destruction of the Northern armies was taking place and that by October 16 it would be possible to lay before the Cabinet the offer of mediation and recognition as outlined and approved by the Queen. But he reminded Russell in his closing paragraph that he had no intention of taking that step till he knew that the Union disaster had occurred.

Here again it is surprising to find that, except for Henry Adams, none of the historians previously cited paid much attention to this paragraph. Henry Adams quoted it with the comment that he would like to know what his father would have thought if he had seen it.[2] Charles Francis Adams ignored it entirely in his quotation.[3] To him, apparently, the policy of immediate recognition had been decided on by Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone,[4] a majority of the Cabinet was in favor of it, and yet nothing was done. He made several attempts to solve the mystery, but it seems to me that the solution is here. This paragraph outlines again the conditions under which Palmerston, in the face of Cabinet opposition, could ever favor recognition—conditions which he thought were inevitable and imminent. He had but to wait.

Russell was now in London and forwarded Granville's disapproving letter of September 27 to Palmerston, who must have received it before the thirtieth. The result of the Battle of Antietam and the news of Lee's retreat were known in London on the twenty-sixth.[5] News of the battle was published in the newspapers on September 30, official reports on October 2; and the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, mentioned in Minister Adams' diary on Saturday, October 4,[6] was published in full in the London *Times* on Monday, the sixth. Whether the immediate effect of the Proclamation was favorable to the North is open to question, although later it created a wave of enthusiasm. As for the battle, since Lee failed in his objective and had to withdraw, leaving his opponent in possession of the field, it can hardly be classed as indecisive. As to its importance, it need only be imagined what might have happened at a Cabinet meeting in Downing Street if Lee had been triumphant, had again rolled back the Northern army, and had occupied or even invested Baltimore and Washington.

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[1] Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, II. 350.

[2] *Education of Henry Adams*, 153.

[3] *Trans-Atlantic Solidarity*, 99; *Proceedings*, XLVII. 383.

[4] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 401.

[5] *Ibid.*, 402.

[6] Adams MSS.

On receipt of this news and Granville's letter, Palmerston knew that the time to offer mediation and recognition had not yet come but still hoped that conditions would soon be reversed and the South again show its supremacy. He consequently wrote Lord Russell on October 2:

> I return you Granville's letter, which contains much deserving of serious consideration. . . . The condition of things . . . which would be favourable to an offer of mediation would be great success of the South against the North. That state of things seemed ten days ago to be approaching. Its advance has been lately checked, but we do not know the real course of recent events, and still less can we foresee what is about to follow. Ten days or a fortnight more may throw a clearer light upon future prospects. . . .
>
> An armistice, if not accompanied by a cessation of blockades, would be all in favour of the North. . . . The whole matter is full of difficulty, and can only be cleared up by some more decided events between the contending armies.[1]

On this same day Russell wrote to Palmerston:

> This American question must be well sifted. I send you a letter of G. Lewis, who is against moving. . . .
>
> My only doubt is whether we and France should stir if Russia holds back. Her separation from our move would ensure the rejection of our proposals. But we shall know more by the sixteenth. I have desired a cabinet to be summoned for that day, but the summons will not go out till Saturday. So if you wish to stop it, write to Hammond.[2]

Not only had the conditions as approved by the Queen, under which mediation and recognition of the South could be laid before the Cabinet and then offered to the contending parties, not been realized, but their fulfillment was not even a matter of the immediate future, although Russell, Palmerston, Gladstone, and a majority of the Cabinet still believed that the defeat of the North was inevitable and that they only had to wait. For the moment, however, Russell and Palmerston both saw that it would be useless, in the face of the opposition in the Cabinet, to bring the matter up on the sixteenth—they must wait for a Southern success in the field. Lord Russell, therefore, on that same day, October 2, wrote to the Queen at Gotha: "Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell having come to the conclusion that no advice can be offered to Your Majesty at the present moment in relation to the Civil War in America, the Cabinet has been postponed."[1] There had been no reversal of policy or sudden change of plan by any of the Cabinet either because of a supposed expression of disapproval by the Queen or because of Lee's retreat: the conditions under which mediation and recognition were to be offered had not been met.

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[1] E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, II. 43–44.

[2] *Ibid.*, 45.

For the time being the question of mediation and recognition was in abeyance, and the situation should now be viewed as Minister Adams saw it. He knew nothing of all this correspondence and of these differences in the Cabinet. Although he knew that he had four friends in the Cabinet, they were a minority, and he had felt the hostility of the governing classes. While it is true that the proclamation recognizing the South as a belligerent had been accompanied by the Queen's proclamation of strict neutrality, yet on July 28 Minister Adams had seen the *Alabama* allowed to escape to prey on Union commerce, and he knew that at Liverpool two ironclads were being constructed for the South to raise the blockade. That a plan was on foot to recognize the South and that it was backed by Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone he also had reason to suspect. These three were known to be a "formidable phalanx in foreign affairs," and the Cabinet was known as the Palmerston-Russell Cabinet. But in order to make the Cabinet secure in office

> . . . the two leaders jointly responsible for the new government, had sought to combine in the Cabinet representatives of all shades of Liberal principles. The result was a body of exceptional ability, but composed of men by no means always concurrent in their opinions, or harmonious in action. . . . that the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were not in general harmony was well known in ministerial circles.[2]

In other words, Palmerston and Russell could not control the Cabinet of their own creation. Palmerston himself on a later occasion wrote of their position to Lord Russell: "As to Cabinets, if we had colleagues like those who sat in Pitt's Cabinet, or such men as those who were with Peel, you and I might have our own way on most things; but when, as is now the case, able men fill every department, such men will have opinions and hold to them."[3]

Not only did Minister Adams not know of these differences, but he fully believed in the collectivity of the Cabinet—an understanding by which no minister could announce any future policy unless he had been authorized to do so by a Cabinet decision. Such was the situation as Minister Adams saw it on October 7 when Gladstone made his address at Newcastle stating that Jefferson Davis and his colleagues had made a nation. Anyone would have assumed at once that this was a definite announcement of a change of policy and that recognition of the Confederacy was to be voted at the next Cabinet. Previously, on September 24, Palmerston had written Gladstone about their plans; but in his letter he only outlined the form of procedure for Gladstone's approval and specifically stated that no action could be taken without Cabinet sanction, and not then unless McClellan were badly defeated.[1] This letter was written before the news of Antietam had arrived, and, although in it Palmerston mentioned the banquet Gladstone was to attend at Newcastle and said he hoped Gladstone would then make clear to the taxpayer that no decrease in taxes could be expected, he in no way authorized Gladstone to go outside his department and announce a change of foreign policy that had not yet been decided on.

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[1] Windsor Castle Archives.

[2] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 394–395.

[3] *Ibid.*, 416.

No one explanation of Gladstone's address has ever been accepted. Gladstone, in his memoirs, says that he made the statement on his own initiative, that "it was a mistake of incredible grossness," but that he made it because he was so sure the South was going to win soon that he thought he might as well announce it as a fact. Yet by the time he spoke he must have known about the results of Antietam, Lee's retreat, the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation published in the newspapers the day before, the attitude of the Cabinet, and the fact that Palmerston and Russell had postponed the Cabinet meeting five days before and no new call had yet been sent out. Charles Francis Adams assumed that the leaders had decided to announce their change of policy on October 23,[2] but I can find nothing to justify such an interpretation—the call for a Cabinet meeting had not yet been sent out and all but Gladstone and Russell were still obstinate about not taking any step till a great Southern victory had taken place. Charles Francis Adams also believed that because of Gladstone's premature action Palmerston later postponed the meeting scheduled for the twenty-third and that conditions then changed so that mediation and recognition were not acceptable to the Cabinet.[3] In this I cannot agree: the great Union defeat which

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 393.

[2] *Ibid.*, 386, 390, 401.

[3] *Ibid.*, 421, 423, 424.

alone from the beginning could have made mediation and recognition acceptable to the North and the Cabinet, and for which Palmerston was waiting and hoping, had not come and never did come.

Gladstone's speech at Newcastle is such a milestone in the course of this controversy that the main paragraph may be quoted:

> We know quite well that the people of the Northern states have not yet drunk of the cup—they are still trying to hold it far from their lips—which all the rest of the world see they nevertheless must drink of. We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation.[1]

No more forcible statement of a change of policy could have been made. The use of the word "must," and the final clause, "they have made a nation," could only be taken as an authorized announcement of recognition.[2] Undoubtedly it was the government policy to recognize the South some day, but the time to put that policy into effect and call a Cabinet meeting to that end was contingent on a great Union defeat, which was expected at any time. This address could not have changed a decision to announce recognition because that was not yet decided on. Gladstone's own excuse for making this address is probably the correct one. Furthermore, as Chancellor of the Exchequer he was so anxious to see the cotton mills of Lancashire running again and the people taken off the relief rolls, that he was the victim of wishful thinking. While Russell and Palmerston theoretically agreed with everything Gladstone had said, they were not going to have him announce the proposed change of policy before they thought the time for it had come. They therefore rebuked him, Palmerston through the press, and Russell in a letter[3] in which he said that Gladstone had exceeded his authority. Russell also resented Gladstone's intrusion in his own department of foreign affairs. Although this address did not change their plans—Palmerston continuing to hold back, waiting for the Union reverse, and Russell trying to find some way by which the Cabinet could be won over to immediate recognition—yet it did open Russell's eyes to the difficulties to be met in bringing the Cabinet around to his point of view without a Southern success in the field. For the effect of Gladstone's speech on the rest of the Cabinet and the nation was like stirring up a hornets' nest. In Lancashire the cotton which was being held for higher prices was thrown on the market, to the disturbance of the moneyed class, and the press and various individuals made bitter attacks on Gladstone. In the Cabinet some of the leaders were outspoken in their opposition to recognition. On October 14, one week after Gladstone's speech, Lewis, on his own initiative, replied as follows: "But the war must be admitted to be undecided. Under such circumstances, the time had not yet arrived when it could be asserted in accordance with the established doctrines of international law that the independence of the Southern States had been established."[1]

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[1] John Morley, *Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, II (London, 1903), 79.

[2] *Education of Henry Adams*, 157.

[3] E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, II. 49, *n* 2.

Palmerston remained silent and observant. Even if he hoped Gladstone was right, yet, since he had not authorized or approved his colleague's statement, he was not responsible. Furthermore, as he still tacitly adhered to his principle of waiting for the inevitable Union defeat, Lewis' rejoinder did not disturb him. Russell, however, was already at work. On October 13, the day before Lewis' rejoinder, he had sent to each member of the Cabinet a confidential memorandum of some length on the American situation, and had called for a Cabinet meeting on the twenty-third. In his memorandum, after reviewing the horrors and waste of war, he concluded:

> . . . It has become a question, in the sight of these afflictions, and the prospect of more and worse, whether it is not a duty for Europe to ask both parties, in the most friendly and conciliatory terms, to agree to a suspension of arms for the purpose of weighing calmly the advantages of peace. . . .[2]

This memorandum brought those opposed to immediate recognition out into the open, for Russell had disguised his scheme for mediation and recognition by a request for a "suspension of arms" for the purpose of—he might as well have said—recognition of the South and getting cotton. Professor E. D. Adams considers this proposal a "far cry" from mediation and recognition,[3] but many of the Cabinet did not. Lewis, although no friend of the North, was strongly opposed to Russell's scheme and circulated a reply on the seventeenth. In it he pointedly asked: How would this proposal be received by the North, and what would be the results if accepted? If abruptly refused by the North, would it not be a rebuff to which England could not submit? If accepted, would not England become sponsor for a slaveholding nation? In any case would it not lead to recognition?

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[1] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 407.

[2] Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, II. 351.

[3] *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, II. 49.

Copies of both papers were sent to Palmerston and Lord Clarendon. Palmerston made no comments, but Clarendon's are edifying. He characterized Russell's position as "idiotic," one in which Russell "presented our face gratuitously to the Yankee slap we should receive."[1] A majority of the Cabinet felt the same way for the following reasons: it was not common sense to get drawn into the struggle when the South was certain to win anyway; England surely would be drawn in, since recognition would not bring in any more cotton unless England helped sweep away the blockade; and, since a suspension of arms would be all in favor of the North if, during it, the blockade were not withdrawn, and all in favor of the South if it were, the proposal would not be accepted.

Having in his hands this evidence of opposition in the Cabinet to any overtures, Palmerston became even more convinced that he could not change his policy and support Gladstone and Russell until after there had been a Union defeat equivalent to an end of the war; and as, contrary to what he had thought, there was no immediate prospect of that event, the Cabinet meeting scheduled for the twenty-third must be postponed till such a defeat came. To insure this postponement and make any action impossible, he decided not to attend the meeting himself. He, therefore, on October 22, wrote to Russell:

> Have just read through your Memorandum on American affairs and Lewis's observations. Your description of the state of things between the two parties is most comprehensive and just. I am, however, much inclined to agree with Lewis that at present we could take no step nor make any communication of a distinct proposition with any advantage. What he says of the effect of an armistice is quite true; unless it is founded upon the acceptance by both parties of some basis of negotiation, it is a mere temporary suspension of movements and action. . . . I am therefore inclined to change the opinion on which I wrote to you when the Confederates seemed to be carrying all before them, and I am very much come back to our original view of the matter, that we must continue merely to be lookers-on till the war shall have taken a more decided turn.[2]

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[1] Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Life and Letters of George William Frederick, Fourth Earl of Clarendon* (London, 1913), II. 265; *Proceedings*, XLVII. 408.

[2] George P. Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, 1840–1878 (London, 1925), II. 327.

The day set for the Cabinet meeting came, and the members had assembled for it. Palmerston not being there, no formal action could be taken, but since Russell's circular on the American situation had brought them together, informal discussion of it took place. There is no record of this debate, but from letters subsequently published it must have been stormy, and Russell's mask of "suspension of arms" was torn from the face of his idol, "mediation and recognition." Apparently Lewis dominated the meeting, and his opinions were approved by the rest of the Cabinet. These were: that "suspension of arms" or armistice could not be separated from mediation because it must lead to mediation or it would not be proposed; that mediation would result in recognition, and recognition would be a hostile act, for no insurgents can be recognized as independent till the sovereign state has virtually abandoned the struggle.[1]

On October 27 Sir George Grey wrote to Russell criticizing the proposed suspension of arms and asking him pointedly: What sort of interference did he propose? Would it be received? In effect his objections were the same as Lewis': that no tender of good offices could be made while the war was going on; and that any overtures through other nations would be traced to Great Britain and considered as a hostile act intended to encourage the South. The letter closed with these words: "Unless therefore you have reason to think that an offer of mediation would be well received, I think our clear course is to adhere to the line of strict neutrality which we have hitherto followed, and to wait till the course of events makes it far more probable than at present that we can interfere with any prospect of advantage."[2]

To this letter Russell replied on October 28 that he could not answer Grey's question till he had consulted the other nations involved, and he could not do that without the consent of the Cabinet. In his closing paragraphs, however, he clearly outlined his own point of view:

> The war of next spring threatens to be very destructive, and if by next May no peace appears to be approaching, I shall then be for recognising the South. The Democratic Party may by that time have got the ascendancy. I heartily wish them success!
>
> G. Lewis sprang a mine upon me, but I cannot agree with any part of what

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[1] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 410; Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, II. 330.

[2] Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, II. 331.

he said. No country has ever waited to make peace till it was unable to carry on war.[1]

This correspondence between Grey and Russell indicates the situation in the Cabinet on that momentous twenty-third of October. There was no reversal of policy by anyone: Gladstone and Russell were still trying to force immediate recognition; Palmerston was holding them back in the hope of a great Union reverse, if not the destruction of the Northern armies; and the remaining nine of the Cabinet were determined to wait till the war was fought out—four out of sympathy for the North, and five out of fear of being drawn into the struggle and out of conviction that the South was going to win anyway.

Not knowing what was going on in the Cabinet, Minister Adams thought Gladstone's address a foreshadowing of a change of policy and Lewis' denial of such a change merely an intimation that it had not yet been formally voted. The great question, he believed, was to have been decided that day, and why recognition was not voted he never knew. Had he seen these letters, there would have been no mystery—at no time would a majority of the Cabinet take any steps to recognize the South while the fighting was going on.

After Gladstone's speech at Newcastle, Minister Adams had expected that, as a result of the next Cabinet meeting, there would be no other course for him, in accordance with definite instructions he had received, but to ask for his passport and go home. To find out his position, he requested an interview with the Foreign Secretary and received an appointment for the afternoon of that October twenty-third—the Cabinet meeting having taken place in the morning. At this interview Minister Adams called Russell's attention to Gladstone's speech and requested an explanation. Russell, in guarded diplomatic language, explained that the speech contained only Gladstone's personal opinions; that these had been much misunderstood; and that Gladstone was not disinclined to correct them. Adams wrote in his diary (October 23):

> His Lordship said that the policy of that Government was to adhere to a strict neutrality and to leave the struggle to settle itself. But he could not tell what a month would bring forth. I asked him if I was to understand that policy as not now to be changed. He said, Yes. I answered that my errand was then finished, and took my leave.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, II. 332.

[2] Adams MSS.

"*Punch*, before 1862, commonly drew Russell as a schoolboy telling lies, and afterwards as prematurely senile, at seventy."[1] After tracing these steps of his, what conclusion can one draw from his own statement to Minister Adams that ". . . the policy . . . was to adhere to a strict neutrality and to leave the struggle to settle itself"? And what of his assurance that that policy was "not now to be changed," when he had himself proposed to change it that morning, and three days later was to write the letter to Sir George Grey already quoted, while Gladstone, probably with his connivance—for it was a question of foreign affairs—was going to reopen the question the very next day? The conclusion is that up to this date, October 23, which has always been considered the turning point, no evidence of any change of policy or mind on the part of any member of the Cabinet is apparent. And there is none later.

The next day, October 24, Gladstone circulated in the Cabinet a reply to Lewis, urging again that England, France, and Russia should intervene by representing "with moral authority and force the opinion of the civilized world upon the conditions of the case."[2] Immediately after this proposal, the Emperor Napoleon sent to the English Cabinet a plan for France, England, and Russia to join in suggesting an armistice of six months with a suspension of the blockade. This was merely Russell's "suspension of arms" now advanced by France. Had it been accepted, arrangements could have been made for the South to rush cotton to France during those six months in exchange for war supplies. Russia refused to join Napoleon III in presenting this offer, but on November 11 it was presented to the English Cabinet for consideration. The same forces that aligned against Russell and Gladstone on October 23 aligned against Russell, Gladstone, and Napoleon III on November 11, this time at a formal Cabinet meeting at which Palmerston was present. In a letter to Russell, dated November 2,[3] Palmerston had already mildly disapproved of the proposal on the ground that the North would not agree to it since a cessation of the blockade would favor the South, and since there was also the disposition of the slavery question to be considered. At the Cabinet meeting Russell introduced Napoleon III's measure and advised its acceptance. What ensued is told in a letter from Lewis to Clarendon, November 13:

[1] *Education of Henry Adams*, 164.

[2] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 418.

[3] Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, II. 333.

> Palmerston followed Lord John, and supported him, but did not say a great deal. His principal argument was the necessity for showing sympathy with Lancashire, and of not throwing away any chance of mitigating it.
>
> The proposal was now thrown before the Cabinet, who proceeded to pick it to pieces. Everybody present threw a stone at it of greater or less size, except Gladstone, who supported it, and the Chancellor [Westbury] and Cardwell, who expressed no opinion. The principal objection was that the proposed armistice of six months by sea and land, involving a suspension of the commercial blockade, was so grossly unequal—so decidedly in favour of the South, that there was no chance of the North agreeing to it. After a time, Palmerston saw that the general feeling of the Cabinet was against being a party to the representation, and he capitulated. I do not think his support was very sincere: it certainly was not hearty. . . . I ought to add that, after the Cabinet had come to a decision and the outline of a draft had been discussed, the Chancellor uttered a few oracular sentences on the danger of refusing the French invitation, and gave a strong support to Lord John. His support came rather late.[1]

At this meeting, too, there was no change of opinion from any expressed before. Gladstone and Russell stood alone. Palmerston's support consisted only in stating the necessity of showing sympathy for Lancashire—he did not come out strongly in favor of the proposal—and when he saw that the others were opposed to it, he "capitulated" and joined the opposition. Then, when matters were all settled, votes taken, and papers being drawn up, Westbury came out with "a strong support of Lord John." This is the only sudden change of sentiment I can find—by only one of the Cabinet, a change in favor of, not against, mediation—and then not until the question had been decided.

The impression one gets from studying this controversy and the *Alabama* episode is that in the minds of all the Cabinet, except the four friends of the North, it was felt to be contrary to the high moral character of England to countenance slavery or actually lend any assistance toward the creation of a slaveholding nation; but that England was quite willing, not to say desirous, that a slaveholding nation should be created by others so that England might profit from the products of slave labor. Except for the four who were really in sympathy with the North, the rest, except Gladstone, cared little which side was victorious provided England got cotton, and that soon; and they were hostile to the North for keeping up what seemed to them a hopeless struggle. Henry Adams in his whimsical way stated his conclusions in these words: "The only resolute, vehement,

[1] Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 268.

conscientious champion of Russell, Napoleon, and Jefferson Davis was Gladstone."[1]

I cannot, in short, find that there ever was any Cabinet crisis, any serious danger of mediation and recognition which was suddenly averted by the Queen or by any single event. It was prevented from the beginning by a sequence of events, all of which must be considered: first, Antietam and Lee's retreat, not being the expected destruction of the Union army, postponed recognition; then Gladstone's Newcastle speech further aroused the opposition; then the gradual realization throughout the masses that the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation meant that the war against the South was a war to end slavery strengthened the national opposition to recognition. But the underlying reason from the outset was the fact that the Cabinet as a whole and the masses would not agree to a recognition of the South while the armies of the North were a fighting force intact and war was going on.

The Cabinet meeting on November 11 was the last time that mediation was seriously considered. At the end of 1862, although McClellan was displaced, and Burnside, his successor, met defeat at Fredericksburg, the Union army remained intact. On January 1, 1863, came the definitive Emancipation Proclamation, which made the war a war not alone to preserve the Union but to end slavery; and it was evident beyond any question that the North was going to carry on the war and had the armies and leaders to do it. The Northern army was safely withdrawn after Chancellorsville, on May 3, 1863, and on July third and fourth came the victory of Gettysburg and the capture of Vicksburg. Then all hope of a decisive Southern victory was abandoned in London, and it was recognized that the war must be fought out. Henry Adams wrote of those July days:

> As the first great blows began to fall, one curled up in bed in the silence of night, to listen with incredulous hope. As the huge masses struck, one after another, with the precision of machinery, the opposing mass, the world shivered. Such development of power was unknown. The magnificent resistance and the return shocks heightened the suspense. During the July days Londoners were stupid with unbelief. They were learning from the Yankees how to fight.[2]

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[1] *Education of Henry Adams*, 163.

[2] *Ibid.*, 169.

The Prince Society

By George G. Wolkins

The Prince Society had its origins in a dislike of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The gentlemen who formed the Prince Society were all members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, at that time flourishing under the presidency of Samuel G. Drake; and it would be easy to glean from the deliverances of Drake and some of his associates that the Genealogical Society had taken such strides and had become so much more effective than the Historical Society that it was now preëminent not only in genealogy but in the field of history as well. The Historical Society under James Savage and Robert C. Winthrop would not have been likely to turn over to Drake and his confreres the Historical Society's function of passing upon the historical and other qualifications of its own membership; and it would not have been receptive to local antiquarians and genealogists who gave frequent expression to their injured feelings and were in various stages of peevishness because the transactions of the Historical Society had not been molded to their will. That Drake himself felt this particular lack of recognition there is ample proof, so much so that dissatisfaction with the Historical Society and all its works seems to have been a guiding principle in forming both the Genealogical Society and the Prince Society.

To provide the atmosphere, it is necessary to go at some length into the antecedents of the two men who had the enterprise and the resolution to carry their point—Samuel Gardner Drake and John Ward Dean. Drake was the older, having been born in 1798, and was in his sixtieth year in 1858 when the Prince Society was first gathered. He had come to Boston at seventeen with only country schooling, and in 1824 he became a bookseller. In the directories of 1829–1832 his name appears as "auctioneer," at one time with a partner; but by 1833 he had settled down as "bookseller" at No. 56 Cornhill where he carried on his Antiquarian Bookstore and won his reputation as a collector. It is clear that Drake had that curious twist to which the self-taught often give expression: a form of impatience with what might be called the presumptions of educated men. He was quoted as saying: ". . . [I] was ten years old before

. . . [I] could believe, that schools were instituted for any other purpose than to punish children";[1] as his memorialist put it, he had "commenced his labors without the patronage of the rich, or the smile of encouragement from the great."[2] The moderate success he attained would have satisfied most men who could boast of this lack of formal training; but with Drake there was no contentment while others could receive honors that he did not share. Among many self-revealing documents clearly the foremost is the diatribe that Drake published at the age of seventy-six: it shows that his animosities had in no wise diminished and that he nursed to the end the bitterness that had burst into flame in 1858.[3] Throughout we may assume he upheld the dictum so eagerly cherished by such men: that native talent combined with industry can at least strike a balance with wealth, position, and scholarship. In any case, he hung out his sign in Cornhill, and there he continued until 1853, moving to No. 15 Brattle Street when the Cornhill building was pulled down, and finally taking quarters at No. 26 Bromfield Street in 1855 or 1856. Drake's son, Samuel Adams Drake, who had the same urge to paint the lily, wrote:

> The "Antiquarian Book-store" became the resort of men who made the literature of that day, and in not a few instances for all time. . . .
>
> The book-store was not then what it has since become, the casual resort of bookish men, but a kind of literary exchange, frequented quite as much for congenial companionship as for mere buying and selling. . . . Booksellers and authors had borne the most intimate relations since Shakespeare's day, and we can seldom turn the pages of the great masters of English literature without finding the virtues or vices of the merchant celebrated or condemned. Nothing that his pen had produced gave Mr. Drake greater pride than to add his name to the roll which already included those of John Foster, Phillips, John Dunton, Thos. Hancock, Henry Knox, Isaiah Thomas, and Saml. T. Armstrong,—the old Boston booksellers.[4]

In 1825 Drake was so enterprising as to undertake a reprint of Benjamin Church's history of King Philip's War,[5] following the

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[1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XVII. 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, 197.

[3] Samuel G. Drake, *Narrative Remarks, Expository Notes, and Historical Criticisms on the New England Historical and Genealogical Society and Incidentally on the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Albany, 1874).

[4] Samuel A. Drake, *Samuel Gardner Drake* [Boston, 1876], 1–2.

[5] *The History of King Philip's War* (Boston, 1825).

Solomon Southwick reissue of 1772,[1] of which the Reverend Ezra Stiles is assumed to have been the actual editor. Drake had not then seen the original Green imprint of 1716,[2] and by circulating his proposals he obtained nearly a thousand subscribers for a new duodecimo issue of the Southwick reprint—a remarkable achievement and one that yielded Drake four or five hundred dollars. Encouraged by this initial success Drake issued a second edition in 1827, from plates, said to be one of the first fruits of the stereotype press in Boston. He had added many more notes, extended the introduction, and expanded the appendix. Later issues were from the same plates, these having passed eventually from Drake's hands and been used by various publishers until Henry M. Dexter produced his edition of Church in 1865 because, as he wrote, the Southwick reprint was "defective in some important particulars affecting the use of the work as an historical authority."[3] Dexter took exception also to what purported to be portraits of Church and of King Philip, "both from the graver of Paul Revere," which "adorned" the Southwick reprint. Drake copied Revere's engraving of Church in his second edition, calling it a "fac-simile of an original likeness." In both his first and second edition he inserted a print labeled "King Philip," an illustration described by Dexter as "a fancy portrait . . . decidedly more prepossessing in appearance, and quite as authentic in character" as that used by Southwick a half-century before. Dexter doubted that any portrait of Colonel Church ever existed.[4] In his comprehensive comment on the Drake reprint Dexter makes this measured, discriminating estimate: "The third edition of this winsome narrative was edited . . . by Mr. Samuel Gardner Drake, and was the first contribution of that since accomplished archaeologist to this department of Aboriginal research; in which, without injustice to others, it may safely be said that he has no superior."[5] Drake published other Indian material on the same lines, and in 1843 he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Union College.

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[1] *The Entertaining History of King Philip's War* (Newport, 1772).

[2] *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War* (Boston, 1716).

[3] *The History of King Philip's War*, Henry M. Dexter, Editor (Boston, 1865), Part I, vii, xii–xiii.

[4] Charles Deane subsequently determined that the source of Revere's engraving of Colonel Church was a picture of Charles Churchill, the poet, which appeared in the *Court Miscellany and Gentleman and Lady's Magazine* for September, 1768. 1 *Proceedings*, XIX. 244, 245.

[5] Dexter, *History of King Philip's War*, Part I, ix.

This was Drake's standing in 1844 when with four others he founded the New England Historic Genealogical Society.[1] While the project was still in the discussion stage, at an informal gathering in the home of William H. Montague the guests were invited "to see the ball which killed Gen. Joseph Warren, and to taste some apples borne that year on the tree planted by Peregrine White"[2]—probably to stimulate their appetites for matters historical. Charles Ewer, also a bookseller, was one of the founders, and during the next few years men like Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Charles Deane, Chandler Robbins, John G. Palfrey, George Livermore, Abbott Lawrence, Amos Lawrence, Jared Sparks, Samuel A. Eliot, Nathan Appleton, William D. Ticknor, Richard Frothingham, and Robert C. Winthrop, all presumably patrons of the bookshop, together with scores of others whose names mean little or nothing today, were induced to become members by paying an admission fee of three dollars and an annual fee of two dollars. Ewer, the other bookseller, was the first president, serving until 1850; Drake was corresponding secretary until 1858; and from the lists of members it is a fair inference that Ewer and Drake gave some attention to selling memberships as well as to launching the Society on its long career. Several of those named, including Robbins, Palfrey, Livermore, and Eliot, withdrew during the first years, but the Society made its way, having its quarters at one time in the Massachusetts Block on Court Square at the corner of Williams Court, then moving to No. 11½ Tremont Row and, later, to No. 5 Tremont Street. Still later Drake gave his address at No. 17 Bromfield Street as the address of the Society, although doubtless this was only for purposes of "the Periodical" issued under its "patronage" but managed by Drake.

Emphasis is laid upon the early years of the Genealogical Society because they throw a strong light on the formation of the Prince Society. Indeed it would hardly be possible to understand fully all the strong feeling that was stirred up without first examining quite closely the successive pinpricks that goaded Drake into taking steps he had long wished to take. It is obvious that after the issues between the Genealogical Society and the Historical Society became defined sharply, the "small and earnest coterie" of local antiquarians, associates of Drake, would need little renewed persuasion to agree that the Massachusetts Historical Society was an institution with which they could have little to do, and that therefore they would be obliged to create an orbit and a medium of their own if they would have scope for their talents. Drake prepared and issued as editor the first thirteen volumes of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*; and by the time he was made president of the Genealogical Society he had arrogated to himself a proprietorship over the organization that would have been open only to a man of his singular quality.

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[1] The first official meeting of the Society was held on November 1.

[2] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, IX. 10.

We have Drake's word for it that from the beginning there was disagreement over the name of the Genealogical Society, that certain of the founders had strong views, and that the disagreement did not end when the Society was made a body corporate. Ewer wished it to be "The Genealogical and Heraldic Society"; Montague argued that the word "Historical" ought to be included, giving as a reason "that there was not any active Historical Society in the State"; and Drake proposed "The Genealogical Society" as a shorter form. But J. Wingate Thornton, "being somewhat strenuous," insisted upon "Historic Genealogical" with "New England" prefixed, and since it was he who drafted the constitution, it was his notion that prevailed.[1] Apparently Drake could not forgive Thornton for having his own way in this instance, nor could he forgive him for omitting Drake's name from the short list of incorporators.[2]

By 1857 Drake was aggressive in furthering his project for a change in the corporate name of the Genealogical Society. Volume XI of the *Register*, "for the Year 1857," was issued "under the patronage of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society," the modified name that Drake had now settled upon, in manifest disregard of the charter granted by the Commonwealth. From this point, developments were reasonably rapid. William Whiting of Roxbury declined a sixth term as president of the Society. Whiting was a lawyer of high standing, and it is a simple deduction from the tone of his letter to the nominating committee of the Society that he had no relish for the skirmish that was to follow.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 11. See also Drake, *Narrative Remarks*.

[2] *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in the Year* 1845 (Boston, 1845), 479.

[3] William Whiting was third scholar in the Harvard Class of 1833, having been outranked only by Francis Bowen (1) and Henry W. Torrey (2) in a class that also included Joseph Lovering, Jeffries Wyman, and George E. Ellis. He was graduated from the Harvard Law School in

Drake was elected president of the Genealogical Society in place of Whiting, and not long thereafter a petition for the change of name was filed with the General Court. Directly this was known there was momentous reaction among members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The following is from the minutes of the Standing Committee, January 19, 1858:

> The Committee was called together for the purpose of consulting as to the measures proper to be taken on account of a petition lately presented to the Legislature of Mass. by the Historic-Genealogical Society for the change of the name of said Society to that of New England Historical and Genealogical Society.
>
> Mr. Brigham moved, after a long conversation, "that the President be requested to prepare a Remonstrance to the Legislature, to be signed by all the members of the Society in case it should be found necessary to resist before that body the application of the Historic-Genealogical Society."
>
> The ground of opposition to the petition was that the change of name would produce a greater confusion than already exists,—on account of the similarity of the titles of the two Societies—at the Post Office and in the public mind.
>
> Present. the President, Messrs. Aspinwall, Brigham, Livermore, Robbins and, by request, Mr. Deane.

The next day, in Drake's address as president of the Genealogical Society occurred this paragraph:

> It will be remembered that it was by an unanimous vote of the Society, last year, determined to make a slight alteration in its name; that the President was made a Committee to petition the Legislature for that object. But the session of that body was so near at an end before he could attend to it, the matter was postponed. It will at once be attended to. For the benefit of new members, I will observe, that the name proposed is "The New England Historical and Genealogical Society." This is in conformity with the name of its Periodical. This name was immediately adopted in all ordinary transactions, as may have been observed. The name *Historic-Genealogical* was never agreeable to the original members. They, with a single exception, contended that it did not express fully their objects. "*Historic Genealogy*" covers but a small portion of the ground intended; whereas *History and Genealogy* was really what was considered to be comprehended by it.[1]

"It will at once be attended to," said Drake, and it was, in a way. On the title pages of Volumes XI and XII (1857 and 1858) of the *Register*, "Samuel G. Drake, Publisher," as well as on the covers of

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1838 and later was associated in practice with William G. Russell. The text of the letter in which he declined reëlection to the presidency of the Genealogical Society was printed in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 9, 1858.

[1] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XII. 105.

the quarterly serials for 1858, appears the "slight alteration" in the name of the Society; the running headlines over the Society material—lists of officers and members—also show the altered style, although to this day the Society remains the New England Historic Genealogical Society without change in its corporate name. But in 1858 things happened, as will presently be made clear, and thereafter the control of the *Register* was gradually wrested from Drake. Volume XIII of the *Register* (1859) came out with the Society's corporate name restored, and Volume XIV (1860) proved to be the last to bear Drake's name as publisher. As addenda to Volume XII of the *Register* are sixty-four printed pages of "Books for Sale at the Office of the New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register, 26 Bromfield Street, (Up Stairs,) Boston. Prices Annexed." Drake had not scrupled to use the Genealogical Society and the *Register* as a domain over which he was master. He had his difficulties, but usually he encompassed what he sought.

On the title page of *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (Boston, 1856) Drake spread his distinctions none too modestly—in fact there is nothing in Drake or about Drake by his admirers that suggests the rhetorical device of understatement—and the text of the final paragraph of his preface will illustrate:

> It may incur the charge of vanity for an author to append to his name his honors or titles; but if a long period of labor in historical fields can be any excuse, that may be offered in this instance; for it is above thirty years since the writer commenced his historical and antiquarian labors, and he has now reached the fifty-seventh [year] of his age. This may be considered an unnecessary apology for adopting an ancient custom, especially as there are some instances, at the present time, of ostentatious displays of this kind to names in works to which even a claim to editorship may be questioned.

This was the kind of thrust that Drake apparently enjoyed making, and in his presidential address on January 20, 1858, he brandished a broadsword rather than a rapier:

> I have spoken of the Society as an institution of great importance . . . no society can have greater claims to that importance. . . . Sooner than I would reject donations for the library, I would pack our apartment from floor to floor, and from wall to wall, until not even a mouse could find space to enter. . . . The greater the number of members,[1] the more good the institution can do. . . . For my part, I do not believe that any ten, even of our number, are quite smart

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[1] By the end of 1858 the Genealogical Society had 593 members and 33 honorary members, the latter including Millard Fillmore.

> enough to do as much as all of us together. Neither will any of you, gentlemen, believe that a few individuals associated together for historical purposes, however *smart* they may be, are yet quite sufficient to do all our historical and genealogical work for us. A small number may associate themselves together and hedge themselves about, entrench themselves behind any amount of self-importance, and argue that they can take care of the history of us all. That doctrine may do among the monks of Spain, even in the nineteenth century, but it is ill-suited to the institutions of the *free* States of America. . . . This Society was formed, by its original members, in the full belief that the knowledge brought to life by it, should benefit everybody who desired such knowledge. There were, therefore, no limits allowed to be set as to the number who might incline to lend a hand in the undertaking; and hence, by enrolling their names, it might be known that they appreciated the objects of it, and were ready to encourage it with whatever additional advantage their names and services might give it. It was thought to be altogether too antiquated an idea to admit none into their ranks until they themselves were dead.
>
> No, gentlemen; instead of here and there an individual laborer, a mighty army of antiquaries is necessary to rescue the perishing records of the past. . . . It may be you may trace one line to the old world, perhaps two, but most of us have at this time sixty-four lines to trace there! . . . There is work enough for us all. . . . This Society, it is extensively admitted . . . is more favorably and widely known abroad than any other Historical Society in New England, if not than any other in America.[1]

Against this expansive eulogium it is almost malevolent to notice that when the Genealogical Society had been under Drake's guidance for six years, the advertisement of the Massachusetts Block in the *Boston Directory* for 1849–1850—the address given for the Society in that directory (page 33)—lists as the occupant of "First Story. Room 8" the "Geological Society."

There, in outline, are the lights and shadows of the Drake background of the Prince Society. Drake had not been made a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and he resented it. His historical work was not well received by scholars; many of his assertions were disproved in his own day by such men as Henry M. Dexter and Justin Winsor—as indeed they have been by competent modern specialists like Charles M. Andrews and Albert Matthews. There is a dubious quality in so much of Drake's output that the careful student is led to be wary of Drake's facts and conclusions.

Of the two men most concerned with forming the Prince Society, Drake and Dean, the latter seems to have been a satellite rather than a luminary of equal magnitude. Dean was nearly seventeen years younger than Drake; after nine years of common schooling in Wiscasset, Maine, he had learned the bookbinding trade; and his first sign of literary interest seems to have been in 1850 when he joined the Genealogical Society. In his earlier days he had been president of a Band of Hope the members of which were under pledge to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, tobacco, and profane language. In 1836 he had joined the Boston Young Men's Phrenological Society, but it was in the company of Drake's witnesses that his talents received recognition. He held sundry offices in the Genealogical Society, and his long service as librarian, ended by his death in 1902, was thus summarized by an admirer: "Probably there is no man today living in New England who knows New England men of the seventeenth century quite so thoroughly as did John Ward Dean." Originally "John Dean," he had his name changed legally in 1857 to distinguish him from others of the same name in Boston and to perpetuate the memory of an ancestor, the first minister of Haverhill; and in 1858 he gave up bookbinding to take up stamping and gilding on cloth and leather. In 1856, when an outside publisher proposed a new form for the *Register* with William H. Whitmore as editor, Whitmore and Drake were keen to have their individual views prevail; but Dean threw his casting vote in favor of Drake and then as a sop to Whitmore proposed a historical magazine which Whitmore would be allowed to edit.[1] When Drake withdrew from editing the *Register* in 1859, Dean was made a member of the editorial committee.

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[1] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XII. 99–103.

While these strong feelings were bubbling to the surface, Drake and Dean determined to press the issue of the Genealogical Society's name. And Winthrop of the Historical Society was resolved to resist the proposed change, bringing to bear his personal prestige and the weight of authority he could command.

I turn again to excerpts from the minutes of the Standing Committee of the Historical Society:

> January 28, 1858 . . . The Secretary reported that Messrs Brigham of the Standing Committee and Chandler of the Society together with himself had met the Committee on Education of the Senate and House, to which the petition of the Historic-Genealogical Society had been referred—that the objections of the Mass. Historical Society to said petition had been urged before the Committee—

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[1] The statements in this paragraph are drawn from a memoir in *ibid.*, LVI. 223–235.

and that assurance had been obtained that their action on the subject should be postponed for at least three weeks. . . .

The President read a Memorial to the Legislature which he had drawn up in obedience to the vote passed at the last Meeting. On Motion, it was referred to the Secretary that he might make any necessary alterations or additions and cause a copy to be made, suitable to be offered to the Members of the Society for their signatures. . . .

February 2, 1858 . . . Much conversation was held with reference to a Petition of the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society to the Legislature for a change of its corporate name to N. E. Historical and Genealogical Society.

It was decided that a Memorial be prepared remonstrating against the proposed change of the Petitioners.

February 11, 1858 . . . The President read a memorial to the Legislature which he had prepared in accordance with the vote passed at the last meeting—which memorial was placed in the hands of the Secretary to be examined and amended—if necessary and prepared for circulation for the Signatures of the Members of the Society. . . .

Lucius M. Sargent, a diligent contributor to the *Boston Evening Transcript*, writing over the signature "Sigma," then gave his efficient help:

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL AND THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETIES. The latter of these societies appears to be dissatisfied with its corporate name: this is to be regretted, since it was not imposed in baptism, but self-adopted. It has asked power of the Legislature to be called hereafter "The New England Historical and Genealogical Society." The former society has appointed the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Senior, and ex-Governors Clifford and Washburn, a committee to oppose this change, for reasons, which they, doubtless, deem good and sufficient. The memorial of these opponents alleges, that very considerable inconvenience has already resulted, from the resemblance between the names of these two societies, and that this inconvenience is not likely to be lessened, by the proposed alteration. There is good sense in this objection; and we should suppose its force would be as readily felt, by those, who desire, as by those, who oppose the change. Neither, of course, would willingly be chargeable with the short-comings of the other; and no one will suppose, that the Historic-Genealogical, by this change of name, designs to steal the brand of the venerable society, after the manner of the pseudo-Farinas of Cologne.

We are not of Dr. Johnson's opinion that all change is an evil. The change of name, in matrimony, for instance, is frequently the forerunner of many blessings—we, by no means, intend to suggest, that matrimony is contemplated, between these two societies. But it is very well known that change of name, in relation to persons and things, to States and empires, and, to familiarize the idea, the local changes of names, in regard to streets, places, edifices, etc. within the compass of a single city, have eminently contributed to perplex the historian, in his researches. It is to be regretted, that a *historic* society should give any additional countenance to this mischievous practice.

It is suggested, we believe, that the change proposed is not of any very serious importance. This certainly is a very sensible argument, against troubling the Legislature. If the Historic-Genealogical were doing a bad business, in these days of disaster, there might be, at least, as much pertinency in this movement, as there was in the conduct of that facetious bankrupt, who, finding his name rejected, on 'Change, and at all the banks, changed it, by an act of the Legislature, and applied for a discount, under the new one. But, judging from the very considerable number of those, whose names are upon its roll, and from the general aspect of its affairs, we believe and hope, that it is in a prosperous condition.

It is quite natural, that the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose first volume of Collections was published sixty years ago, should neither covet any part of that reputation, which belongs to this junior association, nor hesitate to oppose any project, which, in public estimation, may tend, even occasionally, to confound their respective labors. That the proposed alteration of the corporate name would be likely to produce that result, we entertain not the slightest doubt.

As a member of both societies, we are disposed to consider this question impartially; and perceive in the change proposed no possible, legitimate good, of any importance, and not a little contingent evil and inconvenience. The misdirection of letters, and other communications, and even of legacies, may be the consequences of the change proposed: some descendant of that judicious testator, who bequeathed a handsome sum to "*the household of faith*," may confer his bounty, on one of these societies, intended for the other; and, occasionally, perhaps, some historical fable, worthy of the treacherous and wilful pen of Babington Macaulay, may accidentally disfigure the pages of one of these societies, and the responsibility be erringly attached to the other—

——— mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur ———

A novel application of the passage certainly, but sufficiently intelligible.

The "New England Historic-Genealogical Society" published the preface or prospectus to their Register, in 1847. The "Massachusetts Historical Society" was then five and fifty years of age, and had already published twenty-nine volumes of those collections, whose value and importance to the historian cannot be overrated. It will not be denied, that, however near the name of this new society approached to that of their venerable predecessor, there was an important difference. The old society contented itself with the name of the Commonwealth; the new association claimed to be *the* New England Society. In the face of the fact, that the *Massachusetts Historical Society* had existed, for fifty-five years, and labored so ably and profitably, in its vocation, it would not have seemed a particularly graceful or modest measure, for any body of men, however remarkable for their talents and learning, to walk up to the Legislative font, and demand to be baptized, as the *New England Historical Society*!

Majus implicat minus, even in the matter of nomenclature, and such an act would have savored of arrogance, and looked not a little like a premonitory symptom of swallowing the old society, a mouthful which, we fear, our associates of the Historic would find it difficult to digest. If such a measure would have seemed so *then*, in 1847, we are quite at a loss to conjecture what has happened since, to make it seem, in any respect, otherwise, at the present hour. The addition of the word "Genealogical" will not materially diminish the inconvenience, or the impropriety of the change. The Historic-Genealogical Society will, doubtless, go on, and prosper. We wish it success in all things reasonable—but not in this effort to change its name. In one respect, it must necessarily outstrip the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose numbers are limited by law. An omnibus must ever be more popular, than a vehicle contrived to carry a limited number.

SIGMA.[1]

Two days later a reply was printed in the *Transcript*.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL, AND THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETIES. *Mr. Editor:* The attention of the public has already been called to the fact of a conflict between these two societies, by the remonstrance of the former society, and by an article by "Sigma," in the Transcript. In behalf of the latter society I desire to meet the assertions contained in both manifestos, and correct, if possible, the wrong impression which they may give the public.

It is not easy for a spectator to see at first where the shoe pinches, the change desired and opposed being only from "*Historic-Genealogical*" to "Historical and Genealogical." Now, as in common parlance the latter name has always been used in place of the cumbrous compound one, and as the organ of the society has always been entitled "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," it certainly seems very strange that our neighbors have just arrived at the conclusion that a formal recognition of the name by which we are commonly known, is to swamp all the separate State historical societies, and in other ways greatly damage the Massachusetts Historical Society. As this point of damage, arising from the names of the societies being made more similar, will be fully argued before the Legislative Committee, I will not discuss it, but venture to predict it will not prove very terrible when examined.

I will pass to a consideration of the two pronunciamentos, and examine their tendency and positions. I must first offer a strong remonstrance against the unfair mention of our Society in the "Remonstrance," as it is there called the "Historic-Genealogical Society," seeking to take the name of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Society," as if we desired to make so great a change as taking the "New England" part, when as I have mentioned, the change is of only a few letters. I am willing to admit almost entirely the remarks in the "Remonstrance" in relation to the objects and results of the two societies. The Massachusetts Historical in sixty-three years has published 33 volumes; we have issued 11 volumes in thirteen years. Nor is this all. Their issues are chiefly reprints—ours original documents. Our volumes also contain much more printed matter than theirs, so that a mere enumeration does not do us justice. We have not confined our attention to genealogy, but have published proportionately as much historical matter as the other society. In fact, the line between historical matter as they interpret it, and genealogy, can hardly be seen.

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[1] *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 16, 1858.

The Massachusetts Historical Society's remonstrance points with pride to the publication of Bradford's History, as its crowning work, and a most crushing proof that our society cannot rival it. A most unhappy specimen of zeal is this same publication. Without discussing whether the gentleman who is assumed by the Massachusetts Society to have been the discoverer, is entitled to his laurels—since they have been boldly claimed by another, and weakly defended by him—it will suffice to say that the gentleman in question, though previously a rather prominent member of our society, held his peace towards us, and went with his discovery to the Massachusetts Society, giving them the privilege of obtaining the first copy, and thus of publishing the book. It is almost needless to add, that the list of members of that society was soon graced with the name of the discoverer. (?)[1] As there is no doubt that our society would have printed the precious volume had we had the chance, it seems rather strange that this peculiar sort of industry in collecting historical matter, is put forth as the broad buckler of the Massachusetts Historical Society. I know this is bold assertion, but he will be a bolder man who denies that the facts are as herein stated.

To the remarks of "Sigma" I must pay due attention, for he claims to speak impartially as a member of both societies. As to our swallowing up all the State societies as soon as we change our name, we can frankly disavow any desire to do it; but why does this society cry Wolf so soon? Is it the weakest child of the flock, and most liable to, and apprehensive of, such a doom? I think not; but the vigorous rely on the strength of their arms before seeking aid, and the champion of the State societies should not call for its supporters so early in the conflict. As we have never dreamed of this preposterous idea, we can only regard this as an attempt to drag in other parties, entirely unconcerned and uninterested, to help bolster up a weak argument. "The misdirection of *legacies*," says "Sigma," may occur under this change. "I thank thee for the word!" Was it because we had no word "historical" that the legacy left by a late member of our society, one interested much in its objects, was absorbed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which he *did not belong*, as it was left for such *historical* societies as his executors might select? Truly, if this little change is to benefit us in such a mode, we may well be strenuous for it.

The care evinced by "Sigma" in tracing out the Faneuils, made him seem a true supporter of our society.

To revert to our original subject—this opposition from the Massachusetts Historical Society is most unfortunate. The lack of sound argument evinces some latent jealousy which prompts them to thwart our plans, simply because we desire to carry them out. The matter is wholly ours, the change is only for convenience, not affecting our objects or intentions, and we regret that the routine of law compels us to trouble the Legislature.

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[1] John S. Barry. The incident was dealt with conclusively by Justin Winsor in 1 *Proceedings*, XIX. 106–122, and in 2 *Proceedings*, XI. 299–304.

It is also unfortunate that the Massachusetts Historical Society commences the attack; for on three occasions only, to my knowledge, have the two societies met. Once we initiated an exchange of publications, next they obtained a large legacy, and lastly they obtained our member and his valuable *secret* concerning Bradford's History. It is not easy to see that we injured them much on either occasion.

They seem to assert that no large and enterprising society is to be allowed to exist in Boston and "occupy their ground." It may yet be strongly asked how sixty gentlemen, not all of whom are known to fame as skilled in the annals of New England, are to divide and monopolise the field of local history. If we are molested wantonly, there may be an opportunity to carry the war into Africa too tempting not to be availed of. Mr. "Sigma," an omnibus may be more plebeian than a private carriage, and it may be less honor to belong to a large and democratic society than to a select and wealthy one; but the latter will no sooner succeed in hindering or demolishing the former, than (to revert to your simile) the Roxbury horse cars will obediently turn into the gutter, to let the private conveyance have the middle of the road.

A MEMBER OF THE N.E.H. ETC. SOC.[1]

Sargent was not slow in rejoinder:

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL AND THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETIES. We are grieved and surprised, that our brother of the Historic-Genealogical Society should have worked himself up, so unnecessarily, into a nervous fever. He talks of carrying *the war* into Africa. What war! Nothing but the blast he is blowing savors of any war. For the purpose, we conjecture, of carrying this war into Africa, he introduces the horse cars; for they have no possible connection with history, genealogy, or the simple question at issue. Is the proposal to change the name of the *New England Historic-Genealogical Society* wise, or otherwise? *As a member of the Society*, we object to the change; and we object to it, no less as a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. What is the change proposed? To add two letters to one word, and write *Historical*, instead of *Historic*, with *and* before the word genealogical. What is the object of this? Our worthy brother states no reason, other than it is done for "*convenience*." We cannot fathom this! He says:

"Now, as in common parlance the latter name has always been used in place of the cumbrous compound one, and as the organ of the society has always been entitled 'The New England Historical and Genealogical Register,' it certainly seems very strange that our neighbors have just arrived at the conclusion that a formal recognition of the name by which we are commonly known, is to swamp all the separate State historical societies, and in other ways greatly damage the Massachusetts Historical Society."

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[1] The signer I have not been able to identify positively, but it was probably Francis Brinley of Boston, an attorney, vice-president of the Genealogical Society, who had been designated by the Board of Directors of the Society to petition for the change in name. In 1848 and in 1852 he was commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He resigned from the Genealogical Society in 1859, and there is no printed memoir. An examination of the Genealogical Society's manuscript records with the kind help of William Prescott Greenlaw disclosed nothing further concerning Brinley. The text of the letter, presumably by Brinley, is in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 18, 1858.

Now this is not particularly luminous, but very readily analyzed. *We* have *never* heard our society spoken of, but as *the Historic-Genealogical. We* do not remember to have heard it called by any person *the Historical and Genealogical Society*. By this name, *the Historic-Genealogical*, it has been readily distinguished from *the Massachusetts Historical Society*: and when *the Historical Society* was spoken of, nobody, for a moment, confounded it with the *Historic-Genealogical*. True it is, the "organ of the Society" is called *the New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, by the editor. It would have been better to have followed the example of the old association, adhering to their chartered name, and called their publication *Collections of the Historic-Genealogical Society*. But this society of ours had existed several years, before it published its periodical. This new name—we will not call it our *nom de guerre*, lest it should stimulate our excitable brother to carry the war into Africa—this new name was an *afterthought*! In the preface to the periodical, published in October, 1847, the chartered name was recognized, and well esteemed. After stating the objects of the society, the editor says: "*The New England Historic-Genealogical Society*, chartered some years since, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, proposes to direct its attention to the promotion of the objects above specified."

The name was, at that time, considered well adapted to the objects and occasions of our society. It covers the entire ground of our operations now, as it covered them then. But our intelligent brother complains of the present name, as "*cumbrous*," and to make it less so, he proposes a mode of abbreviation, not unusual in Tipperary—to increase the length of it! The reader will readily perceive, that he is not correct, in his statement, that our society has *always* been called the Historical and Genealogical Society, inferring this conclusion from the title of the Register; since the Register was not in being, for "*some years*" after we received our chartered title. In respect to the closing words of the above quotation, we can only say, that the popular impression seems to be, that while the other historical societies are in no danger of being "*swamped*," by the proposed change, its manifest inconvenience, in respect to the Massachusetts Historical Society, cannot be mistaken. "*As to our swallowing up all other state societies*," says our brother, "*as soon as we change our name, we can frankly disavow any desire to do it*." This is comforting intelligence, and will quiet the agitation of the other societies.

Having the honor to be a member of both these societies, and heartily wishing the prosperity of each, we shall not enter upon the subject of these complaints, to which our brother refers. But there is something which he says about legacies, to which we must reply:

"'The misdirection of *legacies*,' says 'Sigma,' may occur under this charge. 'I thank thee for the word!' Was it because we had no word 'historical' that the legacy left by a late member of our society, one interested much in its objects, was absorbed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which he *did not belong*, as it was left for such *historical* societies as his executors might select?

Truly, if this little change is to benefit us in such a mode, we may well be strenuous for it."

Historic and *historical* have one and the same *meaning.* For the purpose of distinguishing different societies, the difference, in *lettering*, is very important. The testator, in this case, a member of our society, knew our corporate name, full well, and could have used it, if he would; but was it the fault of the Massachusetts Society, that he left the decision to his executors? Was it the fault of the testator, that he left the legatee elective by them? Was it his duty, because he was a member of our society, to confine his bounty to us, if he fancied some other society might be judged more worthy, by his executors, and he preferred to avail of their judgment? If the testator *belonged* to our society, does it follow, that his money did also? There is nothing more absurd, than the mutterings of some of our members, about this legacy.

The following language is very extraordinary:

"They seem to assert that no large and enterprising society is to be allowed to exist in Boston and 'occupy their ground.' It may yet be strongly asked how sixty gentlemen, not all of whom are known to fame as skilled in the annals of New England, are to divide and monopolise the field of local history. If we are molested wantonly, there may be an opportunity to carry the war into Africa too tempting not to be availed of."

Under the oppressive influence of the nightmare, something like this might have been ejaculated, by the best man in the community. Now, nothing can be further from the intentions of the Massachusetts Historical Society, than any such exclusive pretentions, as these. We believe, that nothing more is sought, by the present opposition, than to preserve, at least, as intelligible a distinction, between the names of the two societies, as exists at present. What is true, in the private, personal relations of life, is true, in respect to corporations—a close resemblance of names or titles is productive of frequent, and often of serious, inconvenience. Perhaps, it might be well to carry the war—what there is of it—into Africa, or anywhere, out of Massachusetts.

We had remarked, in our first article, that in one respect, the new society must outstrip the Massachusetts Historical, whose numbers are limited by law; as an omnibus must ever be more popular than a vehicle, contrived to carry a limited number. This seems to have touched our brother deeply, and he exclaims—

"Mr. 'Sigma,' an omnibus may be more plebeian than a private carriage, and it may be less honor to belong to a large and democratic society than to a select and wealthy one; but the latter will no sooner succeed in hindering or demolishing the former, than (to revert to your simile) the Roxbury horse cars will obediently turn into the gutter to let the private conveyance have the middle of the road."

When invited to become a member, I was not aware, that the Historic-Genealogical was a *democratic society.* If the proposition were to call our society the *New England Democratic Historical and Genealogical Society*, possibly all objection might be withdrawn. The remark, made by us, was occasioned by a notice, in some journal, of the numbers, from time to time, and especially recently, elected members of this society. I read this notice with regret. No truth is more sure, than that the value of such membership becomes lessened, by its commonness. This proposition is so self-evident, that we shall not argue it. The practice may serve to raise a small revenue; but, infallibly, must lower the respectability of any historical society, by its too frequent employment. We have uttered, and repeat, our best wishes, for the welfare of this society. The gentleman, who, at present, presides over its affairs, and who, I hope, will not enlist for the war, when our belligerent brother carries it into Africa, is well assured of my personal good will towards himself; and I avail of this occasion to say to him, that his inaugural address would have been more acceptable, had it been more remarkable for its modesty and moderate pretensions. To speak of a society, over which one presides, is a thing, almost as personal, as to speak of one's self; and, on either occasion, the words of Solomon are not inapplicable —*Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth—a stranger, and not thine own lips.*

SIGMA.[1]

The legislative committee hearing had apparently already been held two days previous to the appearance of Sargent's second letter in the *Transcript*.[2] The letters cited here make the issue so clear that it is unnecessary to include more than a bare reference to the "memorial to the Legislature, remonstrating"[3] on behalf of the Historical Society or to the *Counter Remonstrance*[4] of the Genealogical Society. The record of a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Historical Society in the forenoon of the day appointed for the hearing (February 18, 1858) reads as follows:

> Ordered that 500 copies of the Memorial be procured on letter sheets from the type of the Morning Post, Newspaper.
>
> Authorized Mr. Brigham to procure as many copies—not exceeding fifty—as he might be able to obtain of the Communication by Sigma in the Transcript, relating to the Petition of the Historic-Genealogical society.
>
> Voted That the Secretary be authorized to accompany the Committee to the Legislature.
>
> Authorized the calling of a Special Meeting on Thursday evening 25th inst. at the house of the President.

Winthrop knew what to do. He had appointed John H. Clifford and Emory Washburn, former governors of the Commonwealth, with Josiah Quincy, senior member of the Society, a committee to present objections on the part of the Historical Society. The only eyewitness account of the hearing I have been able to find is in Drake's jaundiced review of his tribulations. A few sentences from it are enough to display his mental slant:

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[1] *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 20, 1858.

[2] According to the *Transcript* for February 19, 1858, the hearing had been held the previous day. Drake, in his *Narrative Remarks*, says (35) the hearing was on March 9.

[3] 1 *Proceedings*, III. 266–270.

[4] Circular, 8 pages, signed by Francis Brinley, in the library of the N. E. Hist. Gen. Society.

> To oppose the grant required, the enemy brought Emory Washburn as chief advocate, and old Josiah Quincy for—one hardly knows what—except to say something at which those who came with him might laugh. The principal of these were W. Brigham and Chandler Robbins. They showed their appreciation of the old man's stale jokes by grins and shrugs as boys are wont to do at those of a clown in a circus. Washburn took up about an hour in a sort of laudation of the Massachusetts Historical Society, interspersed with here and there a supercilious compliment for the members of the new society.[1]

Be that as it may, the decision of the Joint Standing Committee on Education put the outcome squarely up to Drake and his associates, a feature of which Drake omits all mention. In the legislative column of the *Transcript*, Friday, February 19, 1858, appeared this report:

> Thursday, 18th.
>
> . . . The Committee on Education reported leave to withdraw on the petition of Francis Brinley and others, for changing the name of the Historic-Genealogical Society, on the ground of non-compliance with the law of 1857, relating to publication.

Drake's inattentiveness to careful preparation had caught up with him. The statute required every corporation intending to apply for an alteration of its charter to publish a copy of the petition four weeks successively in some newspaper printed in the county in which the corporation was established.[2]

Drake's discomfiture may be imagined. His sense of frustration must have been kindled afresh, and at last we have the complete setting for the formation of the Prince Society. Here were a few men—Quincy had attributed to them "congenial historical sympathies"—who had been worsted in a contest with Winthrop and his associates, and, by the great horn spoon, they were going to show the gentlemen of the Historical Society that they too could publish—and in their own way and in their own good time. They would set up another competitor in the field the Historical Society had "occupied," and this time there would be no mistakes in selecting a name.

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[1] Samuel G. Drake, *Narrative Remarks*, 35. The text of Quincy's speech is in 1 *Proceedings*, III. 344–351. The manuscript Journal of the House of Representatives for February 25, 1858, records (302) a motion to order the committee to "inquire into the expediency of changing the name" of the Genealogical Society; but on February 26 further consideration was "indefinitely postponed." Journal of the House of Representatives, 310. This seems to dispose of Drake's statement that the legislative hearing was on March 9.

[2] *Acts and Resolves*, 1857, Chapter 261, Section 5.

It was said that in December, 1857, Drake and Dean had considered a plan of a society for the "mutual publication" of rare books and original manuscripts relating to American history, but surely the pace was not accelerated until after the hearing before the legislative committee. At Drake's suggestion Dean prepared a draft of a constitution, and on May 25, 1858, the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Prince, a meeting was held "by invitation" in Drake's office. A few "admirers of the character and works of Thomas Prince" were present: Thomas Waterman, Frederic Kidder, John Wells Parker, William B. Trask, William H. Whitmore, and Dean. "A few remarks were made by the gentlemen present, expressive of their sense of the importance of Mr. Prince's labors, and the necessity of the formation of a society on the basis proposed"; a committee of Drake, Kidder, and Whitmore was appointed to consider amendments to the form of constitution that Dean had drawn up; and adjournment was made to June ninth. On the latter day Waterman and Jeremiah Colburn were present besides Drake and Dean. The constitution was adopted, and by June 12, 1858, the Prince Society for Mutual Publication could take its place in the historical vineyard. Drake was of course made president, and Dean was made corresponding secretary, Whitmore was recording secretary, and John Wells Parker was elected treasurer. Individual members of the Council were then bound to remunerate the treasurer "for any outlay for preliminary expenses . . . not exceeding Thirty-Five Dollars, in case the Society is not successful, and in a condition to pay these expenses within a year. Each member paying his pro rata share."[1]

A first ambitious project was to print Thomas Prince's diary, said then to be in possession of the Reverend Chandler Robbins; but apparently nothing came of it.

Any one who agrees to purchase of the Society its publications, becomes a member, and ceases to be such only when he declines to receive the books. Once a year, May 25th, the Society chooses its officers, seven in number, who constitute the Council for the ensuing year, and who superintend all publications

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[1] The quotations here are from the minutes of the Prince Society.

> during their term of office. No member is called on for a subscription, but when a volume is issued, the Council fixes its price, as near the actual cost as possible, and he pays for his copy when delivered. A limit will also be placed on the number and prices of volumes to be issued in any one year. For the present year, this limit will be *three dollars*. The fractional profits ensuing from the issue of each book will be preserved, and, when sufficient, will be used for the gratuitous publication of a volume for the members.[1]

It was a sensible plan, granted the work could be done competently as well as gratuitously, and granted a sufficient number of dependable subscribers could be assured. The nonsense of it was the pretense that it was in some sort a learned society and that membership in such a society would be a badge of distinction. To continue the text of the initial circular:

> The ordinary hindrance to the publication of historical works has been the want of a previous subscription. It has been found too laborious and expensive a task to issue proposals for every new work. But, with a Society established, whose members are pledged to take its publications, it is possible to make permanent arrangements, and to secure many invaluable documents for its series. The members will be benefited by the comparatively low cost of these copies, and their value as of limited impression. . . .
>
> The present Council, having secured several very valuable works to print, will neglect no opportunity to obtain others, and the assistance of all the members is requested, to secure every document available for their series. . . .

The postscript read: "Among the MSS. offered to the Society for its first volume, is one by William Pynchon of Springfield, Mass., containing examinations of sundry persons suspected of witchcraft, of the date 1656." But the signers of the circular were optimistic; the Pynchon manuscript turned out to be something quite different from what had been supposed. On October 1, 1858, the members of the Council were assessed three dollars each, and the membership of the Society was reported to be sixty-four. On October 28 an "informal" meeting was held in Drake's office "to commemorate" the death of Thomas Prince, this being the one-hundredth anniversary. Before noting Whitmore's discourse "upon the life and works of Prince," the minutes include the following surprising entry: "The President [Drake] called the attention of the meeting to the portraits of Samuel Prince and his wife, the father and mother of the Annalist, painted by an artist named Copley—which are now in the possession of Rev. Chandler Robbins." Whitmore was now twenty-two years old and ignored the fact that, according to Thomas Prince's funeral sermon for his father, Samuel Prince died July 3, 1728, ten years before Copley was born. It was another instance where Drake and Whitmore neglected to use the test of chronology.

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[1] Printed circular, July 9, 1858.

On April 16, 1859, Whitmore reported the Pynchon manuscript was of later date than had been expected, and he was deputed "to visit Rev. Mr. Sewall and see if any thing could be done towards securing the MS. diary of his ancestor, for publication." From May 25, 1859, for four years, to May 25, 1863, there were no minutes and no printed volumes. On May 26, 1863, the subject of reprinting Hutchinson's *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1769) was considered, Whitmore and William S. Appleton being appointed a committee.[1] Later the same year *The Hutchinson Papers* was undertaken to the extent of one hundred and fifty copies, Whitmore and Appleton to be the publishing committee. It was then voted "that the number of members be limited to *one hundred*, and that the publication should be promptly commenced." On October 14, 1863, Whitmore requested "to be excused from serving on the committee to edit the volume of *The Hutchinson Papers*, and on motion was so excused. Mr. Appleton was requested to continue on the committee and to edit the volume," but on October 29 he "stated that he was unwilling to undertake alone the editing of the 'Hutchinson Papers,' and requested to have some other gentleman added to the committee, or else to be himself excused. The Council considered the best means of proceeding to be the replacement of Mr. Whitmore on the committee, and Mr. Whitmore being willing was accordingly restored to his position." No hint is given of the cause of all this commotion.

At the same meeting Whitmore moved that a Mr. Chester "be desired to proceed to Oxford at the expense of the Society, and examine the letters of John Dunton and give a particular account of their contents. The motion prevailed with an amendment that the expense should not exceed two pounds." By December 16, 1863, Mr. Chester had communicated his willingness to copy the Dunton manuscripts in the Bodleian Library for £50. A committee was appointed to see what steps could be taken to procure such a fund.

A year later it was decided that the seal of the Society "be the arms of Thomas Prince, encircled by a garter or riband inscribed,

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[1] At this meeting Appleton replaced Whitmore as recording secretary.

'In memory of Thomas Prince,' and that the seal be placed on the title-page of the publications of the Society."

On January 13, 1865, there was another ambitious project: "Voted, that Mr. Thornton be a committee to endeavor to procure the Volume of the 'Plymouth Council Records,' now in the Congressional Library at Washington, for publication." At long last the circular was issued offering the first volume of *The Hutchinson Papers* at $4.00, the large-paper issue, ten copies, at $12.50. A complimentary copy was to be sent to "Peter O. Hutchinson, Esq., of England." On February 20, 1865, it was announced that "Mr. Jared Sparks of Cambridge declines membership, and it was voted that the Rev. Alonzo H. Quint be a member in his place." Similar procedure was followed for several years, the effort being to keep the membership at one hundred, including libraries, a practice that of course had to break down; but none the less Drake seems to have approved it.

From 1858 to 1865 the Society was managed by the same little coterie of "earnest antiquarians." Besides Drake and Dean, Whitmore and Appleton, there was William B. Trask, who in his time contributed to fifty-six volumes of the *Register*, and who seems further to have distinguished himself by sending an elaborate testimonial to the famous pill doctor, E. D. Spear.[1] J. Wingate Thornton, an attorney, was another active officer of the Prince Society in its early years. It was he who claimed credit for first calling attention to the Bradford manuscript, "Of Plimmoth Plantation," in Fulham Palace, and we are told that some of his writings were so controversial in tone that they distressed his friends.[2] Jeremiah Colburn was treasurer. He was a dealer in hats who had found leisure to collect coins, minerals, and shells, but most of his prominence came from Franklin Pierce's appointment of him as Assistant United States Appraiser. They were all estimable men, but they were not touched with the genius to write luminous history, nor were they carefully trained to discriminate among the sources of history. There was Thomas Waterman, who sported himself by pasting into Prince Society publications an imposing bookplate that belied his modest post as bookkeeper in the Traders Bank. Whitmore I remember at his desk in the Old Court House, his white hair and beard, his black skullcap plainly to be seen across Court Square from Young's Hotel.

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[1] *The Brookline, Jamaica Plain, and West Roxbury Directory for* 1871, end of book.

[2] *Dictionary of American Biography.* See also *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXXIII. 273.

His memorialist in the Genealogical Society wrote whimsically: "His pertinacity was not free from foibles." He had been elected to the Massachusetts Historical Society on February 12, 1863, when he was not halfway through his twenty-seventh year—one of the very few of those closely associated with Drake to be honored in this way. His work as Record Commissioner, jointly with William S. Appleton, his editing of *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts*, his editorial comments on parts of Sewall's diary—all remind us of his industry. His co-worker, the William S. Appleton of that era, said of him: "His absorption in his chosen interests was of a character bordering on derangement," and in the *Dictionary of American Biography* I find an opinion that Whitmore's work "in its day represented an advance in standards of accuracy, but unfortunately his output was so great that much of his printed work requires careful checking."[1] Appleton himself had opinions that were reasonably tenacious. He was so firm against change that he plumed himself on his Toryism,[2] but "he left a bright example of large and faithful service."[3] To Charles Card Smith in 1887 he said it was "a pleasure to keep up with the work of the [Massachusetts Historical] Society."[4] He wished the serial issues of the *Proceedings* sent him while abroad. He was Cabinet-Keeper here from 1874 to 1880; he was devoted to the study of coins; he established the arms and seal of Harvard University; he objected "to the naked boys over the door of Boston's Public Library, as poor in art, worse as part of a seal, and worst of all in their offensive vulgarity." It was Smith who summed up Appleton's career in a pithy sentence: "He remorselessly pricked many bubble reputations."[5]

I need to stress the youth of both Whitmore and Appleton in the first years of the Prince Society. Appleton was a junior in Colby College when he joined the Genealogical Society in 1859, and Whitmore was twenty-three the same year. They stood far out in front of their co-managers of the new enterprise, and there was an appropriateness in their being the first committee of publication to produce an edited reprint, *The Hutchinson Papers*. In neither volume is the preface signed. Of the nine and a half pages of introductory matter in Volume I nearly half are quotations from Drake, from Hutchinson, and from Sabine. The footnotes are chiefly designed to locate original documents that have survived and to connect certain of them with actions of the General Court, while occasionally there are efforts to amplify the text. The first preface ends with a flourish—a tribute to Hutchinson as "the greatest of the historians of Massachusetts." The second preface does not cover both sides of a single leaf.

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[1] Charles K. Bolton, "William Henry Whitmore."

[2] See William S. Appleton's autobiographical statement as quoted by Charles Card Smith in 2 *Proceedings*, XVII. 520.

[3] *Ibid.*, 516. [4] *Ibid.*, 519. [5] *Ibid.*, 522.

It ought to be conceded that in the unpropitious milieu of the time the officers of the Prince Society for Mutual Publication did well to get out the two volumes of *The Hutchinson Papers* under the joint editorship of Whitmore and Appleton. But a change was coming. On February 27, 1865, it was voted that "Wood's *N. E. Prospect* be on the list of future publications and that Mr. Colburn be a committee to procure an Editor." On March 14 it was voted that "the publication of Wood's *N. E. Prospect* be entrusted to Mr. Colburn, with full authority to obtain whatever assistance he may desire from others; also that twenty copies be printed on large paper." The light was breaking. On August 18, 1865, Colburn presented copies of *Wood's New-England's Prospect*, then ready to be issued. On motion it was voted "that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Colburn for the able manner in which he has carried through the publication of this volume." To those who know of the talent so freely drawn upon for this enterprise, the next minute is more significant. "On motion it was voted that the thanks of the Society be given to Charles Deane, Esq., for his kindness in lending a copy of the original edition and in furnishing a preface for the imprint." On the verso of the title page appears prominently "Committee of Publication. Jeremiah Colburn"; at the end of the preface are signed simply the initials "C.D." The circular of August 21, 1865, offered the volume for $3.50 in small quarto and for $10.00 in the large quarto but made no mention of Charles Deane's careful chaperonage. The Society did, however, make a magnanimous gesture: it voted to present to Deane one copy of the small-paper issue. In historical circles apart from the Prince Society of that time it was Charles Deane's work on the Wood volume that first gave the Society standing in its chosen field.

John Dunton's Letters from New-England was next authorized, Mr. Chester in England having reduced his fee to £30 by confining his copying to the American portion of the Dunton manuscripts. Whitmore did the editing, omitting portions of certain documents as seemed to him judicious, and the imprint bears the date 1867. One acknowledgment in the preface raises hopes that are later dashed cruelly: "To the kindness of Samuel G. Drake, Esq., we are indebted for the woodcuts illustrative of the appearance of Boston in the seventeenth century." By turning the leaves carefully one finds four woodcuts: a warehouse in Dock Square with the Quincy Market in the offing, the Old State House, the first King's Chapel, and the Triangular Warehouse. These are all from Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*, but they add little to our knowledge of the appearance of Boston in the seventeenth century. Whitmore then began work on *The Andros Tracts*, a compilation that was issued serially—Volume I in 1868, Volume II in 1869, and Volume III in 1874. There was a vote on March 27, 1866, to print a memoir of Nathaniel Ward "which [had] been prepared by J. W. Dean . . . Mr. Dean to be presented with twenty-five copies. . . ." But that vote was rescinded on Edmund F. Slafter's motion the next year because doubts had arisen concerning the authorship of the tract attributed to Nathaniel Ward.

At a meeting on May 1, 1866, certain of the members—Drake, Waterman, Dean, Colburn, and Whitmore being present—tried to do a little dickering. Whitmore reported an offer of Messrs. Wiggin & Lunt to buy the remaining thirty sets of the Society's publications at $15.00 for each set. "Mr. Colburn having offered sixteen dollars per sett cash the above offer was declined. No motion being seconded Mr. Colburn's offer was not put. It was moved that the balance of the publications be offered to Messrs. Wiggin & Lunt at Twenty Dollars per sett, which was rejected by a vote of two to three." At the following meeting, on motion of Colburn, it was voted: "That Messrs. Wiggin & Lunt's offer of fifteen dollars . . . be accepted."

Edmund F. Slafter appeared first as a member present on May 25, 1865, and for forty years he was so closely attentive that ultimately to most of us his name and the name of the Society meant one and the same thing. He had a genuine flair for history, but he lacked the sound preparation, the tireless industry, and the reasoning power that are the equipment of historical scholars. As rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church in Jamaica Plain he preached a sermon on the death of Zachary Taylor that was so well received that the wardens and vestry asked to have it printed. Marriage to a woman of means assured his future, and a mild form of ill-health excused his retirement from active ministry while still in his thirties. He had leisure, and from 1861 to the turn of the century he was a working member of the Genealogical Society. Slafter was therefore on terms of some intimacy with Drake, Dean, and others, and directly he gave in his subscription to the Prince Society he was made recording secretary and the next year a vice-president. Work in the Prince Society was congenial to Slafter's tastes. He was impressed by the importance of its service, and he had a strain of complacency about the thoroughness and the sufficiency of his investigations. Traits like these cropped out in the volumes he edited, not to mention the occasional superlative that was woven into memoir and footnote. Drake and Dean looked upon Slafter as the editor of promise for whom they had been hoping, and shortly after the annual meeting of the Prince Society in 1870 Slafter was at work on a reprint of Sir William Alexander's *An Encouragement to Colonies*, a copy of which he had found in the Harvard College Library. An instance of Slafter's seriousness appeared in a solemn vote of the Council of the Prince Society, on Slafter's motion, "that a copy of the map intended for the reprint of the Alexander Tract be presented to Harvard College for their original copy which wants the map." I may say parenthetically that the Prince Society has in storage perhaps two hundred copies of the map that no one has yet had the recklessness to offer to anybody.

Among members present on May 25, 1868, was Henry H. Edes, whom I think of as among the last to wear silk hats in downtown Boston. His early membership in the Prince Society only confirmed his interest in American history and also his displeasure with the Massachusetts Historical Society. In his will, executed more than fifty years later, he provided for a contingent legacy to this Society, the principal to be set apart as the Charles Deane Fund.[1] Edes was elected to membership here in 1911, but he had not forgotten his differences with the distinguished antiquarian who was librarian from 1868 to 1915:

> I make this bequest in memory of Dr. Deane's urbanity and helpful kindness to me as a young student, deeply interested in historical research, in placing at

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[1] Middlesex Registry of Probate.

my service the treasures of the Historical Society in the days when it was an unalloyed pleasure for a non-member to visit its library and draw inspiration not more from the contents of its shelves and cabinets than from the exquisite courtesy, cordiality and aid which the then custodian, Dr. John Appleton, was eager to extend to all interested visitors.

At least two incidents can testify to the care and thrift with which the finances of the Prince Society were safeguarded. On April 14, 1874, action was taken:

> On motion resolved, that whereas William H. Whitmore as editor of the first and second volumes of the Andros Tracts received 20 copies and he now desires to obtain ten copies of the third volume more than are now allowed by the rules to the editor, to supply those to whom he gave the first and second volumes, it is hereby ordered that he be allowed to have ten copies extra by paying the extra cost of the same.

Again, October 10, 1876, there is this entry:

> A letter was read from Mr. W. H. Whitmore, offering to the Society, at its cost price, the steel plate of a portrait of Thomas Prince, purchased by him at the sale of the Drake library.
>
> After some discussion, the Recording Secretary was requested to express the thanks of the Society to Whitmore, and to decline his offer; as the Society had no immediate use for the plate, and needed all its money for other purposes, and, also, as some doubt was expressed as to the principle of buying anything that was not actually wanted.

Under Slafter's management scrimmages were ceasing to be the usual order. In 1870 Drake had resigned as president. Appleton and Whitmore withdrew as officers. Dean was made president and continued in office until 1880, but the evidence is cumulative that Slafter's had become the guiding hand. Elbridge H. Goss, who wrote later the Paul Revere biography, was made treasurer in 1874. The annual meeting in 1871 was the first to be held in the new house of the Genealogical Society at No. 18 Somerset Street, and the name of S. D. Warren and Company to furnish special paper for the publications first appears in 1872. On December 3 of that year a circular was issued requiring members to advance ten dollars each against the cost of the Alexander volume, about half the printed sheets having been destroyed in the fire of November 9 and 10. The supplementary dunning circular began significantly: "This is an association of gentlemen. . . ." At the annual meeting in 1873 the name was changed to read simply "Prince Society" and not "Prince Society for Mutual Publication." Slafter's friend, Charles W. Tuttle, was then "requested to collect, arrange, and edit a volume relating to Captain John Mason, the grantee of New Hampshire." It was published in 1887, six years after Tuttle's death, including a memoir prepared by Tuttle and bearing also the legend, "Edited with Historical Illustrations by John Ward Dean, A.M.," a formula that sounds like a gesture of appeasement from Slafter to Dean. It was the only Prince Society publication to bear the name of John Ward Dean as an historical investigator. New rules drawn up by Slafter were adopted, and the Society was incorporated by an act approved March 18, 1874. Tuttle became corresponding secretary, and although Dean continued as librarian of the Genealogical Society until his death in 1902, in his eighty-seventh year, the Prince Society was not a domain over which he could hold sway. A close friend of Slafter was Charles H. Bell of Exeter, New Hampshire, a former governor of that state and a senator of the United States. He was a vice-president of the Prince Society from 1874 to his death in 1893. Slafter succeeded Dean as president in 1880, and from that time took full charge of the Society. Without giving rein to undue criticism it can be said that for the thirty years or more when the Prince Society was in the hands of Slafter and his close friends there was a natural urge to promote the literary aspirations of those within the circle. To that extent the Society was "administered on the mutual principle" in a literary sense as well as in the sense of sharing the costs of publishing, but in fairness it ought also to be said that Slafter never hesitated long when a publication project that came from outside held out a reasonable prospect of success.

It would sound paradoxical to say that the active career of the Society ended with its fresh start as an incorporated body, but there is a smoothness in its transactions after 1874—as smooth as the flowing hand of the recording secretary—a smoothness that lends itself less acceptably to the kind of outline I have attempted. Volumes were issued: *John Wheelwright* (1876) by Bell; *Voyages of the Northmen to America* (1877) by Slafter; *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain* (1880, 1878, and 1882) by Slafter; *The New English Canaan of Thomas Morton* (1883) by Charles Francis Adams, second of the name; *Sir Walter Ralegh and His Colony in America* (1884) by Increase N. Tarbox; *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson* (1885) by Gideon D. Scull, now a rare imprint; *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine* (1890) by James P. Baxter; *Antinomianism in the Colony of*

Massachusetts Bay (1894) by Adams; *John Checkley, or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay* (1897) by Slafter; *Edward Randolph*, five volumes (1898–1899) by Robert N. Toppan and two volumes (1909) by Alfred T. S. Goodrick; *Sir Humfrey Gylberte and His Enterprise of Colonization in America* (1903) by Carlos Slafter, brother of Edmund. It is a notable list, and it would be possible to comment indefinitely on individual values of the books as tools for the student of history. Worthington C. Ford thought that the Adams volume on Antinomianism was a model of editorial treatment.

David G. Haskins, Jr., of the flowing hand, entered upon his long term as recording secretary in 1875, and in 1909 he was still a vice-president. A gentle person, a first cousin once removed of Ralph Waldo Emerson, he was usually at his post and read the minutes in a tone that was well suited to the neatness with which he penned them. Things were done in due form; red lines were ruled under the captions, and Haskins was an officer whose care and painstaking made a lasting impression.

James F. Hunnewell attended an annual meeting for the first time in 1881 and served as secretary *pro tempore*. The Reverend Henry Wilder Foote was made corresponding secretary in 1882 and served until 1889. Slafter had been elected to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1881. The first meeting of the Prince Society which Charles E. Banks attended was in 1886. Robert N. Toppan, who was made corresponding secretary in 1890, remained in office until his death in 1901. In 1891 appeared Mellen Chamberlain, the notorious snipper of autographs from public documents. Albert A. Folsom was among those in attendance in 1893. By my generation Captain Folsom is remembered for two things: he was superintendent of the Boston and Providence Railroad at the time of the Bussey Bridge disaster, March 14, 1887, and his name appeared prominently on the warning sign at the "Know-nothing Crossing." Edward G. Porter was added to the list of vice-presidents in 1894, and in 1895 the Reverend Henry F. Jenks became recording secretary. In that year, too, the annual meeting was in the library of Diocesan House, where Slafter was registrar—the first meeting neither in Drake's office nor in the rooms of the Genealogical Society since the formation of the Prince Society in 1858. At the annual meeting in 1898 Henry W. Cunningham was elected treasurer, and in 1901 Albert Matthews took over the duties of corresponding secretary. At the fortieth anniversary meeting Slafter was able to say:

> The Society's letter in the first volume issued is the same in the last volume issued. No change has been made, the form small quarto; the long "s," and so forth. They are characteristic of the Society. They are established and if they were taken away it would be a loss to the Society. It would be like the old taverns in the country, with the sign taken down; the Gentleman's Magazine without St. John's Gate.
>
> . . . We owe our success somewhat to the fact that no officer receives any pecuniary compensations and no annual assessments are ever made or can be made. Each member receives all that he pays for. Six or eight gentlemen have thus far been found who have been willing to do a great deal of work without any other remuneration than the consciousness of having done something to study and promote the study and knowledge of history.[1]

Slafter ought to have included an acknowledgment to Charles Deane. Deane never held office in the Prince Society, but he was the man who supplied much of the advice and pointed out most of the material. In one of my calls on Slafter, about 1905, he drew from a folder several slips of paper on which appeared titles of printed Americana that could be worked up into suitable volumes for the Prince Society. Slafter said that these slips were all in Charles Deane's handwriting and that Deane had been very generous with him and with the Society. He pointed to a large brown envelope, saying: "Those are all letters from Charles Deane, who was a good friend of mine."

Slafter was proudest of his work on *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*. Of his memoir of Champlain he wrote: "A Memoir fills most of one volume, the first full and complete personal history of this distinguished explorer ever published." Of the *Voyages*: "They were never before translated into English. . . . They furnish to the student of history . . . most valuable information, unsurpassed in richness and extent, and which cannot be obtained from any other source."[2] George M. Wrong, in *The Rise and Fall of New France* (page 484), says this: "C. H. Laverdière (Editor), *Œuvres de Champlain* (second edition, 2 v., Quebec, 1870), is as yet (1928) the only complete collection of the text of the various volumes published by

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[1] Minutes of the Council of the Prince Society, II. 85. The allusion to the *Gentleman's Magazine* is the same as the one Samuel G. Drake used when he criticized a new cover for the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

[2] *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* (Prince Society, Boston, 1890), III. 338.

Champlain." I examined closely Professor Wrong's extended analysis of authorities, and while Slafter's *Sir William Alexander* is cited for texts of charters, I was sorry for my old friend when I realized that his *Champlain* was not mentioned.

Charles E. Goodspeed was elected a member in 1900, and my name went into the list of members in 1901. The first meeting I attended was on May 26, 1902, and of those who were present Albert Matthews and I are the survivors. The meeting was dignified, but the process of becoming a member seemed casual. I had asked by mail if I might subscribe for the next book, and the reply was immediate. In an equally casual way, in 1905, on Slafter's urging, I allowed myself to be appointed to edit a volume on Edward Winslow. The copying for the proposed volume was referred to the treasurer and myself with full power. I worked on the subject in spare time for about a year and then backed away. Slafter had died, and I had come to realize I had no adequate equipment for such a task.

Grenville H. Norcross succeeded Jenks as recording secretary in 1904. In 1905 Slafter declined election, and Charles Francis Adams was named in his place. A vote of appreciation to Slafter included this sentence by Henry W. Cunningham: "No other man has done so much, and to his long and devoted service is due the high standard that the Society has maintained." At the same meeting William B. Trask, a vice-president for thirty-five years, asked to be excused from serving further. In 1906 the Society voted to send to the Public Library of San Francisco a set of publications to replace those lost in the earthquake and fire.

The meetings were again held at No. 18 Somerset Street for a period beginning in 1908. Stephen W. Phillips was elected a member in 1909. The Society rocked along by printing two more volumes of *Edward Randolph* and then met its *coup de grâce* by publishing *Colonial Currency Reprints* (four volumes, 1910) by Andrew McFarland Davis. The issue cost well in excess of $1,100 for each volume; the prices named were $5.00 each for the first two and $7.50 for each of the second two. The set was declined by scores of members, and the Society was on the way to dissolution. At the annual meeting in 1912 it was voted: "That the matter of dissolving the society and the transfer of its property to some other society as a publishing fund be referred to the Council for arrangement of the details." The next year, 1913, in the house of the Club of Odd Volumes, Norcross made a motion to wind up the Society, but this was lost, and all the officers declined reëlection. The Prince Society was now in the lap of those who voted down the motion, and twenty-five years later the survivors of those who voted to carry on saw the light and realized at last that a publication society "on the mutual principle" had become an anomaly in this day and generation. One excellent volume, *The New England Company of* 1649 (1920), edited and put through the press by George Parker Winship, was the fruit of these years of poise before the final leap into the abyss. To show their independence, the managers of that publication declined to use the long "s" and declined also to print the Society material as an appendix. This book was the harbinger of the Society's final and positive demise, for there is now a committee with full power to bring about dissolution and liquidate the assets. When the process is completed, there will probably be something in excess of $1,200 to be presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society as a publication fund in memory of much earnest work by gentlemen inspired only by zeal for American history, a field in which they left some enduring memorials. And for all the animosities of Drake and others toward the Massachusetts Historical Society in the 1850's, it is generally accepted that the publication of historical material must be left in large part to institutions strongly enough endowed or otherwise generously enough supported to bear the heavy costs that follow even the most careful preparation. There is a broader, gentler spirit among booksellers, at least among those whom we know, and there are no traces among them of any disposition to magnify the characters and glorify the services of men who after all are only average and for the most part are untouched by genius in any sphere of human effort.

A Marbleheader Meets the Last of the South Sea Pirates[1]

By LAWRENCE W. JENKINS

IN the *Marblehead Messenger* of January 11, 1873, appeared the following: "Capt. Allen Pitman, a native of this town, but for the last 14 years a native of Hong Kong, China, arrived home about a month ago. Capt. Pitman left home as a common sailor but his industry and perseverance have raised him to the command of one of the largest steamers plying between Hong Kong and Honolulu, Sandwich Islands."

This news item referred to Captain "Aloe" Pitman, as he was known to his fellow townsmen of two generations ago, otherwise Ebenezer Allen Pitman, Jr., second of the four children of Ebenezer Allen and Rebecca (Chapman) Pitman. Born in Marblehead on November 26, 1837, he, like so many other Marbleheaders, early turned to fishing and made his first trip to the Grand Banks at the age of sixteen. Soon realizing that fishing offered little in the way of advancement, he decided to try the merchant service and sailed before the mast on May 16, 1860, in the ship *Belvedere*, bound from Boston to San Francisco.[2]

On arrival at San Francisco Pitman left the ship and went up into the mountains. Apparently gold digging did not appeal to "Aloe" as he remained there only ten days before returning to "Frisco" and shipping on the *George Lee*, Lunt master, bound for Hong Kong via the Sandwich Islands.[3] The succeeding three years twice brought him back to San Francisco, but the greater part of that time he was sailing the Eastern seas, calling at Hong Kong, Chefoo, Swatow, Bangkok, Singapore, Manila, and Sydney.

While at Swatow in August, 1853, Pitman witnessed a Chinese execution, which he described in his journal as follows:

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[1] This paper is based on a journal and three log books of Captain Ebenezer A. Pitman, Jr., which came into my possession some twenty years ago.

[2] The *Belvedere*, Captain Isaac N. Jackson of Winthrop, Maine, was a medium clipper of 1,320 tons, built by Paul Curtis at East Boston in 1857 and owned by William F. Weld & Company. She was wrecked in the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1886.

[3] The *George Lee* was a ship of 647 tons, built at Mattapoisett in 1854 and owned by Stephen Cabot of Boston. She was sold to British account in 1863.

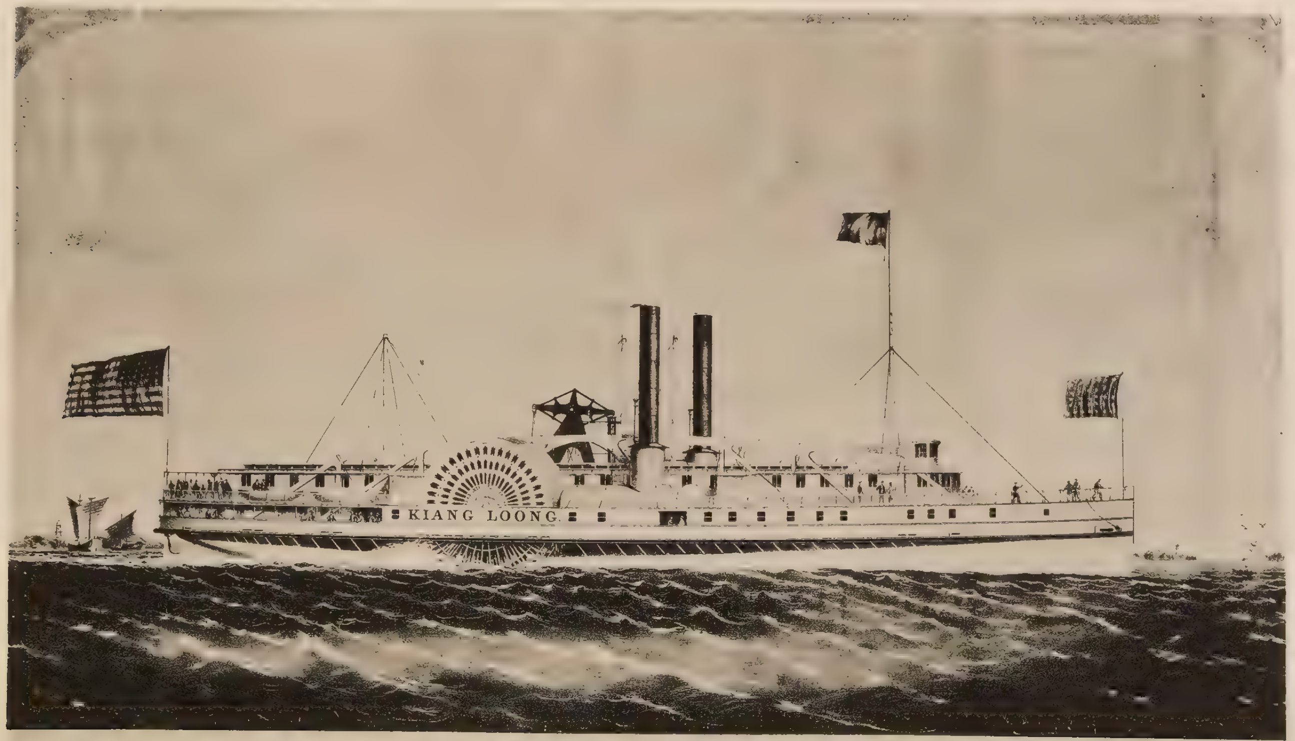
> Saw a very revolting sight on shore to-day. 6 Chinese for robery was punished in the following manner. Two of them was nailed to a cross with red hot nails and there eyes was burnt rending [them blind]. The other four was punished in a different but no less cruel manner. There was four holes dug in the ground about four feet deep and then 4 white stakes drove in the ground close to the edge of the hole. Then the prisoners was taken and lashed to the stakes by there feet; there head and shoulders being down in the hole, then 4 Chinese with spades and shovels throwed earth in the hole until they was burried to their knees, stamping the earth in all the time, and there they was left a warning to all. The punishment was inflicted in the presents of three thousand Chinese with the waving of banners and the sounding of gongs, etc., etc. Among the spectators was the wifes of the prisoners and they alone seemed the only ones that had any pity for the Unfortunates. Such is the heathen religion.

Pitman sailed on January 10, 1864, from Swatow as a passenger on the British barque *Nancy Brison* for Hong Kong, where he transferred to the steamer *Kin Shan* for Whampoa. Here he joined the steamer *Kiang Loong* as Chief Officer and sailed for Amoy via Hong Kong and Shanghai, arriving on the ninth of March. He continued as Chief Officer until he received his master's certificate at Hong Kong in 1867, after which he commanded the *Kiang Loong* and the *Fire Dart*. The *Kin Shan*, the *Kiang Loong*, and the *Fire Dart* were three of a fleet of side-wheel steamers which were built at New York for use in the China seas and which went out there under their own power.

On April 30, 1868, he took command of the S. S. *Jessie*, sailing from Shanghai for Nagasaki, Japan. This was quite a demotion from the steamers he had previously commanded, as the *Jessie* apparently was called a steamship only by courtesy. At any rate this voyage was notable for the action, or rather nonaction, of the engines, as is indicated by the following brief extracts from the log, which he was keeping on civil time:

> April 30, 1868. 2:30 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded. 5:30 P.M. Boilers working badly putting the fire out. Came to anchor. 7:00 P.M. Steam again and proceeded but the Boilers working badly again, came to anchor again.
>
> May 1. 4:45 A.M. Got under weigh again, steamed for about 20 minutes. Fires out again. Came to anchor. 6:45 A.M. Under weigh again. Boilers working badly. 10:30 A.M. Came to anchor.

This continued for six days, when they set sails, and the *Jessie* finally arrived at Nagasaki after four more days, making the voyage of some five hundred miles in ten days.



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STEAMER KIANG LOONG

BUILT BY JOHN ENGLIS & SON — ENGINE BY NEPTUNE IRON WORKS — SUPT BY CAPT W. H. PECK

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

From this point there is no trace of Captain "Aloe" for a year and a half. Probably during at least a part of this time he was engaged in trading through the Gilbert, Marshall, and Caroline Islands[1] in the western Pacific, as he next turns up at Ascension (Ponape) in the Caroline Islands where he enters in the log, under date of December 16, 1869: "Took charge of *Malolo*—found everything in very good order with the exception of some of the running rigging." The *Malolo* was a schooner belonging to the firm of Glover, Dow & Company of Shanghai, which had been trading through the Gilberts, the Carolines, and the Marshalls for some two years commanded successively by Captains G. A. Bridges, John P. Eldridge, A. W. Tripp, and John J. Mahlmann.

Captain Mahlmann wrote a book entitled *The Reminiscences of an Ancient Mariner*, published in Yokohama in 1918. I have been able to locate only two copies of this book, both in Japan, and I am informed that most of the edition was destroyed in the great earthquake of September 1, 1923, which demolished a part of Tokyo and Yokohama. It could not have been a best seller if most of the edition was still in stock after five years. Through the kindness of the Honorable Joseph C. Grew, American Ambassador to Japan, I have been able to secure some references to Pitman contained in the *Reminiscences*. Captain Mahlmann says (60): "A few days after this the *Lizzie Allan* arrived at Metolanim harbour, with Captain Coe[2] as passenger. There was also a Mr. Pitman on board who had been mate with Pease at one time." At another point (62) he states: "Captain Coe proved himself a drunkard, and Pitman was but little better." Probably this accounts for Pitman's loss of his steamship command. That he overcame this weakness I judge from the fact that I cannot learn that he had any such reputation after he returned to Marblehead.

The control of Glover, Dow & Company's trading was in the hands of Captain Ben Pease, who commanded the brig *Waterlily*, the name of which he later changed to *Pioneer*. That Pease controlled the *Malolo* is evidenced from the following entries in her log while at Ascension Island:

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[1] These three groups are just north of the equator. They comprise a large number of small islands, mostly atolls, with a relatively small population. Their principal products are coconut oil, copra, the dried meat of the coconut, pearl shell, and *bêche-de-mer*. The traders in these islands have acquired an unsavory reputation, but F. W. Christian says: "Those who believe that the 'beachcomber,' or the copra trader of the South Seas is necessarily a scoundrel err grievously. There is, proportionately to their numbers, as much honesty, sobriety, and energy amongst the traders as amongst any other body of business men." *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), 15.

[2] Captain Coe went out as trader for Glover, Dow & Company.

> July 14, 1868. Capt. Pease arrived from China in the Brig *Waterlilly.*
>
> July 31. One man on board to keep ship. So ends my command of the *Malolo.* I delivered the Sch. papers and log to Capt. Pease. John P. Eldridge.

On May 25, 1869, Captain Mahlmann took command of the *Malolo* and on December 14 entered in the log: "Captn. Pease is offended with me at something and will not speak to me." This entry is crossed out and on the fifteenth is entered: "Sent in my resignation to Captn. Pease, it was accepted, and I received an order for my wages—Here ends my command of the vessel. J. J. Mahlmann."

On the following day Captain Pitman took command as already stated. Here are a few of his log entries during his command:

> Dec. 18, 1869. Took the anchor. Made all sail and proceeded to sea in company with Brig *Pioneer.*
>
> Jan. 7, 1870. Charles Sturgis come on board to go as passenger to Wellington Island Capt. Pease having made up his mind to send *Malolo.* Afternoon got under weigh and proceeded to the wreck of Brig *Morning Star.* Got one of the M. S. anchors with 45 fath. chain. Put the anchor and chain on board Brig *Pioneer* Capt. Pease being in charg of *Malolo* this day.
>
> Feb. 21. Learnt that Capt. Pease in *Pioneer* sailed on 5 of February for Samoa or Navigator Islands. Received no letters from him they being in charge of Capt. Rodd and he is away from the Station up to windward for food.
>
> Feb. 22. Capt. Rodd returned from the windward. Delivered a letter from Capt. Pease to myself giving me Instructions how to act in his absence placing me in full charge to act as he would do where he here himself.
>
> March 20. Six weeks being up to-day the time the *Pioneer* was to arrive from Samoa.
>
> April 10. *Pioneer* absent nine weeks this day.
>
> May 6. The *Pioneer* absent this day three months—am giving up all hopes of her ever coming—am forced to live altogether on native food. Can not stop much longer here as it is ruinous to all concerned. The natives will make no oil when they can get all the trade they want for Breadfruit and Fish which I am forced to buy for crew and myself there being no provisions on board.

During these months Captain Pitman had been trading for coconut oil, *bêche-de-mer*, and pearl shell, repairing the hull and rigging of the schooner, which were all very old and rotten, boiling salt water for the salt, and sending to the neighboring islands to buy up such supplies as he could get. On May 21 he left the lagoon at Millie, in the Marshalls, for Ascension, in the Carolines.

> May 30, 1870. Was boarded by Capt. Mahlmann who informed me of the death of Capt. Coe on March 15th and that he was in charge of Station. Concluded I would do what necessary repairs was wanted to *Malolo* and take all the Chinese and return to Shanghae as soon as possible.
>
> June 16. Mr. Adams called on board—took the boat and went to the mill. While at the mill learnt that an American man of war was to windward in Joe Koitets harbor.
>
> June 18. Went around to Joe Koitets harbor. Went on board the Man of War which proved to be the U. S. S. *Jamestown.*[1] Was informed by the Capt. that he had been to Millie and Ebon and that the Capt. which Capt. Pease took from Ebon to Samoa had arrived back to Ebon with a Barque and that the last heard of Capt. Pease he was spoken by an English Barque to the N. E. of Samoa. He is this day absent from Ascension six months so I give up all hopes of ever seeing him.

It is probable that Captain "Aloe" never did see Captain Pease again, nor did the *Jamestown* catch up with him.

Captain Pease and his one-time friend and partner, Captain William Henry (Bully) Hayes, who also figures in this story, were two of the most precious rascals and pirates who ever infested the Pacific. That Captain "Aloe" did not know their reputation seems impossible, for there was hardly a port from San Francisco to Singapore or from Hong Kong to Sydney where they had not practised their villainies. There are a few tales about these worthies which will give an idea of the sort of company with whom Captain "Aloe" was now hobnobbing.

Captain Ben Pease is identified by Basil Lubbock in his book, *Bully Hayes, South Sea Pirate*, as an American lieutenant named George Pease. Captain Dudley W. Knox, U.S.N., of the Office of Naval Records and Library, informs me that the only United States naval officer of that name was a volunteer during the Civil War by the name of George W. Pease. This Pease was born at Edgartown, Massachusetts, on July 26, 1833, and served as acting ensign from July 3, 1863, to August 14, 1865, when he was honorably discharged. His entire service, except for a few weeks spent at the New York Navy Yard in gunnery instruction, was on the U.S.S. *Mary Sanford*. There seems to be some doubt, therefore, as to Lubbock's identification since Captain Ben Pease is credited with being in the Pacific as early as July, 1865, a month before Ensign Pease was discharged. Whoever Ben Pease may have been, he is said to have met and to have been befriended by Captain Bully Hayes, through whose influence with certain Chinese officials he became a lieutenant in the Imperial Chinese Navy. It is said that while in command of a gunboat Pease was more of a menace to the Chinese merchants than to the pirates whom he was supposed to suppress. Pease later appears in the brig *Waterlily*, trading for Glover, Dow & Company as is stated in the log of the *Malolo*.

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[1] The *Jamestown* was looking for Captain Pease.

In addition to his business of trading, Captain Pease carried on the avocations of barratry, blackbirding, gunrunning, and headhunting. The following incident, illustrative of the last named of his side lines, is related of him. In the Solomon Islands it was the custom to hang up the heads of one's enemies as trophies, and the chief exhibiting the greatest number of heads was held in the highest esteem. A brig was anchored off Florida Island, and when a canoe filled with natives was passing under the stern, the jolly boat was dropped on top of it, spilling the natives into the sea. The quarter boats were then lowered as if to rescue the unfortunate natives, but this was not the intention. Each native was grasped by the hair, and his head hauled over the rail and chopped off. These heads were later used at another island to purchase live victims for the labor traffic to the Fijis or Queensland.[1]

Pease finally met his end in the early seventies by being shot by a Negro while in the Bonin Islands where he had retired, supposedly on account of ill health.

Captain Bully Hayes was fully as much of a scoundrel as Pease, but of a different breed. There are numerous stories about his scandalous deeds, some of them of doubtful authenticity but many of them true or at least based on fact. Possibly no pirate has had more written about him during the last half century. I have, in fact, the titles of almost fifty books and articles in which he is referred to at greater or less length. They range from the biographies of him by Basil Lubbock, Louis Becke, H. Stonehewer Cooper, A. T. Saunders, and Captain Joshua Slocum, through the sketch in that gallery of prominent Americans, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, to minor mentions of him in the Pacific stories of Frank Burnett, C. F. Gordon Cumming, Clement Wragge, William T. Wawn, and others. Captain William Henry Hayston, the principal character in Rolf Boldrewood's *A Modern Buccaneer*, is said to represent him. As recently as

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[1] Basil Lubbock, *Bully Hayes, South Sea Pirate* (Boston, 1931), 166.

March 1, 1941, the feature section of the *Boston Sunday Advertiser* carried a three-page article on Hayes.

He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1829. Nothing definite is known regarding his early life, but no doubt he took to the sea at a comparatively early age since, according to the records of the American Consul at Singapore, he sold the American barque *Canton*, 198 tons, Elisha Gibbs master, to an Englishman in 1854. From that time on he was notorious throughout the length and breadth of the Pacific until, while in the Marshalls in April, 1877, he was murdered by the cook of his schooner, the *Lotus*. Lubbock quotes a man who knew Hayes well as saying:

> His physique was perfect, perhaps on the big side. His strength was enormous. If I was asked to give a description of him in sailor language, I should say that he was a fine big lump of a man, with an eye like a hawk, a fist like a shoulder of mutton, and a punch that would not disgrace the kick of a New Orleans mule. He could be, and nearly always was, a gentleman in speech and manners, but when he considered it necessary he could be a bully and a brute, as we often saw.

Louis Becke, a youth from New South Wales who served under him and was his agent in 1874, states that "he had a deep baritone voice and was an accomplished musician, playing on pianoforte, violin and accordion." He was also a past master in obtaining something for nothing, whether money, a ship, or a valuable cargo, as the following excerpt from the *San Francisco Herald* of September 5, 1859, indicates:

> Some time ago (Aug. 28th to be exact) a Capt. Hayes purchased the brig *Ellenita* from M. S. Morrison of this city for $800. He paid nearly 500 dollars of the purchase money and then had the brig placed upon the ways of Mr. Hichener, where she was thoroughly overhauled and repaired. Finding his indebtedness pressing upon him, and that the brig was about to be libelled, he applied to eminent counsel in this city, by whose exertions the libel was staved off for two weeks. About half-past two o'clock on Monday morning, the *Ellenita* got under way and sailed from this port, leaving all her debts unpaid, and without taking out a clearance or being in possession of a single paper. Yesterday the steam tug *Martin White* was sent in pursuit, but returned in the evening without being able to see or hear of the brig.
>
> We learn that the following parties have been swindled by Captain Hayes: Mr. Morrison, 300 dollars; Mr. Hichener, 250 dollars; ship carpenters, 800 dollars; victuallers and grocers, 1200 dollars; vegetable dealers, 300 dollars; a gentleman, per borrowed money, 300 dollars; legal advice, 100 dollars; a bill which his lawyers promised to pay, 14 dollars; money borrowed from his lawyers, 30 dollars; plumbers, 500 dollars; and a multitude of other liabilities of less note,

> making in all about 40,000 dollars. The fellow also managed to swindle Mr. Morrison out of some 40 tons of beans. It is supposed by those who appear to be best informed that he will steer for Tahiti, where he will lay in a cargo of oranges, for the Sydney market.

A trader in pearl shell, *bêche-de-mer*, and copra, Hayes also was bigamist, barrator, gunrunner, buccaneer, and blackbirder. Basil Thomson, in his book *Savage Island*, mentions (81) one of Hayes's peccadillos as follows:

> In the intervals of piracy Mr. Hayes had passed as a law-abiding trader, and it was only when he wearied of the slow returns accruing from the sale of calico that he turned to means of quicker profit. One day, in 1868, he put in unexpectedly at Alofi, and made himself so agreeable to the natives that sixty of them came off to his vessel to gloat over the wonder of a foreign ship. With that he slipped his cable and stood out to sea. The indignation of the islanders at this outrage knew no bounds. It was at its height when one morning a week later, the joyful news spread that the ship was returning. Mr. Hayes landed alone, and met Mr. Head on the village green before all the natives. He was in high spirits, and had a ready answer to Mr. Head's reproaches. "I told the beggars that I was going to sail," he said, "but they wouldn't leave the ship. I couldn't stay here a month. What could I do?" The men, he told the natives, were all right. Finding that he had not provisions enough for so large a company, he had landed them at a nice little island to the northward, and had returned for food and water for the return voyage. If he had meant to kidnap them, would he have returned like this? The story was thin, but the natives were in no mood to test it. Provisions were shipped in quantities, and the crew of Aitutaki men landed and made friends with the people. That night word was brought to Mr. Head that these gentry had made plans to elope with a number of girls, whose heads they had turned with stories of foreign travel. He went at once to the chiefs and a guard was despatched hotfoot to the beach, only to make out the schooner's lights in the offing. When they called the roll, they found that more than thirty girls were missing. This was the last time Bully Hayes visited Niue. It was not till long afterwards that Mr. Head heard the sequel to the story. Re-embarking the men, whom he found half-starving, Hayes set sail for Tahiti, where he disposed of the whole of his cargo to the highest bidder, or, as he chose to put it, to the planter who paid the highest sum for their passage money. He had promised to bring them back in two years, but they heard no more of him. Many died in Tahiti; a few found their way to Samoa and Queensland; a remnant, in which was King Tongia's daughter, now a middle-aged woman, returned to Niue; the rest had scattered, who knows whither?

In 1869 Hayes was in command of a schooner named the *Atlantic*, in which he proceeded to kidnap some natives, for which he was arrested at Pago Pago and taken to Apia for trial.[1] The British Consul, feeling that he was unable to deal properly with the case, sent for H. M. Sloop *Vixen*, but before she arrived Hayes made a bolt in the brig *Pioneer*, commanded by Captain Pease. Some time after this, bad blood developed between Hayes and Pease, and the latter retired to the Bonin Islands. Hayes proceeded to Shanghai where he purchased the *Pioneer* from Glover, Dow & Company, paying something on account and changing her name to the *Leonora*.

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[1] Lubbock, *Bully Hayes, South Sea Pirate*, 157.

The *Leonora*, ex-*Pioneer*, ex-*Waterlily*, was a brig of 218 tons, built in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1860. Louis Becke, who sailed on her later, stated that she had been built for the opium trade and was one of the fastest ships on the China seas. Armed with four brass twenty-fours, she carried a crew of some forty natives and five officers. Her main cabin was handsome and luxuriously fitted up. In it were displayed a fine lot of ancient and modern weapons, of which Hayes had been a collector.

On October 16, 1871, a man named G. Lechart declared at Strong's Island that he had sold his vessel and goods to Hayes and that Hayes refused to pay him and threatened him with a hiding when he pressed for payment.[1]

Such were these two characters whose paths crossed Pitman's in the Pacific. Pitman, as has been seen, was at Ascension Island on June 18, 1870. Where he was during the succeeding sixteen months I do not know, but possibly he carried out his intention of going to Shanghai and then traded through the islands, as he next appears at Strong's Island where he enters in the log of the schooner *Neva*, under date of October 19, 1871: "Came on board. Took charge of the schooner. Came on board from Brig *Leonora* the following persons—Charles Roberts, Maniller Peter, Wahoo John, Old Penna." One might wonder, considering that this event occurred only three days after Mr. Lechart's complaint against Hayes, whether or not the *Neva* was the vessel Hayes had "purchased" from Lechart. Wherever he got the schooner, Pitman did not get much of value, for the sails and rigging were rotten, and there was scarcely a day when she was at sea during the next year that something was not carried away or that the crew were not repairing past damage. The following extracts from Pitman's log give ample evidence of this.

> Nov. 1, 1871. Have this day delivered over the Log Book to be kept by Charles Roberts, chief officer, E. A. Pitman, Master.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 188.

Nov. 22. Got schooner under weigh and worked her over to Big Millie and went up alongside the Brig *Leonora* and made fast. Forenoon cleared out the after hold and took on board from the Brig *Leonora* 64 bags of rice and stowed it in the after hold and putting on board the Brig *Leonora* several cases containing tortoise shell and other small articles.

Nov. 27. The crew employed getting the ship ready for sea. The crew of the Brig employed getting water for the schooner. Got 5 casks today the 27th of November. Received trade from the Brig *Leonora* consisting of tobacco, cloth, prints, cutlasses, broad axes, powder, etc. etc. At 4 P.M. we weighed anchor and got off shore.

Dec. 4. Came to anchor at Tucarere close to the Brig *Leonora.*

Dec. 5. Received on board *Neva* a lot of trade from Brig *Leonora.*

Dec. 16. Millie. At 3 P.M. the King and his suite came on board—the Capt. gave him a present—they had dinner on board. They left at 5:30 P.M.

Dec. 17. Set anchor watch at 8 P.M., at 10 P.M. 2 canoes were coming alongside—we told them not to—they would not hear until there was a shot fired across there out rigger then they made sail and went off.

Jan. 6, 1872. In Millie Lagoon. Received from Brig a lot of muskets, swords and bayonets. Delivered to the Brig 4 bags of rice, 4 small boxes of tobacco and a lot of thin planks. Sent a boats crew to fill water for the brig—filled 4 Portor casks. Capt. Hayes came on board at 6:30 A.M. and several white passengers in the Brig for Samoa. The King of Millie came on board to visit the ship.

Jan. 7. Capt. Pitman has gone on board the Brig. Received from the Brig 8 whale spades for trade. Took the native crew and filled 1 Portor cask with water for the Brig. Frank Benson a trader of Capt. Hayes came on board to visit the Capt. At 3 A.M. called all hands and went on board the Brig to help them get their anchor as they have broke their windlass. We got it at 5 A.M. and returned on board the schooner and weighed our anchor to accompany the Brig to Arno.

Jan. 12. Back at Millie. Took of the main Hatchs and broke out 17 casks of oil. Becket them and sent them ashore to the station so they can look out for them until Capt. Hayes return from Samoa.

March 10. The Brig *Leonora* has been gone 2 months up to today; hope she will not be more than 2 weeks longer.

April 2. From report of the Natives there was a vessel in sight on the 29th March—they fired several large guns—no natives went on board as they were afraid of being taken away.

April 11. Sail oh—at 6 P.M. a sail in sight—a Brig—We think it is the Brig *Leonora* from Samoa. It is to dark to see her plainly—We hoisted our flag and fired 1 gun off—set anchor watch at 8 P.M.—fine all night with a good breeze—the Brig hove in sight at 5:30 A.M. standing off shore—at 6 A.M. she tacked and stood for the passage. Kept a fire agoing all night. The Brig came to anchor at 7 A.M. At 9 A.M. Capt. Hayes and a passinger in the Brig came on board the schooner.

April 12. Came on board at 7 A.M. a new chief officer, Mr. Powless.

April 27. This day we alter the Schrs name from *Neva* to *Emily*. the change of name was made at Apia, Navigator Islands by Capt. Hayes of Brig *Leonore*[1] before the U. S. Consul. Henceforth this vessel is to be called the *Emily*.

May 4. The Brig *Leonore* got under weigh and proceeded on a cruise among the Group Capt. Pitman going in the *Leonore* as pilot.

May 6. At 10 A.M. arrived the English War Steamer *Baragossa*—one of the officers came on board and requested to see the papers of the Schr which were shown him—they then left having remained but 10 minutes on board and then they returned to the Steamer but shortly after went on shore to the station; made some few enquiries there and then went again on board the Steamer.[2]

May 9. 4:30 P.M. Arrived brig *Leonore* from Mejuro—Capt. Pitman returned on board of the Schr.

May 11. Brig *Leonore* got under weigh and proceeded to sea going to the westward to put men on different stations.

May 21. at 1:30 P.M. passed out of Milley passage—we have on board as passengers 5 males, 4 females, 8 natives to work, cook, mate and master, making in all 20 souls. At 2:30 A.M. Split the Foresail and carried away one shroud in port main rigging. Schr rolling badly and carrying away guys of main rigging knocking away Binnacle etc.

May 22. We are in a bad fix; our sails can not be depended upon for 5 minutes—our cook Peter has been 24 hours off duty sea sick. We have had no cooked food since we came out. The cook has been to sea before the mast in whalers 6 or 7 years, and of our native crew (7 men) only one understands a few words of English or knows the least part of a seamans duty. The Capt. and self are obliged to be everywhere and do everything all at once—the best part of our running rigging is rotten but the hull of the schr is staunch and tight.

May 23. The cook Peter a few days ago threw a stick of wood at our pet monkey maliciously and cut the poor animals face open. I note this in case the cook denies this at any future time. The day the animal was injured was May 19, 1872 at Milley.

June 10. At Milley—here ends the most disagreeable 3 weeks cruise that I have experienced for a long time—The Schr is staunch and strong and a good sea boat but she has been laying so long in this rainy climate that both sails, standing and running rigging have mildewed and become decayed—added to this our crew were composed of green natives not understanding a word of English. Our cook who does understand a little is invariably laid up with sea sickness the moment we get outside—take altogether Capt. Pitman and John N. Powless have had a gay time of it.

July 4. This day being our National Anniversary we celebrated it as well as our limited means would admit trusting, under providence, that the next 4th of July will find us in a civilized country where the Star Spangled banner floats.

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[1] From April 12 on, when Powless as chief officer kept the log, the brig is referred to as the *Leonore* instead of the *Leonora*.

[2] The *Baragossa* was looking for Captain Hayes.

July 5. On yesterday evening when we came on board Capt. Pitman on going to his chest, which was always left unlocked, missed an American half dollar, the only one he had of that coin in the chest; he had received one that day from a native for trade. On questioning the native in the evening after our return to shore, the native confessed after some prevarication that he had it from Our Cook (Peter of Guam) in return for some favors bestowed by the natives wife on Peter of Guam. Peter of course stoutly maintained his innocense, but the proofs were positive and the Capt. fined Peter in the sum of $50.00 to be deducted from his wages. This is the second time Peter has been found guilty of theft on board of the schooner.

Aug. 12. We are now about to get ready for sea as we will soon be starving; for the last four months we have been living on breadfruit and fish, native food. Now the season is past for breadfruit—there is nothing else. We have no beef, flour, bread, sugar, tea or coffee for the last 100 days except a little of the latter we begged from a German trader—nor money or trade to purchase any food if any was here. The Brig left us destitute with but 3 green natives for a crew—we do not know where she is and we must go somewheres to get something to eat.

Aug. 15. At noon got under weigh for Arno with all sail set. Our crew consists as follows: E. A. Pitman, Master, John N. Powless, mate, Peter of Guam, cook, Peter of Rotumah, seaman, Tony, a Japanese cooper, Johnny, a native of one of these islands (civilized), 2 large dogs and 3 cats.

Aug. 18. 1:30 P.M. Spoke the U. S. steamer *Narragansett*. They did not board us but asked a few questions and bore away to the westward.[1]

Aug. 19. Arno, Marshall Islands. At 6 A.M. the Capt. went on shore to see the trader who told Capt. Pitman that the last instructions he had from Capt. Hayes was to deliver no oil to Capt. Pitman in the Schr. Capt. Pitman then bought 50 bbls of oil for which he paid George the Trader $500.00 in cash and we took the oil on board.

Aug. 20. Employed at taking in some old cocoanuts and preparing for sea—also a few bundles of "Bup" for provisions for the voyage.[2]

Aug. 21. Made sail and proceeded to sea. Capt. Pitman after mature deliberation and consulting with the 1st Officer, concluded to shape a course for the Sandwich Ids. As our sails and rigging, both standing and running, are very old and rotten, by shaping for Honolulu we will soon have ports under our lee where, in case of accident, we can get off with less trouble than we could by going South, to say nothing of the difference in the weather. Our sea stock consists of a few pounds of rice, no bread or flour, a little coffee, no sugar, plenty of old cocoa nuts, and a few bundles of preserved Pandanus fruit—rather hard fare for white men but we have been out of provisions suitable for civilized beings for so long that we are partially inured to it.

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[1] The *Narragansett* was looking for Captain Hayes.

[2] "Bup" is a word in Pacific jargon which I cannot find in any work available to me. It is described by Jan Söderdröm as follows: "On most of the islands of Micronesia the fruit of Pandanus was prepared into a preserve that would keep for fifteen or twenty years. After a process of alternate boiling and sun-drying, the paste was, in the form of flattened cakes, wrapped round a pole, the whole then being enveloped in pandanus leaves and tied round with string made of coco fibre." "Some Notes on Poi and Other Preserved Vegetables in the Pacific," *Ethnos*, II (July, 1937), 240.

Aug. 27. The Gray tabby cat was this day safely delivered of two kittens—Mother all right and progeny.

Sept. 13. Sea very rough. The Schr making bad weather of it pitching jib boom under.

Sept. 15. Split the forestaysail.

Sept. 16. Fore peak halyards carried away. Throughout the night carried away 2 shrouds in the lee fore rigging also 2 shrouds in the lee main rigging; the main sheet bolt and guy bolts drew out from the stern causing main boom to get adrift.

Sept. 17. Repairing damages. Found stern timber above deck in very rotten state—obliged to insert pieces of fire wood for stanchions.

Sept. 18. Found one of the chain bolts in the main rigging twisted and torn from the channels. Also another in port fore rigging torn out from the eye.

Sept. 24. We have now arrived at the Latitude where we naturally ought to expect westerly winds, but we have not found them yet. Had we any suitable provisions on board we would not care so much but pandanus fruit and cocoanuts day after day and week after week is not food calculated to produce a great amount of gaiety in a seamans heart. I think the immortal Mark Tapley of jolly memory would "come out strong" under these circumstances.

Sept. 25. Oh come westerly breezes and fill our expectant sails! ! ! Bup, Bup, Bup; always Bup.

Sept. 29. Sets in with a hard gale. 1 P.M. Carried away Fore Peak halyards. After a great deal of trouble got the sail set again; we are obliged to hoist a man in a bowline up to the masthead to reeve the halyards as the rattlines are all broke in the rigging and we have nothing to replace them with. 5 P.M. split the foresail from leech to luff between the 1st and 2nd reefs. Took in 2nd reef and set it again.

Sept. 30. Main boom topping lift parted at the mast head. It is very rotten like all our other ropes. We are constantly in dread of something carrying away. God in his mercy send us fair wind and weather that we be enabled to get to a civilized country in order to rest our wearied bodies and get something to eat.

Oct. 2. At 5 P.M. shipped a sea which stove both boats, cabin skylight, broke main fiferail and a part of the starboard bulwarks and other small damage.

Oct. 5. Carried away forward shroud of port main rigging, fore boom topping lift, fore peak halyards and split fore staysail. The old craft keeps us busy—plenty of exercise and hungry bellies.

Oct. 13. At 4 P.M. it fell dead calm and continued so until noon. Rather a bad days work Old Gal.

Oct. 15. This long abstinance from flour, meat and vegetables is telling very hard on us. We are all very weak and constantly craving for strengthening food—added to this, is our constant anxiety about our old sails and rigging—every watch we carry something away—our three cats have devoured everything in the shape of vermin in the ship and now parade the deck like feline skeletons, mewing most piteously. As for the dog, his fate would have been decided long ago had he not been so lean and miserable. God speed our passage.

Oct. 23. At 2 P.M. saw the Island of Oahu.

Oct. 26. At 10 P.M. made the light at Honolulu harbor. Stood off and on Diamond Head until daylight when we stood in and anchored in the outer roads at 8 A.M. At 9 A.M. steam tug took us in tow and we anchored close to the wharf. Butcher came on board with fresh meat and vegetables and at 11 A.M. we went to breakfast and enjoyed the luxury of a good meal, the first for three months.

Oct. 28. Peter of Guam, the cook, absented himself at 9 A.M. yesterday morning and did not return until 7 A.M. this morning—he was told by the mate to wait on board until the captain came but he again went on shore at 9 A.M. having asked no permission from the mate either yesterday or to-day—commenced discharging our oil.

Oct. 29. Finished discharging and hauled into the stream and let go port anchor. Discharged in all 96 Porter Casks of Cocoanut Oil and 23 Bbls.—1500 Cocoa Nuts, 1 Bbl. Pitch, 1 Bbl. Rosin, 1 Cord Firewood, 1 Kedge Anchor, 2 Bomb Lance Guns, and 17 Empty Casks.

Oct. 31. 2 Men and cook still on board doing little or nothing.

This ends the entries in the log, and I have not learned how Captain Pitman disposed of the *Emily*. *The Friend*, a missionary monthly published in Honolulu, says in the November, 1872, issue: "Donations: From Captain E. A. Pitman, for Bethel $5. and 'The Friend' $5. Arrivals: Oct. 26 Am. Schr. *Emily*, E. A. Pitman, 64 days from Arno, Marshall Islands." Under the caption "Memoranda" is a very brief summary of the voyage together with ten corrections of Admiralty chart, sheet 6, principally changes in latitude or longitude of certain islands. Under "Arno" the account adds: "The *Narragansett* was standing on to pass through the apparent channel between the two islands when spoken by the *Emily* about the 19th of August, and warned off. Capt. Pitman received the thanks of the Commander of the man-of-war."

Captain Pitman, perhaps disgusted at having been deserted by two pirates, or, maybe, satisfied with his experiences in the Pacific, did not tarry long in Honolulu, for in December he was back in Marblehead where he settled down to pass his remaining years. As his contemporaries are all dead, it is difficult to learn much about his later activities, but one does get a sketchy idea from the local directories and newspapers where he is mentioned at various times as proprietor of the first steam ferry running to Marblehead Neck, dealer in washing machines, Deputy Collector of Customs, Chief of Police, poulterer, and, finally, insurance agent and Justice of the

Testimonials.

Salem, Mass., July 29, 1878.

The undersigned have attended the lectures of Capt. E. A. Pitman of Marblehead on the Marshall Islands of the North Pacific, and cordially commend him to Lyceum Committees as a lecturer at once interesting and instructive, and who does not fail to hold the close attention of his audience.

HENRY WHEATLAND. [M. D., President Essex Institute.]
GEORGE A. PERKINS. [M. D.]
GEORGE M. WHIPPLE. [Secretary Essex Institute.]
T. F. HUNT. [Esq.]
J. H. EMERTON. [Esq.]
HENRY L. WILLIAMS. [Ex-Mayor.]
JAMES KIMBALL. [County Commissioner.]
J. P. COOK. [Esq.]

Marblehead, July 31, 1878.

We, the undersigned, having attended the lectures of Capt. Pitman on the Marshall Islands, do most cheerfully recommend him and his lectures to the attention of Lyceum Committees. The lectures abound in interest and instruction, and the attention of the audience is held most closely to the close.

Capt. Pitman speaks from practical knowledge and experience, having spent many years among the islands of the Pacific, and from his life among the natives he has culled many thrilling incidents which he gives to the public.

WILLIAM FABENS. [Esq.]
K. V. MARTIN. [Post Master.]
[Rev.] JOHN H. BARROWS. [Pastor Baptist Church.]
[Rev.] H. CLOSSON. [Pastor Universalist Church.]
[Capt.] HENRY HOOPER.
WILLIAM GILLEY. [Esq.]
[Capt.] WILLIAM STANLEY.
THOMAS APPLETON. [Esq.]
WILLIAM NUTTING, Jr. [Trial Justice.]

Peace. He was reputed to have been the first to teach the natives of the Marshall Islands how to prepare coconut oil for market.[1] He delivered lectures,[2] and he even wrote an article for the *Boston Daily Globe* on these islanders. Captain "Aloe" died on October 26, 1896, leaving his neighbors deprived of a genial friend but satisfied that he "pulled the long bow" when he related his adventures among the Marshall Islanders.

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[1] *Marblehead Messenger,* October 23, 1896.

[2] See the broadside *Testimonials* (1878), here reproduced from the copy in the Essex Institute.

Weathering the Panic of '73

An Episode in Rhode Island Business History

By Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

The failure of the great Sprague textile business in the Panic of '73 is briefly mentioned in Rhodes's *History of the United States* and Bowers' *Tragic Era*, and a garbled account appears in the recent biography of Kate Chase by Mary M. Phelps. A few years ago I was given a scrapbook kept by my grandfather, containing newspaper clippings about the failure and the struggle to keep the mills going through the years of depression.[1] This material I am supplementing from reports of court decisions, from an extensive collection of briefs, affidavits, and other legal documents in the numerous litigations, from what my father remembers, and from secondary sources.

About 1808 William Sprague (the first) started a small calico mill at Cranston, south of Providence. This was twenty-one years after Samuel Slater had begun the American textile industry. "He first converted his gristmill into a factory to card and spin cotton yarn, using the crude machinery available for the purpose. As power weaving was then unknown, he arranged with the local farmers' wives and daughters to weave his yarn on their own hand looms and return the cloth to him. After bleaching it in the open air by the sun and water method he sold the finished product to merchants as far away as Baltimore."[2] Before his death in 1836 he had built six mills of more modern design. He was also among the first calico printers, for in 1824 he changed his original cotton mill into a bleaching, dyeing, and printing factory and began to make calicoes known as "indigo blues." Sprague's two sons, William and Amasa, formed the firm of A. & W. Sprague and rapidly extended the business. William (the second), called the Old Governor, was the real founder of the Sprague dynasty. A Providence newspaper said of him:

> He had the indomitable purpose, the far-seeing sagacity and the genius for business which characterized so many of the founders of our American industry.

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[1] The quotations herein are from these clippings unless otherwise identified. Unfortunately my grandfather did not have the habit of recording the date and source of each clipping.

[2] *Dictionary of American Biography*, xvii. 474–475.

> The right or wrong of a question was never thought by him to be a matter worthy of the slightest consideration. . . . His methods were as unconcealed as they were reprehensible. . . . his representatives measured off calico in open town meeting and distributed it in return for votes. At the final hearing of cases against him in the courts it sometimes happened that all the witnesses against him had utterly lost their memories.

William made himself Whig governor of Rhode Island in 1838, just as Dorr was beginning the agitation against the charter of Charles II. In 1842, after the Dorr Rebellion, he became United States Senator, but the next year he had to resign and return to look after the family business because of the sudden death of his brother Amasa—from murder.

A trial, conviction, and execution duly followed, but within a few years a deathbed confession by another man convinced the people of Rhode Island that they had hanged the wrong person.[1] As a result, in 1852 they abolished capital punishment and have since had the satisfaction of seeing the homicide rate no greater than that of Massachusetts, while at the same time they decrease the morbidity of murder trials and avoid executions and the risk of more mistakes. Thus Amasa Sprague, otherwise undistinguished, made the greatest contribution of any of the family to the welfare of Rhode Island, however unconsciously and unwillingly.

The Old Governor also has his lasting memorial. Brown University was greatly in need of new buildings and sought to persuade the unacademic manufacturer to donate a new dormitory or chapel. Time went by, and no gift was forthcoming. Meanwhile the university undertook the erection of certain humble but necessary structures—the same sort whose removal from the Harvard Yard in 1870 constituted the main achievement noted in Eliot's first annual report. The students decided that these commodious quarters must be the new buildings expected from Governor Sprague and appropriately named them after him. The appellation "spragues" still sticks through successive hydraulic changes.

Under the Old Governor the business advanced steadily to a position among the foremost calico-printeries in the United States. The rudimentary nature of accounting in those days is indicated by his saying that he knew he was making money so long as he could build a new mill every year. In the absence of federal income tax returns, the occasional valuations necessitated by the death of a partner furnish the most accurate measures of progress. When Amasa died in 1843, the firm's property was valued at $100,000. When the Old Governor died in 1856, it was valued at three millions.

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[1] *The Trial of John Gordon and William Gordon Charged with the Murder of Amasa Sprague* (3rd ed., Providence, 1906).

As his son and his daughter (Mrs. Hoyt) took no active part in the business, the Old Governor was succeeded in the management by the two sons of his murdered brother, who were also named William (the third) and Amasa. Amasa was "rough, good natured, fond of horses, and devoted to the coarser sort of pleasures." William, who plays a leading part in this story, was not his brother's equal in "horse sense" but was much more ambitious and unfortunately thought he was a complete replica of his uncle and namesake, the Old Governor.

In 1860 young William, only thirty, suddenly decided to go into politics and imitate his namesake's public career. The Republican candidate for the governorship of Rhode Island was accused of being too much of an Abolitionist, and William Sprague (though the family had been Whigs) was unexpectedly put forth as the Democratic and conservative candidate, who did not believe in running the South too hard. His election was estimated to have cost him $125,000, the total electorate numbering about 20,000. It was said during the campaign that the city of Providence might have been called the New Jerusalem, for its streets were paved with gold. Tradition has it that on election night when young William did not come home at his usual bedtime, his mother sent the family coachman to find him. Pulling him out of a downtown hotel barroom in an advanced state of inebriety, the coachman brought home the newly chosen governor and, with the mother's help, put him to bed. In 1861 Sprague ran again as the Union candidate and was reëlected by similar means. He dashingly put himself at the head of the Rhode Island troops and led them to Bull Run and back. In 1862 he was the only candidate in the field because of his prestige as a war governor. In 1863, again imitating his namesake, he passed to the United States Senate, and the overmastering influence of his family secured him a second term in 1869.

Now comes the rustle of skirts. In Providence, even at the time of the Spragues' greatest power, neither wealth nor high public office was able to give the family the social standing that was possessed by members of the only rival business, Brown & Ives, which still stands. Cultivation and refinement were too conspicuously absent. But Washington was less particular and welcomed the handsome young Senator who had braved the Confederates. Most beautiful and brilliant of its maidens was Kate Chase, whose father was Secretary of the Treasury, later Chief Justice. Bowers says of her:

> She had been the mistress of her father's household at an age when many girls still find amusement with their dolls. . . . While still in her teens, she was one of the most astute politicians in Ohio. . . . at twenty-one she was the belle of the town [Washington]. Her extraordinary beauty, grace, charm, her brilliant repartee, made her the darling of the diplomatic corps, her suitors were legion, her triumph complete. . . . Ambitious, brilliant, her imagination pictured her father President, and herself presiding at the White House. . . . At that time she was the most dashing young woman in the country, the most popular in official society since Dolly Madison.[1]

Whether it was her eye for the young Senator's good looks or, as Bowers thinks, her father's rueful comparison of a modest official salary with the Sprague millions, a marriage was arranged when she was twenty-four.

> Her wedding . . . [was] a social event, her trousseau that of a princess, her guests the most notable in the land, and Lincoln . . . claimed the privilege of a kiss. In less than a year, she was the acknowledged arbiter of the most exclusive society. . . . importing her gowns from Paris, she dazzled the drawing-rooms with her jewels, and in 1865 created a sensation by wearing a huge diamond on top of her bonnet. . . . The correspondent of the "Chicago News" . . . [wrote:] "She had more the air of a great lady than any woman I ever saw. She could make all the Astors look like fishwomen beside her." . . .
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> The birth of her first baby was a national event, every woman in the country reading descriptions of the layette. . . .[2]

Although her husband's drunkenness early humiliated her at social functions, her ambition never faltered. She had her father's beautiful place at Edgewood on the outskirts of Washington, her drawing room in his town house for her salon, and "Canonchet," the big wooden house she had built at Narragansett Pier with eighty rooms and a General Grant exterior.

Meanwhile, what of Rhode Island? Like other businesses, the Sprague mills piled up money during the war; and in the absence of their senatorial head they ran steadily on under the momentum of the policies of the dead founder and the subordinates he had selected. In 1865, when most of the business was incorporated as the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, the assets were conservatively valued at four millions, and by 1873 a careful inventory showed them as having reached nineteen millions. At that time the Spragues were employing about 12,000 operatives and were running about 280,000 spindles and 28 printing machines. Their pay roll during the seasons of largest activity was nearly a quarter of a million dollars a day. The Cranston Print Works could turn out 40,000 pieces of cloth a week. Their cotton mills in several Rhode Island towns, at Baltic and Quidnick, Connecticut, and at Augusta, Maine, supplied their print works with nearly all the print cloths used by them, and when all were running on full time, the number of pieces turned out each week was 35,000.

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[1] *The Tragic Era* (Boston, 1929), 252–253.

[2] *Ibid.*, 253–254.

At that time it was uncommon for any one corporation to perform more than one stage of textile manufacture. The Spragues, by carrying through the processes from the cotton bales to the printed cloth, were an early example of the vertical integration that is now familiar in the United States Steel Corporation, the Ford Motor Company, and many other large corporations.

But there was something even more unusual about the Spragues. They built up what might be termed a horizontal combination of textiles with other businesses—it cannot be called horizontal integration because most of the other businesses were unrelated to the cotton business. In Maine the Senator and Amasa acquired vast timber lands and sawmills and employed hundreds of men during the lumber season. In South Carolina they owned valuable water power and made large outlays of capital. They owned nearly all the stock of the Union Street-Railroad Company, which operated many of the horsecars in Providence. They were the largest stockholders of a steamship line to New York, and the Senator was its head. They controlled in Providence a sheet iron company, a mowing machine company, a horseshoe company, and a horseshoe nail company. They controlled five banks in the city of Providence, three national and two savings, which held nearly four millions of Sprague paper. The only parallel in the mid-nineteenth century was William C. Ralston, a millionaire in San Francisco who owned mines, hotels, banks, and steamship lines, and eventually jumped into the Bay.[1] Thus the Spragues anticipated the Mellons and du Ponts of our time.

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[1] See Cecil G. Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston: Courageous Builder* (Boston, 1935).

The ramifications of the Spragues' economic power were illustrated by a disagreeable incident at a meeting of the trustees of the Franklin Savings Bank in Providence early in 1873. Probably half the 6,500 depositors resided outside Rhode Island, especially in Boston and Fall River. Massachusetts depositors were attracted to many Providence savings banks both by the high rate of interest paid and by the practical immunity from Massachusetts taxes, it being almost impossible for a tax assessor to get any information from these banks as to the names of depositors or the amounts held by them. At the Franklin Savings Bank meeting ex-Governor Hoppin protested against the fact that a quarter of the deposits had been invested in commercial paper of the Spragues. He requested that this protest be entered on the records of the meeting. A majority of the trustees voted against recording the protest, but the treasurer (acting as clerk of the meeting) felt it his duty to make the entry. The treasurer and the minority who supported him were promptly dropped from the board. Afterwards, when the bank had closed its doors, one of the trustees stated with some show of feeling that it was unfair to blame him for allowing the Spragues to borrow so much of the bank's money: his private business connection with the Spragues netted him $20,000 a year, and he did not deem it judicious to oppose their wishes.

In a little state like Rhode Island such a business could be made a dangerous political power, given the disposition to control politics without scruple. The inhabitants were largely employed in manufacturing. Eight thousand of the Sprague operatives were in Rhode Island where the total vote varied from 12,000 to 23,000. Although some of these operatives were doubtless women and minors and hence could not vote, it is easy to see how important a factor these 8,000 and their voting relatives would be when all of them could be swayed by a single interest, especially since there was then no Australian ballot. It was almost certain ruin for a tradesman to oppose such a power. The good will of the Spragues meant prosperity to any kind of business. Their ill will almost as often meant disaster. Without this tremendous power behind him, no member of the family ever had a chance of securing a public office, for the Spragues never had any personal following in the state. Yet so enormous was their influence that two Spragues became governor and senator. The legislature, the Providence city government, even the courts, were all more or less under the Sprague influence. The situation was a constant disgrace, and every honest, self-respecting man in the state felt the humiliation. But what could be done about it?

While this was going on in Rhode Island and Mrs. Sprague was wearing a tiara of turquoises and diamonds at Mrs. Hamilton Fish's ball, the head of the dynasty was warning the United States Senate that money was becoming predominant in government and was threatening the economic liberties of the people. The workingmen of Washington serenaded him, and he denounced the "money power" from the steps of his father-in-law's house, with the Chief Justice standing, beaming, by his side. Ten days later the Senator told a *New York Herald* reporter that Simon Cameron was "a vicious old fellow" who asked Sprague to drink champagne; and he described a North Carolina carpetbagger senator as a "puppy." The carpetbagger threatened horsewhipping, Sumner and John Sherman intervened as peacemakers, and Sprague avoided violence by explaining that he used the word "puppy" as a mere ornament to his composition and did not intend anything personal by its use. Another day the Senate experienced a sensation when the Chief Justice's son-in-law fulminated at lawyers. Obviously the immense managerial ability required by the numerous unrelated Sprague businesses was not to be found in such a man, even if his senatorial duties let him pay any attention to prosaic details of calico and mowing machines. Meanwhile the momentum supplied by the Old Governor was running down.

On September 24, 1873, the banking house of Jay Cooke & Company closed its doors, and many more banking and brokerage houses followed. Almost immediately the effects of the crash reached business generally.

Early in the autumn of 1873 it began to be whispered in financial circles that the Spragues were likely to have trouble in meeting their pecuniary obligations. Their vast expansions in the last decade and the failure of some of their enterprises, like the mowing machine business, were well known. Their liabilities were enormous; Providence was filled with Sprague paper. To a house whose credit system was so vast a mere suspicion of embarrassment was fatal. The suspension of payments came in October, and the resulting complications were as numerous and as intricate as the Spragues' power had been widespread. To quote a contemporary newspaper: "For a time it looked as if the whole State would be involved in the disaster."

To make the situation plain it should be explained that there are two very different types of business failures, considered practically and, for the moment, without reference to legal names and rules. In the first kind it is best to stop; in the second it is best to go on. In the first or liquidation type, the debts of the business usually exceed its assets. At any rate, there is probably nothing to be gained by continuing to operate. The most sensible course is to declare the business dead, cut up the corpse as evenly as possible among the creditors, and give the unlucky debtor a chance to start afresh at something else. In the second or going-concern type, the debtor is insolvent in the sense that he cannot meet his obligations as they fall due, but usually his assets are more than sufficient to pay all he owes if he be given more time. At any rate, the welfare of all concerned makes it advisable to nurse the business through its illness and set it on its feet again. This is particularly true of railroads and power companies, which the public cannot do without, but it may also happen with manufacturing and trading businesses that are temporarily in difficulties.

As for the legal devices for the settlement of these two types of failure, the first or liquidation type has been pretty well taken care of by old-fashioned bankruptcy, under various acts of Congress, but the second or going-concern type has caused much more trouble. During the financial crises of the nineties the federal courts kept the railroads operating under equity receiverships. This device was gradually developed and extended to manufacturing and other businesses. A few years ago it was recognized by Congress in an amendment to the Bankruptcy Act numbered Section 77B, which has been recently replaced by a separate chapter of the Chandler Act, our present bankruptcy law.

But in 1873 there was no Section 77B, and equity receiverships were unfamiliar even for railroads. Yet the Sprague failure was plainly of the second type. Although the Spragues could not pay their bills of exchange and promissory notes as they fell due, they did not owe more than they possessed. Their assets of nineteen millions represented a surplus of eight million dollars above their debts of eleven millions. And nobody realizes at the start of a panic how long it will last. Given the great prestige of the family, everybody assumed that if the mills went on operating, prosperity was just around the corner, and in two or three years the debts would all be paid. Bankruptcy was possible, but bankruptcy would stop the mills, throw twelve thousand operatives out of work, and bring idleness and destitution to their homes. More than this, the bankruptcy of the manufacturing corporation meant the bankruptcy of the Sprague banks, peril to most other banks, loaded as they were with Sprague paper, and a serious undermining of the whole financial fabric of Rhode Island. "There was no man in the State," says a press account of the time, "who would have dared to advocate such a course openly. He would have been mobbed by the populace had he done so."

The vital task, then, was to keep the wheels turning. But how? Nowadays the Spragues or their creditors would have had the court appoint an officer (a trustee in reorganization) to operate the business, but in 1873 the only purpose in going to court would have been bankruptcy. Something, therefore, had to be done without the help of judges.

Three plans were successively tried to keep the Sprague business going. At first the Spragues declared that a temporary loan of a million dollars would tide them over their troubles. They called a meeting of the presidents of the banks holding their paper and proposed that these banks unite in making the loan, which would be secured by a mortgage on the company's property. The bank presidents considered and declined because their lawyers advised them that the mortgage might be void under the Bankruptcy Act of 1867 if the Spragues were later forced into bankruptcy by other creditors.

After that a general meeting of all the creditors decided that the Spragues should make a trust mortgage of almost all their property (corporate, partnership, and individual) to three experienced Providence textile manufacturers, who were to have absolute control of the property and manage it for the benefit of the creditors. Such a mortgage was drafted by the creditors. The three trustees named then engaged eminent lawyers in Providence, Boston, and New York to revise the draft, especially to meet one serious objection. What worried the three mill men was this: In order to operate the Sprague mills they would have to be constantly making large contracts, particularly for the purchase of cotton. The debts thus incurred would not be limited to the trust property like the debts of a receiver or trustee in bankruptcy. They would be just as much the personal debts of the trustees as their tailors' bills and might easily wipe them out. These negotiations occupied nearly all November, 1873. On Saturday, November 29, the three textile manufacturers sent a formal letter to the chairman of the creditors' committee, refusing, on advice of counsel, to act as trustees unless the creditors would agree in some way to protect the trustees against personal liability. In other words, if the trustees operated the business at a loss, the creditors must take care of the annual deficits out of their own pockets in addition to what they had already sacrificed in the old unpaid debts of the Spragues. The creditors balked at this: it would be throwing good money after bad.

During this tedious delay many of the creditors got restless, and some New York and Boston banks and supply houses with large claims were preparing to put attachments on Sprague properties. Even if this did not bring on immediate bankruptcy with all its drawbacks, it would force some of the most valuable mills to be sold at sheriffs' auctions for panic prices, pay the attaching creditors in full at the expense of the rest, and ruin the carefully matured scheme for the conservation of the property for the equal benefit of all the creditors. The local banks and their depositors would be the greatest sufferers.

The situation of the Spragues themselves was even more desperate. They would lose their surplus of eight million dollars. Their livelihood would stop, and the business pass out of the family forever. Not only their shares in the corporation would go, but also their personal investments and mansions, because the old firm of A. & W. Sprague was still alive, and its name was on much of the Sprague paper, making each partner liable for the debts in full. Senator William Sprague and his beautiful wife had kept out of Rhode Island during the whole period since the suspension of payments, but the three other partners were doing their best to satisfy the creditors and save the family. Besides Amasa, the lover of horses, there were two sleeping partners, the widowed mother of William and Amasa and the widow of the Old Governor, women in their seventies. The poorhouse stared the old ladies in the face at the end of lives of luxury.

The letter from the three mill men containing their refusal to act as trustees was written on Saturday, November 29, 1873. Whether it was delivered before Monday, December 1, does not appear. At any rate, that Monday must have been an anxious day. The committee of creditors had no new solution to offer. On Tuesday Providence awoke to find that the Spragues had placed the entire sixteen million dollars of their property in the control of a man unselected by the creditors—Zechariah Chafee, President and Treasurer of the Builders Iron Foundry, who knew almost nothing about textile mills.

My grandfather was then nearly fifty-nine years old. Born in 1815, the son of a master stonemason in Providence, he went to work at the age of eleven for a pressing creditor of his father and left him the moment his labor had discharged the debt. In the late 1830's, after he had become of age, he settled in Pittsburgh and became a partner in a prosperous grain business. Pittsburgh was then a principal grain center in the United States, as the grainfields of that day lay just to the west. After fifteen years of hard work and thrift he returned to Providence soon after 1850 and bought the controlling interest in an old iron foundry. He built up a considerable business in structural iron work, not then superseded by the new processes for making steel, supplied the Spragues and other textile manufacturers with castings, and during the Civil War made large cannon. He was much interested in banking, served on several boards of bank directors, and later, when the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company was founded, became its first president. During the years immediately preceding the Sprague failure he had occasionally been called in to settle the financial affairs of some small businesses, and he had discharged those tasks satisfactorily. When it was evident that the three proposed Sprague trustees would refuse to act, three or four of my grandfather's friends among the creditors asked him to undertake the Sprague management with two other men. He replied that if he did it, he would do it alone. Probably his strongest motive for thinking favorably of the trusteeship was the peril in which the Sprague failure put most of the depositors in Providence banks. At ten o'clock on the critical Monday night he went around the corner from his house to that of the mother of William and Amasa. The trust mortgage drafted on behalf of the three textile manufacturers was spread out, his name was written there instead of theirs, and the three Spragues (Amasa and the two Sprague widows) signed, thus transferring to him for the benefit of the creditors all the mills and other businesses that belonged to the A. & W. Sprague

Manufacturing Company and the firm of A. & W. Sprague, and their individual residences and investments. It was the expectation of the Spragues who signed at this time that William would follow suit as he did a few months later.

The creditors had not been consulted at all, but they were given nine months in which to decide whether they would accept the trust mortgage with my grandfather as trustee. Although the choice of the Spragues, he was not known to be hostile to the interests of the creditors. His success in previous small trusts had inspired public confidence in his ability and fairness, and there was a general belief that he would act impartially in the Sprague case. To decline to accept him would mean bankruptcy with the evils already noted. The result was that before the nine months expired all the creditors had accepted the new arrangement, except a Boston bank which I have not been able to identify, and the National Bank of Commerce of New York, which held $100,000 of Sprague paper differing somewhat in nature from the bulk of the indebtedness.

Under the provisions of the trust mortgage the creditors accepted 1,650 negotiable promissory notes of the Spragues, extending the debts for three years until January 1, 1877, when it was expected the panic would long be over. These notes aggregated nearly nine million dollars and bore interest at 7.3 per cent. (It will be recalled that this rate of .02 per cent a day was then the interest payable on many United States bonds.)

My grandfather's own words, seven years later, help one to appreciate the magnitude of the trustee's task:

> When I entered upon the discharge of my duties as trustee, in December, 1873, I found the whole Sprague property complicated and entangled to a great degree. The indebtedness in various forms, direct and collateral, was more than ten millions of dollars ($10,000,000). Besides the mill properties, aggregating two hundred and twenty-five thousand (225,000) spindles, and a print works running twenty-eight (28) printing machines, there were various corporations, parasites upon the Sprague Company, the stock of which was principally owned by the A. & W. Sprague Corporation, or the members thereof, and which were prosecuting lines of business foreign to the business of manufacturing and printing cotton goods. These corporations were the Sprague Mowing Machine Company, which was indebted to the amount of about $800,000; the Perkins Sheet Iron Company, which was indebted to the amount of about $335,000 over and above its mortgage to the Cranston Savings Bank; the Comstock Foundry, engaged in the manufacture of stoves and castings, which was indebted to the amount of about $126,000; the Wilcox Caloric and Steam Engine Company,

which was indebted to the amount of about $56,000; the United States Flax Company, which was indebted to the amount of about $2,000,000; the Columbia Water Power Company, in the State of South Carolina, which was indebted to the amount of about $117,000; the Kennebec Land and Lumber Company, in the State of Maine, which was indebted to the amount of about $42,000; the Coburn Land Company, in the State of Maine, which had obligations outstanding to the amount of $1,000,000; the Point Street Iron Works, which was indebted to the amount of about $386,000; and the Rhode Island Horse-Shoe Company.

This last-named corporation was the only one that was self-sustaining, although it had a large outstanding indebtedness to be taken care of; all the others above named were enterprises in which the said Amasa Sprague, William Sprague, and the corporation of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company had furnished substantially all the capital, and which had been sustained by the Sprague credit; and in all the Rhode Island corporations the stockholders were individually liable for all the corporate debts.

In addition to these complications, the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, and Amasa and William Sprague, were involved with the New York [commission] house of Hoyt, Spragues & Co., which house had suspended payment and was hopelessly insolvent to the extent of nearly ten millions of dollars ($10,000,000).

Upon assuming my office I proceeded at once to put the management of the business upon a better footing, by curtailing expenses and stopping every leak that I could discover. It is true that I had not previously had any experience as a cotton manufacturer or printer. I therefore selected those whom I believed to be, or who were recommended to me as, the most capable and efficient of the company's servants, and made changes to a great extent in the force employed, with a view to economy and efficient service. I established myself in the counting-room and organized a system by which every expenditure could be critically scrutinized and brought under my personal supervision. I familiarized myself by degrees, and as fast as possible, with all the details of the business, and have now such familiarity with all the departments of manufacturing cotton cloth and converting it into prints as would come from close, daily, personal attention to the business during a period of seven years. I retained Amasa Sprague as manager of the print works, and received daily reports of all details from him. I visited Washington and had an interview with William Sprague. I learned from his own statement to me what was commonly understood in this community, that for five years previous to the failure of the corporation, the said William Sprague had given no personal attention whatever to any of the business concerns with which he was connected, and during the first two years of the administration of my trust he remained in Washington, and took no part whatever nor interest in the business in my hands.[1]

At the start an almost insurmountable obstacle for the trustee was to get the extensive credit needed for purchasing the great amounts of cotton necessary to operate the mills. Though well-to-do, he was not rich even for those days. His own foundry had a capitalization of $150,000, a mere trifle compared to mills in four states with 225,000 spindles. At first William J. King, to whom the Spragues already owed a large sum, was the only cotton merchant who would trust my grandfather. Others followed King's lead, but naturally the trustee continued to deal to a considerable extent with this friend in need.

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[1] Affidavit in Latham *v.* Chafee (7 Fed. Rep. 520), 5–7 (hereafter cited as Affidavit).

An ingenious plan to finance purchases was used, which had been devised by the creditors and the three proposed textile trustees before my grandfather arrived on the scene. The only solvent mill property was the Quidnick Company, the stock of which was principally, though not wholly, owned by the stockholders in the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company. The only feasible means for enabling the business to be carried on was to make purchases on the credit of the Quidnick Company. Hence on December 18, 1873, that company duly approved and executed what was known as a stocking contract with the Sprague Company.[1] The Quidnick Company agreed to furnish from time to time the necessary means, stock, and supplies (naturally including raw cotton) for running the Sprague mills and print works so long as this contract continued in force. The Sprague Company agreed to manufacture all such stock and supplies into printed goods and consign the same as fast as manufactured, in the Quidnick Company's name, to such commission houses as might be agreed upon, for sale on account of the Quidnick Company and to remain its property till sold. The proceeds of sales of such goods were to be applied first to the payment of freight, insurance, and other expenses, and the repayment of all Quidnick advances, with a commission of ¼ per cent thereon for their trouble; the balance was to be paid to the Sprague Company as its compensation for manufacture. In short, if there was a profit, it went, except for a small commission, to the Sprague Company. The contract had nothing to say about a loss, but obviously it fell on the Quidnick Company, which, however, had an ample margin of security in the increased value of the mortgaged finished goods as compared with the raw materials bought with the Quidnick's credit.

For some reason the Spragues had not put this Quidnick stock under the original trust mortgage, but now they transferred all their shares to the trustee as further collateral security for the payment of the creditors. He was so thoroughly assured of the support of the old ladies that he did not deprive them of the power to vote their large blocks of Quidnick stock, in which they still held dry equities. He was elected treasurer of the Quidnick Company but unfortunately let William Sprague continue as president.

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[1] Quidnick Company *v.* Chafee, 13 R. I. at 369 (1881).

The trustee fixed his compensation for managing property worth sixteen millions at $25,000 a year. "This I did," he says, "after consultation with various parties, and after inquiries as to compensation paid in cases of similar trusts, placing the amount considerably below what I learned other parties received under like circumstances. This was always well known to both Amasa and William Sprague."[1]

Although my grandfather credited himself with $25,000 a year on the books of the company, he drew out only $18,000. From much of this he derived no benefit because women with small Sprague claims would come weeping to his house in the evenings, and he would relieve their necessities by buying up their claims. This generous practice was, of course, technically improper, being speculation by a trustee in the trust property, and he was later censured for it by the Rhode Island Supreme Court.

At first all went well. The trustee made operating profits, and in 1874 and 1875 he paid the creditors their interest on the extension notes. Ten thousand employees stayed on their jobs and continued there until after 1880, so long, in fact, as the trustee was allowed to operate the mills. In addition, my grandfather tried a little "boondoggling." An article in a New York newspaper, which received attention elsewhere, describes him as saying:

> Although these hands are now receiving less wages than at any period since the establishment of the Sprague Works, nearly half a century since, he has never seen them so contented. He ascribes the cheerful condition of his working people under low wages and the general labor disturbances mainly to the fact that the estate furnishes each head of a family enough ground for a good-sized garden, or from ¼ to ½ acre of tillable land.
>
> The scant wages have forced them to carefully cultivate these little plots, and the people find they can almost raise subsistence for their families. So, instead of want, they have fair support, and even many luxuries for their families, and from the lowest wages are able to lay by. Besides, the care of cultivating these gardens, and keeping a pig or cow, or both, not only holds the men from dissipation incident to idle hours, but furnishes healthful recreation and inculcates a home

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[1] Affidavit, 11–12.

> sentiment and sense of security and proprietorship that eminently improves the morale of the laborer.
>
> This arrangement affords a safety-valve and protection to both employer and employed. Wages can be reduced without instantly threatening starvation. The laborer is withheld from hasty severance of his connection by regard for located home interests. But when there is a surplus of miners or artisans, and some must be idle, or seek other pursuit than the accustomed trade, then this miniature farming has opened the way to work that will always support. It is giving skilled laborers in one branch a reserve trade which they can always fall back upon in emergency, and removes that pitiable helplessness that attacks the strongest mechanic when thrust from his regular trade and he has no such reserve.

By 1876 the trustee's difficulties began to multiply. Prosperity was still around the corner—the depression was worse than ever. The extension notes could not be paid on January 1, 1877, when they matured, and the interest for 1876 and 1877 was also defaulted. But 10,000 employees were still at work, all taxes were paid, giving the localities over $200,000, and he continued to show an operating profit, besides repairing damages of a quarter of a million caused the Baltic Mill (the largest of all) by a flood, and expending $150,000 more on improving mill properties. He was able to state in his annual report to the creditors on January 1, 1878:

> The Mill property is, as a whole, in better condition than it was at the time of the execution of the Trust Deed.
>
> The machinery of the different mills and print works has been kept up to the proper standard for working most economically; besides, too, the productiveness of the mills has been greatly increased, by increasing the speed at which the spindles are run; it was formerly the rule to run the spindles at a low speed, on the idea that the loss of production was more than compensated by the gain in wear and tear; within the last three years, however, the mills which have accomplished the best results have been run at high speeds, and the spinning machinery has been adapted to such change in the conditions of its operation.
>
> It has been the aim in this property to alter and improve the machinery of all the mills, from time to time, so that the best results, in point of economy, could be obtained; and I believe that the Sprague Mills will compare, in this respect, favorably with the best mills in the country. . . . the capacity of production of the Sprague Mills at the present time is about eight and one-half million yards per annum in excess of what the mills were capable of producing in 1873.[1]

Elsewhere the trustee denied

> that there was anything exceptional in the condition of the Sprague manufacturing properties as compared with all other cotton and print goods manufacturing interests at that time in the country. The estate . . . was . . . during my

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[1] Affidavit, 43–44.

> management, thoroughly systematized in all its departments. The expense for running the business in the way of labor and cost of supplies was lower than it has been under the Sprague management. There were no useless attachés, and every man in the service of the company was held to strict accountability.[1]

My grandfather conceived the plan of a new corporation to take over all the Sprague assets, in which the creditors should take stock proportionate to their claims. However, a special legislative charter was necessary, and the General Assembly balked at conferring corporate powers of a type unusual for Rhode Island manufacturing corporations. Such reorganization through incorporation is now frequent and was successfully used in a Rhode Island brokerage failure in 1933.

The financial pages of the Boston and New York papers gave much space to the Sprague mills and recognized that the trustee was doing as well as could be expected under very trying circumstances. Besides mastering a great new business and making an operating profit in a depression, he was constantly bothered with criticism in and out of the press and with numerous perplexing litigations. The trouble was that my grandfather was not acting exclusively for any one group to which he could turn for solid support. The Spragues had appointed him, but he was trustee for the creditors. Yet the creditors had not chosen him and had preferred more experienced men. In a way he was acting for the community. An old-time employer of labor, he had the welfare of the operatives much at heart. A business man and bank officer, he knew what keeping the mills going meant to the economic life of Rhode Island. As Mr. Brandeis said in the Lenox bankruptcy—and was almost kept off the Supreme Court in consequence—my grandfather "represented the situation." Hence he was attacked on all sides and could count on no sure help except from his own lawyers and subordinates. He could not throw the main responsibility of preserving the business on some court as a trustee in reorganization under Section 77B can do today. When he went to court, as he did many times, he was usually dragged in as defendant by somebody who was attacking his administration of the trust and thus interrupting his task. He had to stand alone and make all the decisions.

Some attacks were from various interests who, claiming the right to be paid in full at once, levied attachments on the entire Sprague property. When a solvent corporation is doing business, unpaid creditors ought to be able to exert pressure to collect their debts, but this is obviously undesirable when a business is operated by a trustee for the benefit of all creditors alike. Nowadays, a corporation in equity receivership or under Section 77B will be protected by the court against attachments. If there are liens, the court can order the property sold free of liens and then let a lien-claimant seek preferred payment from the cash proceeds. My grandfather, however, was trustee without any court to protect him. Every lien-claimant meant a possible shutdown of the mills and a sure cloud on the trustee's title, preventing any sort of liquidation to meet the creditors' notes. One such attachment was by the ejected honest treasurer of the Franklin Institution for Savings, now its receiver. He got a judgment of $700,000 against the A. & W. Sprague Company, but there was nothing to pay it with, he found, for my grandfather now owned all the property. Another was by the National Bank of Commerce of New York, which had kept out of the trust and had to be bought off with one hundred cents on the dollar, except for interest. A third attachment was by the heirs of the Old Governor, who maintained that their property had been improperly left in the mill business, when they were minors, without their consent. This suit obviously cut under the whole trust and would have given everything to this branch of the family without a cent for the creditors. So long as this claim was outstanding, the trustee could not find a purchaser for any of the trust property—his title was too shaky. It was not until 1881 that the annoyance was finally removed by the United States Supreme Court.[1]

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[1] Affidavit, 19.

Aside from such alleged priorities, the trustee stood among three fires. First, the creditors became impatient as year after year went by without payment of principal or, after a time, even interest. Ignoring the prolongation of the panic, they accused him of favoring Senator Sprague and his family and letting them occupy their valuable houses. Eventually the bank creditors, loaded up with their bad loans on Sprague paper—the Franklin Institution and another had closed after the Sprague failure—sued to remove the trustee for mismanagement. This suit dragged on for years before it came to a hearing, and when at last it did, all the judges of the Rhode Island Supreme Court were found to be disqualified because they owned stock in banks involved in the Sprague failure. Eventually two of the judges sold out, heard the case, and decided for the trustee.

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[1] Hoyt *v.* Sprague, 103 U. S. 613 (1881).

The Spragues, in their turn, accused him of crowding them out of the business and favoring creditors, especially of buying all his cotton from Deacon King at high prices. The trustee had retained Amasa Sprague as manager of the print works and had taken William into his employ when the latter ceased to be senator in 1875. He let the old ladies occupy their Providence houses and William live in Canonchet with the aforetime belle of Washington because it was impossible to sell these houses while the titles were clouded with attachments. Eventually he discharged Amasa as incompetent and William as that and more. The trustee declared in an affidavit to the federal court:

> His [William's] personal habits and behavior became such that I did not feel justified in continuing him longer in my service. Besides, too, he had seized the record books of the Quidnick Company and secreted them, and refused to produce them upon my request, to enable the same to be inspected or proper entries to be made therein. Moreover, at the time of his dismissal a bitter hostility existed between the said William and Amasa Sprague, and this state of things produced great embarrassment to me in the administration of the business. . . .
>
> I wish to be understood, however, that I will not permit or suffer any interference on the part of William Sprague or Amasa Sprague, with the management of a property which they have wrecked, and which I hold as trustee for the benefit of creditors, and for which I am responsible to them.[1]

He concluded the long affidavit with words recalling charges in Washington society that Sprague's Senate speeches showed mental unsoundness:

> And as to the allegation that I have frequently reported that the said William Sprague is insane and a lunatic, I have to say, that especially in the winter of 1878–79, and on many occasions since, the said Sprague exhibited such strangeness of speech and eccentricities of conduct, that I have had reason to believe, and do believe, and may therefore have so stated, that he is of unbalanced intellect, and unfit for the management of any business, this seeming to me the most charitable construction to put upon his acts.

The old ladies now sided with William and Amasa and turned against my grandfather. The Spragues then stirred up a married sister in New York to bring a suit in the United States court to oust the trustee for mismanagement. Ben Butler led the attack but lost,[1] only to return for a fresh onslaught in the state courts.

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[1] Affidavit, 15, 19, 29.

This breach between William Sprague and the trustee deepened the difficulties of Kate Chase Sprague, already alienated from her husband by his drunkenness and infidelities. A scandal column tells of his getting into a drunken row with his mistress in a cottage at Nantasket Beach, with guests from the nearby hotel flocking to see the show. With Sprague's senatorial salary ended and his income from the mills stopped, pecuniary embarrassments began to cloud his wife's life. She owed a Washington tenant of hers for vegetables; he stopped paying rent; and she employed Roscoe Conkling as her lawyer to evict him without settling for the vegetables. She owed a Washington photographer for pictures of the dead Chief Justice's library. On being sued, she swore she owned no separate estate in the District of Columbia, although she had inherited $45,000 from her father. She got Conkling to persuade Congress to exempt Edgewood from taxation. This reduced her former popularity in Washington to a low ebb, for it was urged that if the nation wished to honor the dead Chief Justice by enriching his daughter, it ought to have paid the taxes out of federal revenues instead of increasing the burdens of other Washington homeowners. There was nasty gossip about the manner in which, at the wedding of General Sherman's daughter, Mrs. Sprague elbowed her way past the usher into the only vacant pew left, which happened to be reserved for President and Mrs. Grant, so that the Grants, who had been delayed by an accident, had to sit in seats usually kept for orphans. Kate Sprague's name began to be linked with that of Conkling, who was seen joining her in the Senate gallery on adjournment and accompanying her down in the elevator into the basement, where Lincoln's portly friend, Senator David Davis, jocosely remarked: "Brother Conkling, I offer myself to you as a substitute," and Conkling sharply replied: "I don't want any substitute."

But far worse followed: a scandalous quarrel at Canonchet between her husband and Conkling which filled columns in the Boston and New York papers for days afterwards. The newspaper accounts are conflicting.[1] According to some stories, Sprague came home to Narragansett Pier from Washington on a Friday in August, 1879, found Conkling staying in the house, and drove him out with a double-barreled shotgun or perhaps a revolver; Sprague followed him to the village, where they exchanged words in a café on the water front. According to a milder version, she had previously engaged a German tutor for the children on her own responsibility. Sprague had taken a violent dislike to the man and dismissed him without any pay. The tutor went to Canonchet on the fatal August Friday in the hope of getting some money. Conkling had sailed over during the day from Newport to talk over legal business with Mr. and Mrs. Sprague and was staying for lunch with other guests. Sprague arrived, saw the German tutor, became infuriated, and took a shotgun to him. Conkling took no part in the affair, but he and the other guests thought it a good time to leave. Meeting his former colleague later on the water front, Conkling said he could not understand how Sprague could act so like a wild man, and was told to mind his own business. Whatever happened, it was bad enough. Kate Chase left Canonchet forever with her daughters. Next year she filed a petition for divorce on all sorts of grounds. Sprague filed a cross bill charging infidelity. After two years of haggling, a settlement was arranged by which he dropped his cross bill and she obtained a divorce for only desertion and nonsupport.

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[1] Latham *v.* Chafee, 7 Fed. Rep. 520, 525 (1881). State decisions growing out of the Sprague failure are: De Wolf *v.* A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co., 11 R. I. 380 (1876), 12 R.I. 133 (1878); Quidnick Co. *v.* Chafee, 13 R. I. 367, 438 (1881); Chafee *v.* Quidnick Co., 13 R. I. 442 (1881), 14 R. I. 75 (1883); Waterman *v.* A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co., 14 R. I. 43 (1882); Chafee *v.* A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co., 14 R. I. 168 (1883); Riker *v.* A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co., 14 R. I. 402 (1884); Austin *v.* A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co., 14 R. I. 464 (1884); Chafee *v.* Sprague, 15 R. I. 135 (1885); Chafee *v.* Sprague, Admr., 16 R. I. 189 (1886).

Meanwhile, Sprague and his boy Willie led a desolate life in Canonchet, but not for long. The trustee, having got rid of all the attachments in 1881, was anxious to sell this large estate at Narragansett Pier. He found a willing purchaser, who signed a contract, and my grandfather went down to put him in possession, taking along a sheriff and some deputies. Willie and the hired men appeared at the gate with shotguns, while my grandfather stamped up and down outside the fence with his one crutch. The purchaser was hardly ready to take title under these conditions, so the trustee gave up and went home. It is not true that Sprague knocked my grandfather down, as Kate Chase's biographer says.[2] Then my grandfather brought an ejectment suit, but the local jury found for their old neighbor Sprague. The verdict was set aside on appeal, and an amusing new suit followed, which the trustee won after Sprague had vainly tried to set aside his own trust deed as being in fraud of creditors.

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[1] See also Mary M. Phelps, *Kate Chase, Dominant Daughter* (New York, 1935), 253–260, which differs from all the newspapers and is badly garbled.

[2] Phelps, *Kate Chase*, 305.

At last the antagonism of the Spragues succeeded in blocking the whole scheme for continued operation of the mills and in eventually forcing a liquidation, which yielded nothing to the Spragues and left the creditors with less than they might otherwise have obtained. The center of the trust plan was the Quidnick Company, and it was the most vulnerable point because William Sprague was its president and ran off with the books, while the old ladies retained the voting power and refused to reëlect my grandfather treasurer. Thus my grandfather lost his power to pledge the credit of the Quidnick Company for cotton and other mill supplies. The Spragues, back in control, set out to sabotage the stocking contract. After my grandfather had failed to get the Quidnick Company put in the hands of a court receiver, his best course, now that he had at last cleared off all the clouds on his title, was to sell out the whole Sprague mills.

Here he met a third group of antagonists in addition to the creditors and the Spragues. Ben Butler was apparently allied with a New York syndicate which wished to buy the Sprague mills at a bargain price, and so he associated himself with the Spragues in order to embarrass the trustee in operating the mills and force him to sell for whatever he could get. It was Butler who resisted the trustee's attempt to regain control of the Quidnick Company. The appearances of Massachusetts' Greenback governor in court led to many amusing passages of arms.

Thus Butler and Thurston, the trustee's most eminent counsel, were accustomed to shake hands each day on meeting in court. Once, when Thurston had to make an important argument, Butler remarked: "Not looking well this morning, Mr. Thurston." Thurston replied: "No. Just a touch of malaria"; whereupon Butler burst out: "Malaria! Hell no! Bright's disease! I ought to know, my son died of it." Mr. Thurston's argument that day was very weak.

Butler was particularly active in attacking the trustee's cotton transactions with William J. King, to whom Butler always referred with much emphasis as *Deacon* King. After a while Mr. King remonstrated. Butler replied, with reference to King's dealings in the cotton market: "I call him *Deacon* King because he deals in futures. Bob Ingersoll does not believe in futures. Deacons do."

On the same day, alluding to the fact that both Butler and Sprague had been at Bull Run, Butler said: "Governor Sprague is not a man easily intimidated or frightened. I saw him where he didn't fear danger and *where I didn't see Chafee*." Reflecting on Mr. Thurston's not having gone to war either, Butler remarked that he had been fighting the nation's battles while other lawyers were staying at home "getting large fees for small cases." Mr. Thurston, however, once found the opportunity to make a good repartee. Butler was insisting that an iron manufacturer like my grandfather could never be fit to run a cotton business. Thurston replied that such a transformation was easily possible, for "Have we not seen an able lawyer become a distinguished general?"

There is a good deal more that could be told about the trustee's refusal to accept the offer of the Butler syndicate, and about his disappointment when an expected bid for the whole property from a local syndicate was not made at a public auction where all the creditors were gathered and afterwards became very indignant at the trustee when the sale collapsed. Consequently, the Sprague property had to be sold off piecemeal to various purchasers. The creditors were gradually paid off and got about thirty cents on the dollar. Early in 1889 my grandfather said that he expected the whole matter to be closed up before the grass was green again. Instead, he died at the end of March, 1889; and the final court decree in the Sprague litigation was made thirty-eight years later, in 1927, when the second substituted trustee was told by the court to destroy all the Sprague books by fire, and was discharged. It was a windy day, and the trustee wished his lawyer to advise him that the books could be macerated; but the instructions of the court were plain, and he was told to wait for calmer weather. So the books were burned, and the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration is now lamenting the fact that they are not in its library.

This story may appropriately end with the following extract from an affidavit in the federal court by a prominent New York commission merchant, Gardner H. Colby:

> I consider Mr. Zechariah Chafee a man of clearly defined business ideas, of untiring energy, and of a capacity for accomplishing good results, which is not only natural to him, but has been increased by the experience of a varied and

busy life. He has acquainted himself to a remarkable degree with the method of manufacturing cloths and printing them. His devotion to the business, his watchful care over its various departments, notwithstanding the changeable markets of the past few years, combined with his strict integrity, have enabled him to keep the property confided to his trust in a condition far better than similar properties of many other manufacturers, who have not been surrounded by the same difficulties.[1]

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[1] Affidavit, 65–66.

Henry Adams and Some of His Students

By Stewart Mitchell

In September, 1870, Henry Adams allowed himself to be persuaded by Charles W. Eliot to become an assistant professor of history at Harvard. It is not altogether certain that he was displeased with the offer he reluctantly accepted. He himself has told the story of his six, or as he preferred to call it "seven," years at Harvard in the chapter in his *Education* entitled "Failure." The very year the *Education* was first published (1918) Lindsay Swift, one of the best of his students, contributed a somewhat different account of those years to the *Proceedings* of this Society.[1] In 1930 Mr. Ford's edition of the first volume of *The Letters of Henry Adams* added valuable information and correction to the story as Adams had told it in his dreary autobiography. In 1931 Professor Morison put Edward Channing's high opinion of his favorite teacher into a notable memoir of that historian. Channing's tribute supplements, in a fashion, the interesting essay which J. Laurence Laughlin published in 1921.[2] Both Channing and Laughlin, however, became teachers in turn; whereas many of the students who received the highest grades from Henry Adams did not. If the reputation of teachers is too heavily weighted by the opinion of those who become teachers themselves, it may be illuminating not only to follow the careers of the more distinguished students of Adams, but to try to find out what they thought of him during his instructorship, and long afterward.

Perhaps it will be best to recall some of the circumstances. Adams started out in September, 1870, on a salary of two thousand dollars a year and with about two hundred students, to some of whom he was "to teach mediæval history," of which he was "utterly and grossly ignorant," a condition which he seemed to think was exceptional.

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[1] *Proceedings*, LII. 69–77. Three significant corrections must be made to these recollections. In the first place, although Mr. Swift lists the courses which Adams gave in 1872–1873, the fact is that the professor was absent in Europe during that academic year. Mr. Swift writes that Adams told him he was paid at the rate of four dollars a day, but Adams wrote his friend Gaskell that he was to receive £400 a year. *Letters of Henry Adams*, 1858–1891, Worthington C. Ford, Editor (Boston and New York, 1930), 194. Moreover, the marks which Swift reports that George E. Woodberry, A. Lawrence Lowell, and he received in 1877 are not exactly those which Adams entered neatly in his record book. Evidently time had mellowed memory.

[2] "Some Recollections of Henry Adams," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXIX (May, 1921), 576–585.

He had been engaged for a period of five years at the close of one of those remarkable interviews with which President Eliot used to electrify the quiet air of Cambridge, but he did not "expect to remain so long."[1] He had nine hours a week in the lecture room and was "absolutely free" to teach what he pleased "within the dates 800–1649." He was responsible only to the college government, having been brought in, so he believed, to strengthen the party of reform at Harvard; thus he felt "sure of strong backing from above."

There was not much exaggeration in what he wrote to Gaskell, for Adams immediately became one of the "inside ring" of that day. In 1870 the catalogue of Harvard University listed the names of ninety-two officers of instruction and government, including President Eliot himself, and out of these only thirty-two were members of the faculty. The four classes in college added up to a grand total of 608. Adams was one of three professors of history: Henry Warren Torrey, A.M., was McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, and Ephraim Whitney Gurney, A.B., was University Professor of History. Gurney, however, who became the right-hand man of Eliot's early enterprise, was serving as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and the sister of his wife was soon to become the wistfully attractive and tragic Mrs. Henry Adams. In 1876, moreover, Edward William Hooper, brother of Mrs. Adams, began his twenty-two years of service as Treasurer of Harvard University. Although Adams disliked Boston and was "very fond of Washington," there was no reason then why he should not have felt at home in the Harvard of the seventies. The trouble was that he hated "home."

During the first two years as a teacher he lived in two rooms on the ground floor to the left of the front door of what is now called Wadsworth House. After his marriage to Marian Hooper, on June 27, 1872, he set out for Europe and a year's leave of absence, which he seems to have forgotten to deduct from the "seven" years referred to in the *Education*. When he took up his teaching again in September, 1873, he gave his college address as 3 Wadsworth House, but he lived in Boston, at 91 Marlborough Street, at the corner of Clarendon Street, in the library of which dwelling he often received his graduate students. The letters he wrote to his friends during all this period lead one to believe three things: that he worked very hard; that he was bored when he was not at work, a state of mind which subtracts from any reputation for industry; and that his primary interest was American politics, in which he hoped to be of importance some time, directly or indirectly. This last point is of great significance, for Adams' appointment at Harvard involved his acceptance of the editorship of the *North American Review.*

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[1] Adams to Charles Milnes Gaskell, October 25, 1870, *Letters of Henry Adams*, 1858–1891, 194.

No one who reads the letters which he wrote in this capacity to men like Carl Schurz can doubt that Henry Adams tried to make a future for himself in the reform or what was then called the liberal element of the Republican party. Readers of the *Education* will remember that Adams expressed two opinions, either of which may explain his resignation from Harvard in 1877. In thinking over what he had tried to do with his students and the difficulties he had encountered, he wrote (302): "Any large body of students stifles the student. No man can instruct more than half-a-dozen students at once. The whole problem of education is one of its cost in money." If Adams meant what he put down, then he could not have taught with success in more than one of his three classes, for only one was small. And again (304): "In spite of President Eliot's reforms and his steady, generous, liberal support, the system [of education at Harvard] remained costly, clumsy and futile. The university—as far as it was represented by Henry Adams—produced at great waste of time and money results not worth reaching." Only prigs read the *Education* without salt.

The contrast between the teaching of history at Harvard in Adams' day and that of today is both instructive and amusing. In 1870, within a year of President Eliot's election, there were, in addition to the long-established prescribed half-year course, five full-year electives in history; and there were three men to teach them: Adams, Gurney, and Torrey. By September, 1876, when Adams began what was to be his last year on the faculty, there were nine full-year electives listed[1] over and above the prescribed course for sophomores given by Mr. Ernest Young in the first half year and Mr. Macvane in the second half year, and a total of six teachers: Adams, Emerton, Lodge, Macvane, Torrey, and Young. The Harvard catalogue of 1935–1936 contained the names of thirty-three members of the faculty of various ranks devoted to the teaching of this subject, and listed a grand total of no less than eighty full courses measured by the academic year—all these over and above instruction in the history of religions, science, philosophy, and government.

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[1] History 8, however, was not given in the academic year 1876–1877.

Not long after the death of Henry Adams in March, 1918, his executors presented to this Society the bulk of what he had kept of his library. The books are not great in number, but most of them are good. Many of them contain marks and notes in pencil, all carefully made, and some of them pungent. One volume only, a first edition of Swinburne's *Chastelard*, bears the words "Clover Hooper" on the flyleaf. Tucked away among these books on the shelves stands the tall, shabby ledger in which Adams entered the grades of his students at Harvard during four years. The names of the pupils are neatly written in pencil, and the marks are calculated down to fractions, the common denominator of which is fifteen. The roll of gentlemen is illustrious.

This record book begins in September, 1873, when Adams took up his teaching again after his return from a year in Europe. For this reason it contains none of the marks of Ephraim Emerton or Henry Cabot Lodge of the Class of 1871, or of J. Laurence Laughlin or Ernest Young of the Class of 1873. The names add up to 193; so it is safe to suppose that about three hundred Harvard men, in all, studied history with Henry Adams during the whole period of his six years as a teacher. From the records of slightly less than two-thirds of these men I have made a list of thirty-nine, although it will not be necessary to comment on the career of every one of these. Some of them became so well known as to make comment superfluous; half a dozen of them died before there was time for them to show what they might have accomplished. Eleven of the brightest of these almost two hundred students of Henry Adams in the record are still living (1936). Certain of them have put down opinions of Adams both as a man and a teacher which may be of interest.

Excellence in studies as a guide to future eminence is one of the pet superstitions of pedagogues. Years ago a skeptical undergraduate at Harvard sat more or less patiently while one of his English professors read aloud a long list of graduates of the college who had stood high in various classes and thereafter had become "great men." This was, he learned, an annual proceeding. There were, of course, two slips in this solemn song and dance: the definition of "great" or "successful" can be argued over, as we all know, world without end. In the second place, even a young student of twenty suspected that his earnest professor, consciously or not, had forgotten to list the names of those men who had made good records in college and had never been heard of thereafter. The standard, be it noticed, was not the "good life"; this teacher was judging the graduates by what is called "distinction" and, more precisely, "fame." These, then, shall be our tests, for the time being.

Edward Channing, of the Class of 1878, retained for Henry Adams until his dying day a regard which he rarely chose to express of any other man. He worked hard and lived long enough to achieve distinction, for at the time of his death he might have been given the greenback title of "dean of American historians." Shortly before he died he was heard to remark that the only degree he was still "gunning for" was a D.C.L. from Oxford—that coveted degree which modest President Fillmore declined because he did not believe he was "qualified to accept it," and which today ornaments the name of J. Pierpont Morgan. Yet Edward Channing, historian of the United States, stood fourth in a class of eight students, receiving the grade of 70 when Samuel Adams Lynde got $90\frac{12}{15}$, Charles Maynard Barnes, $88\frac{2}{15}$, and John Conlan, $84\frac{7}{15}$. Barnes and Conlan both died young. Although *Who's Who* stated that Lynde left this world on May 16, 1930, that gentleman wrote six years later as follows:

> As I recall it, Mr. Adams made his deepest impression upon me at the very outset in the complete departure from the then customary methods of instruction. I can see him now as he outlined the course of study to be followed, putting emphasis on the freedom from text-books and the general method of text-book instruction. I can almost quote him but will not venture to do so. It was a revelation and most stimulating to the class. It marked the path, which we followed with great interest,—it was an appeal to the student to reach his conclusions for himself and use such material as the books furnished him in the best way he could. His personality was inspiring to us all. Oddly enough, however, the impression made then is the most enduring in my mind, though the course of study was most interesting; but I recall but little of the work itself. The inspiration came from Adams himself, and has remained as something personal to him, wholly apart from the course of study. One gets somewhat the same feeling as to him from *The Education of Henry Adams.*[1]

Samuel Adams Lynde (H.C. 1877) was born at Rock Island, Illinois, in 1855, and is now living in retirement near Chicago. For twenty years, 1881–1901, he practised law in that city and then became general attorney for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, and in 1910 its vice-president. He moved to New York City, where he lived for a quarter of a century, and sent his two sons not to Harvard, but to Williams. When he retired, about the time the editor of *Who's Who* decided he had died, he moved back to his native Illinois. Mr. Lynde arrived.

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[1] Letter of May 16, 1930, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Now for Barrett Wendell (H.C. 1877). In 1913 a somewhat skeptical junior signed up for what was listed in the catalogue as "Comparative Literature 1"—a course which no one at Harvard now has the courage or the privilege to offer. Wendell was full of mannerisms and was, perhaps, affected, but he had a skillful way of leaping through the literature of Europe from Sappho to Swinburne which no one who followed his lectures and the required reading can ever forget. His pet pose was to pretend that he knew nothing, but it is difficult to believe that he ever expected anyone to agree with him. Shortly before his death Wendell is said to have come to the devastating conclusion that all the years he had given to teaching were so much wasted effort—that the chief business of his life had amounted to nothing. Though he left behind him a cloud of witnesses who remember him with affection, and a fine, if not a "definitive," biography of Cotton Mather, he stood thirty-fourth in a class of fifty-two on Adams' June day of judgment for "History of the United States from 1789 to 1840" in 1877.

Two other men deserve mention at this point. When Adams rejoined the faculty of Harvard in September, 1873, he found a son of the President of the United States in what was then called "History 4, History of England to the Seventeenth Century"—"Three hours a week. 19 Seniors." This was Ulysses Simpson Grant of the Class of 1874. Of the nineteen whose names stand in the professor's record book for the course this year Grant was last, with a fraction over forty-one points to his credit. He got his degree with his class and became a lawyer, practising for a time in New York City. During the panic of 1893 he removed to the West Coast and settled at San Diego, California. There he built a huge hotel as a kind of memorial to his father—a remote pendant to the forbidding mausoleum which a grateful people planted on the banks of the Hudson. If young Grant did not die in the poorhouse, he suffered the subtle blight of being the son of a famous father.

Take August Belmont, who managed to get himself out of Harvard in 1875, although the degree which was wheedled or blackmailed out of the Corporation for him as late as 1897 puts him in the *Quinquennial* as of the Class of 1874. This August Belmont was the son of the picturesque financial agent of the Rothschilds in North America, a person of German extraction, who sometimes gave a French twist to his first name. Although young Belmont was what was then called "a swell" in Harvard, he did much more, at long last, than merely inherit the money his father left behind him. He was gallant, entertaining, and enterprising; he bred horses and raced them with distinction; when every other banker in New York had turned down the proposal for the city's first system of subways, he it was who financed the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, thereby adding vastly and properly to his fortune. He promoted the Cape Cod Canal, forming the private corporation which dug that waterway and then sold it to the United States in 1924. He was a person of decided opinions. In 1904 he persuaded himself that Theodore Roosevelt was leading the United States down the steep road to ruin. What the country needed was a man like Alton Brooks Parker, who voted for Cleveland three times and never forgot it. He had that worthy judge nominated at St. Louis over the protests of Bryan, took the office of Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, and contributed a quarter of a million of his own dollars to drive a fellow graduate of Harvard from the White House—only to be buried in November under a stubborn blizzard of ballots.[1] Politics, as Edward Channing used to say of religion, is "a thing apart."

Belmont took two courses with Adams. In 1873–1874 he received $40\frac{1}{15}$ in "General History of Europe from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century," standing forty-seventh in a class of forty-eight. In spite of having, as one might suppose, attracted his teacher's attention to him in a decidedly negative way, Belmont was allowed the following year to take History 5, "Colonial History of America to the Year 1789." In this second course he did better, standing fifteenth in a class of twenty-seven.

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[1] Yet Belmont was in good company as is proved by a letter of Grover Cleveland to A. B. Farquhar, December 12, 1904. "The result of the election was so astounding that I have hardly sufficiently recovered my composure to contemplate the reasons which led to it or the results likely to follow it. I am such an intense and unalterable believer in the saving common sense of the American people that I cannot yet believe that the tremendous Republican majority given at the last election should be taken to indicate the people's willingness to allow the principles and practices of Republicanism to be unalterably fixed in the affairs of our body politic. I believe that the next swing of the pendulum of public sentiment will be quite to the Democratic side of the dial, and that, if Democracy is prepared to do its duty, when that time arrives, it will become again the beneficent agent of the people's salvation." *Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850–1908*, Allan Nevins, Editor (Boston and New York, 1933), 590–591.

Of the 193 students of whom Adams kept a record during the last four years he taught at Harvard, thirty-five achieved grades which can be called distinguished. Seven of these men, it will be remembered, died early: Charles Maynard Barnes, William Leverett Chase, John Conlan, James Albert Hodge, Charles Chandler Lord, Edmund Burke Sprague, and George Frederick Young. Barnes was born in Illinois, taught at the Harvard Law School, worked on the thirteenth edition of *Kent's Commentaries*, and then died suddenly of a bad cold. Chase was born in Massachusetts, dabbled in literature at college, helped build up the Metropolitan Park Commission, and died at forty-two in the midst of taking care of the business left him by his father. Conlan was born in Cambridge, became a lawyer, and was on his way to a political career that might have rivaled that of the gallant William Eustis Russell, when he caught cold and died just short of thirty. Hodge, who took three courses with Adams in one year and got high marks in all, was born in Ohio, settled in Philadelphia after being graduated, became a lawyer, and died of peritonitis at the age of twenty-five. Lord was born in Boston and entered Harvard from the Boston Latin School, where he had won a Franklin Medal. He made Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard and then traveled abroad and studied the fine arts in Germany, France, and Switzerland. He developed pleurisy in Munich when he was twenty-two, and having crossed the Alps in hope of recovery, died in the spring of 1878, at San Remo, where he lies buried in the English Cemetery.

Edmund Burke Sprague (H.C. 1877) was born at Stoneham, Massachusetts, and entered Harvard from the Haverhill High School. He, too, became a lawyer, practising at Worcester from 1880 to 1884, when he had to set out for Colorado to ward off tuberculosis. The cure was not successful, and five years later he hastened back to the familiar surroundings of Haverhill, where he died in July, 1889. Young was born at Gloucester and prepared for Harvard in that city. Left an orphan, he was reared and educated by relatives who pinned their fair hopes on him. He did his best not to disappoint them. During 1875–1876 he held a fellowship for travel and study in Germany and Italy. The following year he spent in Tennessee and

Florida. In 1877 he returned to Lanesville, on Cape Ann, and died there of gastric fever at the age of twenty-three. He "had worked too hard in college."

Going through this sad list of seven names recalls the lament which Henry Adams sent to Henry Cabot Lodge from Cambridge on June 2, 1872. He had just recently learned of the death of still another of his students, Michael Henry Simpson (H.C. 1871), described by Lodge as "one of the first scholars in his class and a young man of great ability, strong character both mental and moral; much valued by Henry Adams, whose course he had taken at Cambridge." Young Simpson died of typhoid fever at Florence in the spring of 1872, and what Adams wrote to Lodge helps us to imagine how he must have felt as he thought of the men whose names are listed above. "Poor Simpson's death, too, seemed utterly disheartening. What is the use of training up the best human material only to die [*sic*] at the start!"[1]

Yet this is not the whole story of good marks and great names. Twenty-eight men are left; and of these, eleven will, for obvious reasons, be only listed: Frederick Perry Fish, Frederick Lawton, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Francis Cabot Lowell, Nathan Matthews, William Henry Moody, Grenville Howland Norcross, Lindsay Swift, Henry Osborn Taylor, Charles Franklin Thwing, and George Edward Woodberry. The names of many of these men are well known in Massachusetts, and six of them were or still are members of this Society. Two of these former students have already put their recollections of Adams into print. In 1927 President Thwing devoted the twelfth chapter of his *Guides, Philosophers and Friends* to an affectionate tribute to the teacher whom he never missed a chance of looking up as long as life allowed. Henry Osborn Taylor, also, has published his impressions.[2] In passing, it may be fitting to call attention to the striking circumstance that the Class of 1878 at Harvard produced two distinguished historians—one of the United States and the other of the Middle Ages—Edward Channing and Henry Osborn Taylor.

Seventeen excellent students are left. It is interesting to note that not many of these took up teaching. George Bendelari (H.C. 1874), whose father fled to Boston from the Bourbon tyranny at Naples in

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[1] *Letters of Henry Adams*, 1858–1891, 227.

[2] "The Education of Henry Adams," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXII (October, 1918), 484–491.

1854, started out to be a lawyer and then taught history for a time at Harvard, where he was not a success. Charles Anderson Dana, distinctly not of the Cambridge clan, called him to the New York *Sun* in 1894, and there Bendelari remained for twenty-three years, giving the best of his life to the editor and contributing no small part to what made the *Sun* the wittiest and wickedest newspaper of the time. Bendelari's gift of tongues drew him, in 1917, into the service of the United States for three years as a censor of foreign mail. In 1920 he went into the research department of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York, and in that city he died in 1927.

Charles Jaudon Berryhill (H.C. 1877) took Adams' course on the "History of England to the Seventeenth Century" during his senior year and did very well at it. Berryhill was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and after he was graduated went out to Minnesota and practised as a lawyer in St. Paul. He finally settled down as what he himself called "an obscure farmer" at Lake Elmo, Minnesota, where he died in 1919.

Another one of the able students of Adams was Henry Sherman Boutell of the Class of 1876. Boutell was born in Boston and moved out to Chicago after graduation to practise law. He was elected to the House of Representatives as a Republican in 1896, and there he managed to remain until the great Democratic landslide of 1910. In 1911 President Taft found him a berth as Minister to Portugal and then transferred him to Switzerland, where he served for two years. In 1914 he returned to Chicago, where he died in 1926.

Lester Williams Clark (H.C. 1875) stood high in two of Adams' courses. Clark was born in Brookline, entered Harvard from the Boston Latin School, where he was the first scholar, made Phi Beta Kappa, and became editor of the *Advocate* as well as class orator. He, too, turned to the law, taking his degree at Columbia to practise in New York for thirty-eight years. He was chief counsel for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and Justice of the New York Supreme Court for one term of fourteen years, 1906–1920. Clark died at his home on Staten Island in 1922.

Samuel Belcher Clarke (H.C. 1874) was born in Brooklyn, New York, and was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1876. He became a partner of Elihu Root in 1886 and then, having become totally blind in 1910, retired in 1921 to Litchfield County, Connecticut, where he died in 1929.

George Miller Cumming (H.C. 1876), still another lawyer, was born in Pennsylvania, entered Harvard from Phillips Exeter Academy, and practised in New York, teaching for a time at Columbia. It is amusing to remember that one of the brightest students of Henry Adams, of all men, became first vice-president of the Erie Railroad. There was no love lost between the Adams family and Jay Gould, the brilliant financial bandit who, together with his notorious partner, James Fisk, long used that corporation for his own ends. Charles Francis Adams' "A Chapter of Erie" spread the scandalous negotiations on the record and created a sensation when it first appeared in 1869. As *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays* this pitiless and accurate exposure of the criminal practices of Gould and his like enjoyed a wide circulation in book form in 1871. Laws were modeled on the lessons it taught. Gould never forgot or forgave the author. Long afterward he got his revenge when he "ejected" the older brother of the professor from the presidency of the Union Pacific Railroad in November, 1890.[1]

Richard Joseph Dwyer (H.C. 1877) came from Medford, where he died twenty years ago. After leaving college he took the advice of Horace Greeley seriously and went West to edit the Denver *Rocky Mountain News* for a time. Later he taught school in Kansas City. Returning to Boston, he, too, became a lawyer and developed into something of an authority on the statutes relating to cities. No less than five times did Dwyer offer himself as Democratic candidate for the legislature from Medford, only to be defeated regularly. Then, in 1914, he was put up by the Republicans, but he never reached the haven where he would be. An independent candidate entered the campaign and cost him even more than the twenty-three votes which he needed to nose out the Democratic victor. Obviously the office did not seek the man. Twice again he tried for election to the General Court as a Republican, and then gave up for good and all.

This leaves four men, as remarkable in their professional careers as they were excellent as students of history at Harvard. William Henry Gove of the Class of 1876 was born in South Berwick, Maine, and prepared for college in Lynn. When he was a senior, Gove took History 3, Adams' famous course on "Mediæval Institutions." In a class of sixteen men he stood second only to the poet George

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[1] *Charles Francis Adams*, 1835–1915: *An Autobiography* (Boston and New York, 1916), 198.

Edward Woodberry, receiving a mark of $92\frac{8}{15}$ to the latter's $93\frac{2}{15}$. After graduating he returned to Lynn and married Aroline Chase Pinkham, a daughter of Lydia Pinkham, after whom he named one of his children. In 1882 he removed to Salem, which he represented in the General Court in 1903 and 1904. In 1910 and 1911 he was elected to that superfluous constitutional appendix, the Executive Council. In 1900, on the death of his brother-in-law, Gove became president and general manager of the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, a position he held with profit and propriety until his death in 1920.

Now for another bright student: Denman Waldo Ross of the Class of 1875. Ross was born in Cincinnati in 1853. He took three courses with Henry Adams, History 2, 3, and 4, and got his doctorate in history in 1880. After extensive study in Europe he became a lecturer at Harvard in 1899 on the theory of design. He spent his vacations and his sabbatical years traveling all over the world collecting works of art for the Fogg Museum and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. His portrait of George Santayana hangs in Emerson Hall in Cambridge. Yet the first book which this painter and aesthete published bore the forbidding title *The Early History of Land Holding among the Germans*. Ross never married. He died at the Savoy in London in 1935.

Ross's classmate, Ernest Szemelényi, was born in Baltimore in 1852. He set out to make himself a mining engineer, but he joined the Class of 1875 at Harvard and in 1873–1874 took History 2, "The General History of Europe from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century," with Henry Adams. Having taught music in New York, Baltimore, and Washington, and published songs, Szemelényi took an appointment in the United States Patent Office in 1881. There he served for twenty-eight years until he resigned in 1909. In 1916 he was reappointed to his office by an executive order of Woodrow Wilson, only to die three years later.

Last on the list is Thomas Fenton Taylor of the Class of 1875, a pupil who must have had great admiration for Henry Adams, for he took no fewer than four courses with him. In 1873 he entered "The General History of Europe from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century" and received a mark of $89\frac{14}{15}$. At the same time he was enrolled in "Mediæval Institutions" and was graded $91\frac{1}{3}$. The next year, 1874, he signed up for the "History of England to the Seventeenth

Century" and got $84\frac{3}{15}$, carrying, also, "The Colonial History of America to the Year 1789," in which he drew $86\frac{1}{15}$. Taylor was born in New York City in 1852 and lost both his parents when he was nine years old. He was taken out to Indiana, where from twelve to fourteen he served as a deputy clerk in the office of the Clerk of Shelby County. Then he studied four years at a high school in Indianapolis, entering Harvard in the autumn of 1871. In 1877 he took his law degree at Columbia and began to practise in the city where he had been born. He became prosperous and something of a clubman and a yachtsman, lecturing on railroads and poets in his spare time. At the age of fifty-two he retired and traveled in Italy, moving to and fro, when in the United States, between his homes in Cambridge, Greenport on Long Island, and Williamstown. In 1916, when he was sixty-four, he enrolled in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in Harvard, where he spent one year. He died in 1930.

Thus only a few of the brilliant students of a man who was, by nearly all accounts, an exceptional teacher of history either taught that subject or wrote on it. Professional means of earning a living that way were few and far between fifty years ago. Most of these high men went into the law, though not all of them stayed there. Years after he left Harvard, Adams wrote as if he thought he had been a failure at his work there. Evidence on this point is not unanimous. Two living classmates, in fact, disagree.

Albert Gordon Morse (H.C. 1877) led his class in History 4 in 1876–1877, though for almost sixty years he did not know that he was top man. A few days before he saw his mark for the first time (November 2, 1936) Mr. Morse, dictating to his daughter, had her write: "He did not find Mr. Adams an inspirational teacher, and quite agreed with Mr. Adams's own opinion of his appointment at Harvard as being rather a mistaken choice. Mr. Morse was grateful for the high marks he received which came as a pleasant surprise and reward for the hard work he had put into the study of the subject."[1] Several days later, as he looked at the fine, fading record, Mr. Morse remarked: "If Professor Adams had seen fit to tell me that I was the best student in that course, it might have set me up for my whole life. As I remember it he merely said that I had passed."

Joseph Estabrook White (H.C. 1877) got $89\frac{12}{15}$ in History 6 in

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[1] Letter of November 2, 1936, Massachusetts Historical Society.

1876–1877, the same year in which, among others, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Henry Osborn Taylor, and George Edward Woodberry took this course. Mr. White's testimony is somewhat different from Mr. Morse's:

> To me he was an inspiration. That he accounted himself to be a failure was just an Adams crotchet: a short term of teaching gave him no opportunity to ascertain the ultimate result of his influence upon his pupils. He had what every successful teacher must have—keen interest himself in his subject. . . . He was the most alive man of all my teachers. He gripped his class: keen interest from beginning to end; and talk about it afterwards.[1]

Two more bits of evidence may be of value, both from excellent students: Sumner Burritt Stiles and John Walker Holcombe. Mr. Stiles writes as follows:

> At least one impression was so marked and so deep that it has remained with me through all the years since I took the course under him called History III on "Medieval Institutions" in the year 1875–1876. That one impression was, and is, that he had a remarkable mind and had a talent, *quite unusual*, for stimulating and compelling the students *to think* for themselves. . . . My course under Henry Adams was one of the best that I had in college, but I was astonished by your statement that Adams had given me "high rank," for although I did have such high rank as to lead my class in some subjects, I always felt that I had a low rating under Adams, and I would like very much to hear just what mark he did give me in his ranking book. . . . I cannot recall whether you asked my impressions of Adams *as a man*, but again it would be unjust to speculate on impressions created so many years ago, but my impression was that of a man of *pure intellect* and as one that a person in deep trouble would not go to to confide [in], for advice and sympathy. This impression was confirmed on the fortieth year of my graduation [June, 1916], when I found myself seated exactly opposite my old teacher Professor Palmer at a Phi Beta Kappa dinner who said he remembered me, and when we were talking about Henry Adams, I was astonished to hear Professor Palmer say: "I never had any love for the man," for Professor Palmer has written such high regards of his other colleagues, such as Royce, James, and Santayana. So too, I got an idea of Professor Adams as *a man* when I read his *Education of Henry Adams* in which he derides and *pokes fun* at his courses in Harvard, which I knew from experience to be *entirely wrong*. I never met him outside of the class-room.[2]

And Mr. Holcombe:

> My taste was for history and literature, and I wanted to know something about art. So I elected Charles Eliot Norton's course of lectures on art and Henry Adams on mediaeval history. I had read Macaulay and Lecky, knew the outlines of our own history, and was interested in seeing in the flesh a lineal

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[1] Letter of November 14, 1936, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] Letter of October 19, 1937, Massachusetts Historical Society.

descendant of Presidents. Can't say I was greatly thrilled. Adams seemed to me "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual" state of mind known as "Harvard Indifference." A small man, blue eyes, brown hair, pointed beard auburn verging to red, perfectly but inconspicuously dressed in brownish gray tweeds (as I remember), of easy and quiet movement and distinct but quiet speech. His desk was at the end of a long room, the class was large, probably over a hundred, the method that of the quiz. Books were assigned to us for reading, and we were called up in turn to answer questions on the period under review. Mr. Adams would often walk up and down the aisle, perhaps with hands in pockets, but of this I'll not be sure. He had the air of [one] who should say, "Well I don't know much about all this, it's not very important, no matter if you don't know it." But toward the end of the hour he would sit down, look over his notes, and give a brief résumé of the subject, which was always clear and helpful.

In the great issues of the Middle Ages, as the contest between the Church and the Empire, in the splendid dramatic figures like Otto the Great and Frederick II, I can't remember that he showed any special interest. In passing students in the Yard he avoided looking at them. Such inhuman detachment puzzled me, and if asked at the time what I thought of him, I would probably have said, "He's a queer duck." But he interested us in the study of history. Personally he was a new type of man to me. . . .

In later years I had an amusing encounter with him as a resident of Washington. I was assistant to the Commissioner of Education, who at that time was our most distinguished American philosopher, Dr. William T. Harris. Some sort of convocation of educationists was to be held here, and it was arranged that they should be put up by people of the city. Among those expected was President Eliot, and it occurred to someone, perhaps to me, that Henry Adams was the man to take in the most eminent guest. So I was deputed to wait on Mr. Adams and broach the subject to him. With much curiosity respecting the interview, I presented myself at his house on H Street,—built by his college friend, the famous architect Richardson. Pretty soon he came down to the handsome reception hall holding my card, and looked at me inquiringly. I stammered something to the effect that I had enjoyed the privilege of being a student under him. He may have said, "Ah," and I think held out his hand. At any rate we were seated and I presented the compliments of the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Harris, as impressively as I could, and then stated my errand. He seemed perplexed, taken aback, hesitated as if he had never heard of a Commissioner of Education. Then he wondered why "Mr." Harris should think that he would care to receive "Mr." Eliot, or that Mr. Eliot would care to come to him. However, he consented, and I took my leave. I do not know how President Eliot's visit was enjoyed by either of them. If I thought that my call might result in any kind of an acquaintance with Mr. Adams, I was disappointed. I never saw him again.[1]

What a visit that must have been.

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[1] Letter of May 10, 1937, Massachusetts Historical Society.

It was Dean Gurney who persuaded President Eliot to invite Henry Adams to Harvard as a part of the great reform which was being undertaken in Cambridge. Adams joined the faculty just one year after Eliot had been elected president. Seven years later he walked out on him. It is not wholly unreasonable to suppose that the judgment Eliot uttered in 1920 in regard to the *Education*—"a much overrated book and a much overrated man"—shows a tinge of lingering resentment at that sudden departure. Why did Henry Adams leave Harvard? There are at least three possible reasons—more properly, perhaps, suspicions. In 1870 he had been appointed for five years, and in 1877 he was still an assistant professor. Was he unable or unwilling to press the powers for a promotion? Did he take a secret satisfaction in showing Eliot that Harvard was not the *ultima Thule* for everyone—least of all for the descendant of two good presidents of the United States? In March, 1877, moreover, the impeccable Mr. Hayes slipped into the office of Chief Executive. Reform was supposed to be in the saddle at Washington. Adams had voted for Tilden, but Schurz, the man whose favor he had won as editor of the *North American Review*, was the new Secretary of the Interior. If the professor hoped for political advancement, however, he was doomed to disappointment, and even later on at the hand of John Hay. Lastly, he had married a woman who had money coming her way, a lady who had a doting father too near at hand—and no great love, herself, for Boston.

Whatever the reason, or reasons, Henry Adams left Harvard in June, 1877, never to return. History 3, his course on "Mediæval Institutions," and History 6, the "History of the United States from 1789 to 1840," were entrusted to the hands of Henry Cabot Lodge, to whom Adams had turned over his course in colonial history the year before. Edward Channing used to say that after Lodge's class at Harvard had dropped from fifty to three, that scholar decided to give up teaching for politics.

Years afterward Henry Adams wrote bitterly of his six years at Harvard as professor of history and editor of the *North American Review:*

> The lecture-room was futile enough, but the faculty-room was worse. . . . Thus it turned out that of all his many educations, Adams thought that of school-teacher the thinnest. Yet he was forced to admit that the education of an editor, in some ways, was thinner still. The editor had barely time to edit; he

> had none to write. . . . The editor was a helpless drudge whose successes, if he made any, belonged to his writers; but whose failures might easily bankrupt himself. . . . Vulgarly speaking, it was a dog's life when it did not succeed, and little better when it did. A professor had at least the pleasure of associating with his students; an editor lived the life of an owl.[1]

In writing amen to these bleak words one ought to add, in fairness, that to have taught Edward Channing, Henry Osborn Taylor, and George Edward Woodberry, or the men who became the presidents of two great universities, must have been a source of secret satisfaction, even to the famously unhappy Henry Adams.

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[1] *Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1918), 307–308.

Selected Students of Henry Adams, 1873-1877

Name	*Class*	*History II*	*Year*	*History III*	*Year*	*History IV*	*Year*	*History V*	*Year*	*History VI*	*Year*
Barnes, C. M.	1877			$88\frac{2}{15}$	1876–1877					90	1876–1877
Bendelari, George	1874					$93\frac{2}{3}$	1873–1874				
Berryhill, C. J.	1877					$83\frac{9}{15}$	1876–1877				
Boutell, H. S.	1876					$86\frac{1}{5}$	1875–1876				
Chase, W. L.	1876							$91\frac{2}{3}$	1875–1876		
Clark, L. W.	1875			$87\frac{7}{15}$	1874–1875			$88\frac{6}{15}$	1874–1875		
Clarke, S. B.	1874					$90\frac{1}{3}$	1873–1874				
Conlan, John	1877			$84\frac{7}{15}$	1876–1877						
Cumming, G. M.	1876					$87\frac{11}{15}$	1875–1876				
Dwyer, R. J.	1877					$84\frac{11}{15}$	1876–1877				
Fish, F. P.	1875			$90\frac{11}{15}$	1874–1875	90	1874–1875				
*Gerrish, F. S.	1875					$87\frac{8}{15}$	1874–1875				
Gove, W. H.	1876			$92\frac{8}{15}$	1875–1876						
Hodge, J. A.	1875			$91\frac{2}{15}$	1874–1875	$90\frac{1}{3}$	1874–1875	$91\frac{6}{15}$	1874–1875		
Holcombe, J. W.	1875	$89\frac{7}{15}$	1873–1874								
Lawton, Frederick	1874					$86\frac{4}{5}$	1873–1874				
Lord, C. C.	1875	$94\frac{6}{15}$	1873–1874								
*Lowell, A. L.	1877									$90\frac{6}{15}$	1876–1877
Lowell, F. C.	1876					$87\frac{13}{15}$	1875–1876				

Lynde, S. A.	1877			$90\frac{12}{15}$	1876–1877						
Matthews, Nathan	1875	91	1873–1874								
Moody, W. H.	1876			$85\frac{5}{15}$	1875–1876						
*Morse, A. G.	1877					$91\frac{11}{15}$	1876–1877				
Norcross, G. H.	1875	$87\frac{1}{15}$	1873–1874								
Ross, D. W.	1875	$88\frac{7}{15}$	1873–1874	$92\frac{7}{15}$	1874–1875	$89\frac{3}{15}$	1874–1875				
Sprague, E. B.	1877					$84\frac{9}{15}$	1876–1877				
Stiles, S. B.	1876			$90\frac{6}{15}$	1875–1876						
Swift, Lindsay	1877									$92\frac{9}{15}$	1876–1877
Szemelényi, Ernest	1875	$87\frac{4}{15}$	1873–1874								
*Taylor, H. O.	1878							$90\frac{3}{15}$	1875–1876	$77\frac{5}{15}$	1876–1877
Taylor, T. F.	1875	$89\frac{14}{15}$	1873–1874	$91\frac{1}{3}$	1873–1874	$84\frac{3}{15}$	1874–1875	$86\frac{1}{15}$	1874–1875		
Thwing, C. F.	1876			$86\frac{2}{3}$	1874–1875						
*White, J. E.	1877									$89\frac{12}{15}$	1876–1877
Woodberry, G. E.	1877			$93\frac{2}{15}$	1875–1876					$94\frac{10}{15}$	1876–1877
Young, G. F.	1875	$88\frac{7}{15}$	1873–1874								

Belmont, August	1874	$40\frac{1}{15}$	1873–1874					$57\frac{2}{3}$	1874–1875		
Channing, Edward	1878			70	1876–1877						
Grant, U. S.	1874					$41\frac{4}{15}$	1873–1874				
Wendell, Barrett	1877									$73\frac{5}{15}$	1876–1877

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* Still living (May, 1941).

A Yankee's Conversion

Some Letters from Washington Long to John D. Long

1875–1882

By Philip P. Chase

This Society has in its possession the papers of Governor John D. Long, from which it recently published a volume covering the period from 1897 to 1904. In the correspondence received by Long during the earlier period, 1875–1897, I came across a series of twenty-two letters signed "W. Long," who was easily identified as Washington Long, brother of Zadoc, the Governor's father.

Although these twenty-two letters throw little light on John D. Long's private or public life, something about their tone and substance intrigued me. Investigation disclosed that the writer was a person of mark in his community, presenting many of those characteristics associated with the down-East Yankee of the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, he lived in a section of New England which was just blossoming from a backwoods frontier into the only large-scale one-crop agricultural area in New England, the Aroostook Potato Empire.

In the course of this transformation Aroostook experienced more acutely than any other part of New England the discontent and radicalism which was manifesting itself in the Great Plains farming areas of Kansas and Nebraska in the same period. In both areas this economic discontent expressed itself politically in the Greenback party. Curiously enough, Washington Long not only watched and participated in the expression of the rebellion in Maine against the Republican party's political and fiscal policies, but went to Lawrence, Kansas, more than once before 1875 and again in 1878, where he gave sympathetic attention to the expression of dissent in that frontier section.

The effect of this environment, both in the Aroostook and Kansas areas, upon a Yankee mind schooled in the New England Free Soil, Lincoln-Republican tradition offers interesting study. For this man himself appears to have suffered no severe financial reverses, nor to have felt himself in any way discriminated against as an individual or as a member of a class. He appears to have been an almost perfect example of what Agar extols as the politically, socially, and economically independent citizen, one of such as he fancies the ideal American state should be composed if democracy is to work.

Washington Long, the youngest son of Thomas Long, was born April 6, 1811, in Buckfield, Oxford County, Maine, an old-fashioned New England village some ten miles north of Auburn, which even now contains less than four hundred people. His family was among the most prosperous and influential in the community. His elder brother, Zadoc, was a respected leader in the religious, social, and political life of the town. In 1841 he left Buckfield and went to Presque Isle in Aroostook County, and about 1850 formed a partnership with Jesse Drew to engage in the lumber business in Fort Fairfield.

This little village on the Maine-New Brunswick frontier, just above the confluence of the Aroostook and St. John rivers, had been known as Letter D Plantation. It derives its present name from John Fairfield, who was governor at the time of the Aroostook War, which, with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, assured the inclusion of this region in Maine instead of New Brunswick. Fairfield had won his campaign nickname of "Sailor Boy" through rather nebulous exploits at sea in the War of 1812, and on the strength of such reputation had been elected governor of the state four times.

Because those qualities which excite one's interest in Washington Long appear to have been the result of environment rather than heredity, some consideration of the conditions in Fort Fairfield when he took up his residence there is pertinent. The settlement of Letter D Plantation, soon to be called Fort Fairfield, was the product of the War of 1812 and of the Aroostook War. The passions that the War of 1812 aroused on the frontiers from Detroit to Eastport were not readily quelled. The Treaty of Ghent and the boundary adjustments in 1818 had not settled the Maine-New Brunswick frontier definitively. The old hostility between the Yankees and the American Tory refugees established in New Brunswick still smoldered. The spirit of the people of Maine, somewhat exhilarated by their newly won independent statehood, showed some of the aggressive expansionism that was evident on the western frontier.

The region of the lower Aroostook and Allagash rivers contained virgin timber, coveted by Maine and New Brunswick lumbermen alike. The fact that the only feasible outlet was by way of the St. John River through New Brunswick made the region logically a part of that economic province. New Brunswick lumber agents were at work. When Maine sent surveyors and land agents, the New Brunswickers arrested them and carried them off. Governor Fairfield sent Maine militia to take possession of the territory. They built a blockhouse and remained on the ground until the Webster-Ashburton Treaty drew the boundary line between the spot where Fort Fairfield stood and the mouth of the Aroostook River.

To this inflamed spirit of state self-assertion Washington Long had been thoroughly exposed while living in Buckfield, if one may judge from the fragments of his brother Zadoc's journal, in which there is a series of entries dealing with the mustering of local militia and the "drafting" of soldiers to be sent to Aroostook. Noteworthy in connection with the avoidance of a bloody struggle over the possession of the debatable area is the following entry under date of March 6, 1839: "The general Government has advised the State authorities to disband the militia. The President's message too pacific and tame to suit the excited feeling in Maine. There is some doubt whether the Government of this State will comply with the recommendations of the President."[1]

It was thirty miles by tote road and trail from Houlton, the nearest considerable American town. It took some years to establish civil government in the area. This had just been effected as the Letter D Plantation when Washington Long arrived.

The amazing thing in the next ten years of the settlement's history is the peaceful assimilation of the New Brunswickers and the newcomers from Maine. It was not easy. The old town history[2] states that the two groups lived apart in somewhat sullen suspicion of each other; but the Maine men, moving in in increasing numbers, must have treated the old British settlers with liberality. The latter, furthermore, had not been dispossessed of their land or their hard-earned improvements when the establishment of the line had left them in Maine. Yet clearly there was here the making of a Sudeten German problem had either the New Brunswick or the British governments wished to overturn the settlement achieved by the recent treaty. It appears, however, that these New Brunswickers within ten years became naturalized American citizens, and when the call for volunteers came in 1860, so many of them responded to the new loyalty that whatever feeling of hostility may have remained in the American section of the village was forgotten and wiped out as the contingents of former New Brunswickers and new Maine settlers marched off together.

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[1] Alfred Cole and Charles F. Whitman, *History of Buckfield, Oxford County, Maine* (Buckfield, 1915), 481–484.

[2] Caleb H. Ellis, *History of Fort Fairfield* (Fort Fairfield, 1894).

With the increase in the lumber business and with the beginning of potato culture, the village slowly grew. Until the railroad reached Fort Fairfield, most of the potatoes grown in the region were made into either alcohol or starch, chiefly starch. Pictures of the community in the 1870's show it a straggling little village very similar in appearance to a western cow town—a wide dirt street, bordered by wooden sidewalks and one-and-a-half or two-story frame buildings. The nearest post office was for several years in Houlton, where, until 1858, lived the nearest doctor; but Fort Fairfield had sawmills, potato storage houses, and three or four churches and stores. In 1860 Washington Long's partner, Jesse Drew, was one of the selectmen of the town. Its first newspaper, the *Aurora*, had to be published in Presque Isle. It was not until November, 1875, that the first train on the New Brunswick Railroad pulled into town.

Among the old Whigs in Fort Fairfield who started the Republican party was Washington Long, and among the Democrats who shifted was Jesse Drew. Long went to Chicago as a delegate to the Republican Convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860 and was rewarded by an appointment as Collector of Customs at Eastport in 1861. He held this position until he was thrown out in 1868. In the meantime Jesse Drew was Deputy Collector at Fort Fairfield from 1865 to 1881.

A biographical sketch of Washington Long describes him in his early years in his new home as

> an earnest and active Republican from the beginning of that party, taking part in its conventions; going as a delegate to the National Convention of 1860, which nominated Lincoln. He sometimes spoke in public, but was especially forcible and effective in that arena of local argument at the fireside or the village street and in the village store. . . . He read the leading papers, was a disciple of Horace Greeley, kept up acquaintance with our leading men, followed debates in Congress, and was an encyclopedia of personal, national and local politics and public men.[1]

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[1] Cole and Whitman, *History of Buckfield, Maine*, 249–250.

He was Aroostook County's representative in Governor Lot M. Morrill's Council in the 1850's.

The series of letters from Washington Long begins in 1875, a time when the Democrats in Maine had recovered from their wartime eclipse, and the elements of discontent in both parties were beginning to make themselves felt under the stress of the low purchasing power of farm products and the hard times prevailing after the Panic of 1873. These discontents had not yet taken shape in Maine in the Greenback party, but they were soon to do so. Perhaps because of his loss of the collectorship in 1868, but probably through his awareness of the change in the aims and policies of the Republican party after 1866 under Radical leadership, Washington Long was losing sympathy with his old political associates and was turning a sympathetic ear to the Democrats, who were steadily gaining strength in his state.

Some time between 1870 and 1875 he seems to have made one or more trips to Kansas. In any case, January, 1875, found him in Lawrence, Kansas, looking for a chance to invest some savings in the rising West. Kansas had been prospering and now seemed on the upgrade, for the state's bonds sold in New York that July at 105, the first year they had been above par.

Lawrence, when Long arrived, was much more of a metropolis than Fort Fairfield, Maine, but Kansas still showed the earmarks of a frontier community. Just before he came, there had occurred the notorious and dramatic Comanche Steal, the unbelievable creation and exploitation of a fictitious county by a daring set of rascals headed by one A. J. Mowry. This gang had imposed upon the state government by presenting falsified lists of residents of a tract of land which they obtained authority to organize as Comanche County. Then they had issued bonds to erect a courthouse, schoolhouses, and other public buildings, and had decamped with their spoils before the true situation had attracted official notice.[1] Indian raids were still likely in the western counties—the last occurred in 1878. Pursuit and hanging of horse thieves was common.

Rough-and-tumble as the country was, there was a vigor and vitality about its politicians that appealed to Washington Long's avid interest in such matters. From his earliest letters it is plain that he was keeping an eye on the proceedings of conventions and on legislation as he had done in Maine. There were, indeed, figures in Kansas striking enough to attract the attention of even a less interested observer. The Speaker of the House of Representatives was "Foghorn" Funstan, and several others who were active as Republicans or Democrats were later to win prominence as Greenbackers and Populists. Among these were P. P. Elder, "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, and William Alfred Peffer, the latter to become probably the most cartooned national figure of the early 1890's.[1]

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[1] Thomas A. McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young* (New York, 1922), 61–65.

The year 1874 had been one of widespread disaster in Kansas. Swarms of grasshoppers had devoured practically every green thing. In the western half of the state the drought had burned up whatever the grasshoppers had left, and the principal topic was how to get aid for the sufferers, although local pride prevented calling upon the national government for assistance.

It is of this struggle to endure in a one-crop country with no backlog of accumulated capital that Washington Long writes to his sister Persis in a letter from Lawrence, Kansas, January 18, 1875:

> You mention the destitution of Kansas. Let me assure you that the situation of affairs as to the complete failure of crops have not been overstated. There was a large immigration in here last year, all they had was in a crop, this failed, and with it the old settlers are in no better condition, only they had some stock. This you see must be fed and kept to do their spring work with. Assistance is coming in freely, but it takes a large amount of food to carry the people through. The most suffering is in the western counties where wood and coal is scarce and poor buildings to shelter them with. The people keep up better courage than one could think it possible. Should crops be good another year this state will have 8 million bushel of wheat judging from the amt. of acerage sown.
>
> I see there is considerable suffering in that district where the destructive flood was had in Mass. last spring. It seems to me this has been a year of disaster to us as a nation.
>
> I cannot fix my matters up so, but I will have to come out here another year. In consequence of the destitution here values have become demoralized, property will not bring half what it would one year ago.
>
> I feel as though my time ought to be devoted to earning something, and I do not see anything better than to go back to the Aroostook. I was in hopes when I first came here that I could so invest as to increase my capital, but I fear shall not be able to do so. I am well, and it does not seem to be right that I should not make an effort in a small business.
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> The weather is the coldest here this winter of any one I have spent in Kansas. I am in hopes to get my matters arranged so that I can leave here the last of next month.

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[1] McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young*, 67–68.

A few days later (January 20, 1875) he enlarges on the same theme in a letter to John D. Long.

> To tell you of the great destitution that prevails in this State will only create a sympathy in you that one feels for those who are not his neighbors. The failure of crops here causes great suffering. They need food and raiment to make them comfortable. The weather has for the past two weeks been unus[u]ally cold. Some of the members of the Legislature in coming across the plains to reach the Capital froze their legs so badly they had to be amputated. Men who will make such sacrifices cannot be call'd less than patriots.
>
> Business here is at a standstill, values are completely demoralized. Should crops fail the coming year the whole state must be bankrupt. The change from the time I first came here till now is very great, people do not know what to do only to look forward with fear and trembling. . . .
>
> I approve up to the hub the course Grant has taken with those Louisianians. It might have been better if Sherridan had been a little more discreet in his despatches, but suppose they had waited as Buchanan did, then what would the Conservative, democratic rebels have said. That fraud has been practiced by the party in power there can be no doubt, but they do not pursue the right course to correct it. The people will support the Presidents course, the soldiers are with him on this, they do not stop to split hairs. Democracy is the same South that it was 20 years ago. They think they see an opportunity to strike for their old principles and they avail themselves of it. I have no fears of my rights in that direction.
>
> I shall not be able to arrange my affairs without coming here again. Must wait for another crop and if it fails Kansas will have to take a back seat. . . .
>
> If your State L[egislature] reports Resolves on the Louisiana troubles, sustain the Administration, that is right for the people are there. It is far better to oust members of a mob than to lose one life in sustaining the Union. If they fear the powers that be and obey, it is as well as though they did from the love of complying with the law. This talk about State rights is all froth. Sounds like that we had in 1861. . . .
>
> P.S. I see Dawes a little ahead.

During this visit to Kansas, Long had not taken the Greenbackers very seriously, but in the autumn following his return to Maine he found that party springing up in his home state and showing special strength in the northern and eastern counties. When Maine's favorite son, Hannibal Hamlin, was dropped as Lincoln's running mate in 1864 in favor of Andrew Johnson, Maine still stayed in the Republican column, but her Democratic vote jumped by 13,000. By 1875 the Republicans were able to squeeze through with only a 4,500 majority in the state election, the discontent taking shape in Maine's first Greenback party.

When Long arrived back in Maine in the early summer of 1875, he found his little town in a state of great excitement over the approach of the new railroad line. He writes to his nephew from the Custom House at Fort Fairfield, July 3, 1875:[1]

> We are having a R[ail]road built here so that one can take the cars here in the morning and be in Bangor same evening. It is to be of great advantage to this part of the county, increasing the lands for agricultural purposes. The country here now looks beautiful. So far the season has been very favorable for the farmers. . . .
>
> There is to be a lively time in this 4th Cong[ressiona]l District this Fall in case L. Powers is the nominee of the Republicans. While they have a large majority in this Dis[trict] with him I think they will be defeated. J. C. Madigan of Houlton will be his Democratic competitor. He will carry all his party with many R[epublicans] as against Powers. It looks as though there was to be a division between Senator Morrill and Blaine. Should such be the case, it would not be surprising to see the State go Democratic.

The next letter is dated at Fort Fairfield, September 15, 1875:

> The election here has been quite exciting. I do not like the leaders of the R[epublican] party. I went with the Reformers. We were in numbers beaten. I have been opposed to Powers for Cong[ress] and they dare not nominate him. I was for Plaisted and in case Powers had been nominated should have supported Madigan. The R[epublicans] from present appearances are going into a Minority at the next presidential election. May be I stand in a position to have some influence. F. A. Pike, Ex. M.C., wrote me as to his coming here and talking for Madigan. I advised him not to, he did not come. I made some talk twice, whether it amounted to anything I can't say, it annoyed the Republicans very much. I do not feel as though the R[epublicans] carried out their pledges in 1868, for if there is such a thing as merit, then I should have been continued in office as well as those who came in at the 11th hour and were b[ough]t at that. Still I do not pretend to have any claim.
>
> Is there any issue between the two parties in the Eastern States? My opinion is that should Gov. Tilden be nominated by the Democrats at the next election he will be elected.
>
> I want to see you nominated for Cong[ress] in your District, how is it?
>
> The State shows a falling off for Gov. . . .
>
> I am in a quandary do not know what is best as to the class to go into in politics. The name of Democrat is distasteful to me, while that of R[epublican] I like. [I would be] none the less R[epublican] today than I was 23 years ago were the issues today as they were then.
>
> I have read Wilson's letter and the one he wrote after his return South. Had his advice been followed years ago they would not be where they are today.

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[1] Long's former partner, Jesse Drew, was at this time Deputy Collector here. Possibly Long, too, had some official position since his old friend, Lot M. Morrill, was still a power in politics although now engaged in a struggle for leadership with the state boss, James G. Blaine.

Our railroad will be in here by the middle of next month. Great time then for Aroostook.

Long writes again from Fort Fairfield on November 5, 1875:

You see my articles continued. The one I send next week you will see has call'd out the ire of Sunrise. My Signature is Reporter. I shall have an article next week that I have vanity enough to think is pretty good on old Stickney and W. W. Thomas former Speaker of our Legislature. I know my periods are not well finished but they understand what I mean. I need some one to finish them up. . . .

The following March, Long was in Massachusetts. He writes to his nephew from Winchendon on March 17:

I see by today's Advitiser you are selected as one of a Committee to write an address to the people of this State, upon the subject of a selection of a candidate for Pres[iden]t.

If I were to do a thing of this kind I should keep constantly in view a man posessed of the traits of character you find in Secy. Bristow. You can unite more men on him who are and have been Republicans than any *other man.* He has not been so strongly partizan as to make himself obnoxious to anyone. His course has been such while in the discharge of his duties as to give him the support of all honest men in the country, he is the man for the times, and if elected will be an honor to the country. Blaine is merely a politician, posesses wonderful courage after a victory is gained. His qualifications for the office none doubt but the great trouble with him is he waits to see how the party is to be effected before he acts.

Mr. Adams may be a good man but you can't call to his support the masses.

Could anyone have believed the corruption that has existed in our Govt. until it was exposed? Babcock, you can't find a person in the west that believes in his innocence. At St. Louis they think him the most guilty of the whole.

I have longed believed that corruption at Washington was being had and going unrebuked. I can't think the Pres[iden]t is in any way guilty, his confidence has been wrongly placed, in fact he lacked some necessary qualifications.

I hear good reports from you as presiding officer of the House.

The next letter is dated Fort Fairfield, June 26, 1876:

I was at Bangor last week attending on the R[epublican] Dis[trict] Convention. It was such as the Democrats used to have 30 years ago. The man who introduced Powers as a candidate for Cong[ress] said among the many things that entitled him to their suport was that he had been the cart-horse for the party at which some one in the crowd sang out "Stud-horse." This was more true than in order. There will be strong opposition to him in the party. Blaine defeated, he could not have been elected in my opinion. I am sorry for his sickness, don't believe he will ever fully recover. His railroad affairs look rather suspicious.

Hale is having trouble in his district, possibly defeated in the nomination, at any rate there are three Districts in the State in which there is trouble, Hales, Burleighs and this. With Blaine being sick it is impossible as I view it to get up any enthusiasm for the fall campaign. I tell you things in this State look doubtful today. I have no tears to shed over Blaines defeat and will not over some others.

I would like to hear from you how your chances look for the Capital. . . .

Morrill, Secy. Treasury. The only qualification he has for it is his honesty, he will not steal nor will he allow others to, but he is better fitted for Senator than Secy. It wants a man for that place like Bristow who can say no.

I do not think your Judge Hoar showed to good advantage at Cincinnati. He was evidently in Blaines interest.

On July 11 Washington Long writes:

I would like to see you in Congress but not at the expense of your health. I was in hopes you might have no competitors.

In consequence of Blaines defeat there is no enthusiasm here. You see what a feud they are in, in York and Cumberland Dis[tricts]. There is more or less dissensions all over the State. Hale will not have an easy time in his Dis[trict].

The chances today are in favor of Tilden. N. York and N. Jersey are certain for him, so is Indianna. I tell you the people are disgusted with the R[epublican] party.

His letter of August 2 has more to say about politics:

We are to have a Bolter's Convention at Winn, on the 16th, to nominate a Candidate for Cong[ress] in opposition to Powers in this District. This movement either defeats Powers or elects the Democrat. We do not expect to elect our man. If Powers succeeds then a greater set of political scoundrels never triumph'd in an election.

In York and Cumberland Dis[tricts] Reed will be defeated and the Dem. nominee elected. Schisms exist all over the State. The republicans are in about the same fix that the Dems. were in 1856.

What nonsense to talk about Hayes and Wheeler being a triumph of reform over Grantism. If this nomination was honestly for reform they would be crush'd by the R[epublican] party as Bristow, Jewell and others have been. There is not a republican paper or Convention of the party that dares to say one word in defense of the course of these men. It is laughable to see the N. Y. Tribune undertake to make a difference between the administration and the party that supports H. and W. they must have a low estimate of the inteligence of the men who read their paper. If the name of Democrat could be wiped from Tilden how cheerfully I could give him my support. He can lead a party, different with Hayes he is to be led by his party. Talk about Civil Service reform and surrounded by such men as Morton, Conkling, Blaine and Butler, why Hayes opposition to those men would be a ripple, not so with Tilden, he is their equal. . . .

Hay crop here very large, all other crops looking well.

Washington Long's last letter to his nephew before the presidential election was written on October 19:

> Are you on the stump making speeches? Does it require such means in order to carry Mass.? Maine as you have seen went R[epublican] with a rush. The people were made to believe that the rebellion was in full blast. I listened to a speech made here by Genl. Garfield of Ohio, and he pictured the issues before us such that you could hear the guns of F. Sumpter, the beating of drums, the groans of the dieing and wounded, and a general massacre of the negroes. Do you think this the proper way to conduct the campaign? It can have no other effect than to consolidate the South, making the election more sectional than it was before slavery was abolished. After doing all this, then complain that the South is solid for the Democracy. Why they cannot go with the R[epublicans] if they were disposed to as they are represented to be the d—ls incarnate, perju[r]ers, traitors, and all that is vile. I don't believe this is the proper way to present the question unless we would make the thing wholly sectional.
>
> Hoar trying to defeat Butler and yet would have prefered Blaine for President. If that is not reform of the highest order what is?
>
> It seems Boston was completely frantic at the having Blaine in there midst the other day. None need doubt that Mass. will go for reform provided it can be done *within the party*.
>
> It looks to me as though Tilden would carry say 131 electoral votes in the South, with N. Jersey, Conn., Oregon, Indianna, and N. York adding 68 votes, total 199—this elects him. Then again his chances for carrying the vote of S. Carolina and California are the best. The doubtful are Wisconsin, Ohio and Nevada. How does this look to you? N. York must go for Tilden, a man as sagacious as he would never have allowed himself to become a candidate unless he was morally certain of his own State. Seymore carried against Grant in 1868 and it has not grown stronger R[epublican] than it was then. Is not my calculation a fair one?. . .
>
> I have not decided how I will vote for President, nor is it important whether I vote at all. I like the character of Tilden. He is a host and will have a following.
>
> The season here has been good for the farmers which I think you are much interested for. I wish you would tell your agricultural friends that one family here in Aroostook had 54 acres in potatoes this fall. Large amounts of potatoes are being shipped for the markets outside, beside immense quantities made into starch.

Long's observations on the presidential election are contained in his letter of November 21:

> The Presidential election has passed, the result as it is, and in my simple opinion Tilden is to be declared elected. While I confidently expected his election I did not look for such a result. Republicans asserted before election a *Solid South* for Tilden, now a divided South to elect Hayes.
>
> This campaign has been conducted badly by the R[epublicans]. Their candidate was not nominated by the right element of the party for success, had they

nominated Bristow he would have been elected as the result shows. To try and make a distinction between Grantism and Republicanism was too thin. Whatever may be the result as to President, one thing is sure, the R[epublican] party is ruined as I regard it, by those who pretend to be its truest friends. There has been too much said against the South, and too little against corruption.

Are we in spirit living under a free republican govt.? The federal govt. appointing a Board of Com[missioner]s to look after the registration of voters in all cities of 20,000 inhabitants and over. The executive sending a portion of the army to certain localities to see that voters can vote freely, and to other places to see that the Judges of elections make and return an honest vote. While all this may be necessary does it not prove that the people are not virtuous and inteligent enough to sustain a R[epublican] form of government. If this is not approaching a military despotism what is it? It seems to me we are liable to have this done at any time on the merest pretence.

I read your speech and thought it very good, not over-partizan in its spirit, nor bitter toward the South. I did not vote for Pres[iden]t. I liked Tilden, think him a great leader, and will do more to bury the feeling engendered by the rebellion than Hayes can. I did not like the men who would surround Hayes, they are the same old Coons that have neglected to keep our goverment clear of the rascals who have filled places of trust.

Blaine must feel well in looking at the condition of his party. It is not the enemies who have done this but the friends.

Although Washington Long protested, as his letters show, against the evidences of corruption in the Republican party and against that party's Resumption Act, it does not appear that he joined the Greenbackers at once on his return to Maine. It was clear that, with or without his aid, the Democratic vote in Maine was growing, and that in his own Congressional and state legislative districts the balance was evening up, although in national elections and in her choice of senators Maine remained safely Republican. In 1877 Fort Fairfield's vote for Congressman was: Republican, 172; Democrat, 170; Independent Republican, 13. At the same time Aroostook County elected three Democrats and four Republicans to the state legislature.

There are none of Washington Long's letters for this year, and during the winter and spring of the next year, 1878, he was in Kansas. During his absence from Maine the Greenback party reached the peak of its strength there, and, as his letters from Kansas show, Long was swinging further against his old party. He writes from Lawrence on January 21:

I would like to have seen you when in B[oston] but my interest was in need of my presence here. I wanted to learn your political prospects which I guess are good for Gov. another year, provided, parties are not torn to pecies [*sic*] by the financial question. Here the opinion is all one way and that for Silver. The feeling is intense. I noticed the meeting of the Bankers the other day in N. York. I will say one thing to them that if these things continue, they will see a Congress elected next year that will refuse to appropriate one dollar to pay our public and bonded debt. They forget that the South do not feel over anxious to pay and when they legislate in such a manner as to make a dollar loaned during the war worth two in gold the West will go with the South on the question. They may talk about the *patriotism* and *sacredness* of the public faith, and at the same time make a bankrupt law whereby men can go clear of paying their just debts. You cannot get the voter up to the ballot box and vote to sell corn at 15 cts. per bushel to enable the Bondholder to get his pay in gold. You can see the effect. It was a swindle when Congress voted to pay these bonds in anything except what the law was when the debt was made. N. Y. nor Boston cannot govern the trade of this country. New outlets are being made like the deepening the Mis. river at N. Orleans that takes trade from these places but enough of that. . . .

I do not know what to say about my own affairs here. Crops are good, large immigration into the State but prices are low.

The currency question was still holding the center of the stage when Long next wrote, February 7, 1878:

I see the Bland bill is to pass, this will please the West. It is bad policy for N. York and Boston papers to call Western people such hard names. You know what human nature is, that when men get into trouble they always attribute it to some one else and thus it is with men who owe. Care has got to be used or the Bonds of the U. States will be repudiated. Our county is full of demagouges and for place they are willing to pander to anything. The people do not believe there is anything so very sacred about these bonds, they think it was wrong to change the laws and thereby make them payable in gold.

I see Blaine is giving way a little on this gold question, he feels the public pultz as quick as most men. I do not believe the West could elect six men today opposed to the Silver bill. The South we know what must be her feeling. Then it is not all one way in the East. If the East should take a course to combine the South and West what think you will be the fate of a protective tariff?

I think you may make up your mind to see a democratic president next time. Every thing points in that direction. The Southern policy is working well, and this is a democratic measure. The West cannot be governed by party lines as they do in the East.

If I were Bristow I would not be at great expense in trying for the republican nomination for president next time. His chance was at the last election.

Things are growing better here, more dema[n]d for real estate, most immigrants are moneyless. It [is] said there has for the last six mos. more than 100,000 come into this State. Lands could be invested in safely now I think.

On February 13, Long writes to his nephew:

E. B. Washburn lectured here . . . on the Siege of Paris. . . .

I do not think he is a great admirer of Hayes. Says Tilden was elected and ought so to have been declared, had such been the fact, next time the R[epublicans] would have swept the country, saved the Senate and carried the house of Rep. Now we have a democratic administration, and at the next election Tilden is to be the successful man and the R[epublicans] torn all to pieces. He thinks it looks queer to see the Board that made Hayes President in Jail, has no doubt of a bargain made and entered into on the part of Hayes friends to make him president. His views and *mine* coincided to a charm. Thinks Blaine has overshot the mark in his financial course. In business affairs he can't see any bright future, knows not what is to be, is ready to meet anything.

I have no doubt his eye is upon the presidency in 1884. His lecture takes all the Germans. You know he saved 30 thousand of them during the seige and this element is strong in the West.

If these times continue you are to see a move to repudiate the national debt. The holders of these Bonds do not manage discreetly as it seems to me. What do they suppose the people care if the price of the Bonds fall in price. Why the people West find no one crying because their products fall in price in the European market, and so with the Cotton States, there is no wail sent up from N. York and Boston when cotton falls ½ penny on a lb. in the Liverpool market. It does not freighten the people because 60 million of Bonds are sent home here to be sold. You know Butler never wanted them sold to foreigners, he was for keeping them at home.

The whole legislation upon these Bonds since the war has been wrong, no one can successfully maintain the contrary. It does not make any difference who owns them, they are property.

Should Butler get the notion into his head to be Governor next year how is he to be prevented from succeeding? For your interest let him be kept in Congress.

I have been an observer in my little way of what we call the credit system of this country and I come to the conclusion that it would be one of the happiest days the country ever see when the whole code of our laws are abolished for the collection of debts. Talk about the evils of intemperance, they are bad, but so far as perjury is concerned intemperance does not compare with the evil of perjury committed in the getting clear of paying honest debts. Then the expense of our courts and the great amount of legislation expended in framing laws for the collection of debts. No let every man be put upon his honor.

What do you say? is not this a reform that would be beneficial to the whole business world?

The last of this group of letters from Kansas is dated March 29, 1878:

The Silver bill passed and the country not destroyed. The effects of this measure has proved thus far quite different from what its opponents predicted. I trust all will be willing to let the thing alone for a while.

What does your Legislature mean in passing the act allowing Savings Banks not to pay depositors? I know the reason they give for doing it but it seems to

> me this is a dangerous power to grant to corporations. You will see many of the Western States passing stay laws and quoting Mass. as a precedent. Is not the principle all wrong?
>
> I notice the question of Gov. is being broached in your State. I am of the opinion that should Butler be a candidate he would be a formidable one against any party. His course has been such that he would have a large following. The Republicans have weakened themselves in throwing off Simmons. I can't see the consistency of Civil Service reform in this case. While I think Hayes policy in the South has worked well, it has not strengthend Hayes among the republicans north. He has done some weak things in view of what he laid down as the rules which would govern him in his appointments. . . .
>
> Things here are looking better, and the prospect for crops were never better in the Spring. Immigration is immense into the State this Spring. In one county they have in wheat 70,000 acres.[1]

In 1878 Blaine had stumped the Middle West seeking support for the Republicans' money policy and had won many personal admirers in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, but that year saw a Democratic majority in Congress, with thirteen out-and-out Greenbackers. Both the Republican and Democratic parties were in favor of withdrawal of national bank notes and substitution of greenback currency to be issued directly by the government as the sole paper money of the country. Beyond that, the Democrats favored issuing of paper currency as money, unconditional repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875, and repeal of the national banking law.

Upon his return to Maine in July, 1878, Long's political opinions seem to have crystallized. How much this was due to the rapidly growing distrust of Republican monetary policy in the West it is impossible to say. Certainly he was not shocked by the condition of revolt which he found prevailing in his own state. He rejoiced in the defeat of the Republican candidate, Powers, in his own Congressional district and in the victory of Powers' Greenback opponent, Dr. Ladd. He writes to John D. Long on August 15:

> Greenbackism is on the increase in this State. Reed in the 1st District will be defeated in my opinion and Anderson elected. This, Powers' district, will be close, chances about equal. Today looks as though Dr. Ladd (Greenback) would be elected.

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[1] In 1879 Alfred Gray said: "It has been demonstrated every day that the wild soil of the 'Plains' is subject to culture, and capable of utilization. The advance-line of settlements is now over three hundred miles west of the Missouri river, and the entire area east of that line is productive, and keeping pace with it, on its steady and inevitable march toward the Occident, in soil-productiveness. This 'Hundredth meridian' idea—that all west of it is a desert—is as fallacious as the 'isothermal'-line fancy on the slavery question, and is entitled to no more consideration than the latter." Daniel W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), 849.

> I would like to see old Solon[1] elected, he would be an independent representative in Congress, vote and talk as he pleased.

By the time of Long's next letter, September 12, the Maine state election had occurred:

> Our election has passed and the result you know. Powers is burried and will never be resurrected. Hale we think is defeated by a lack of 50 votes. As badly as they have represented his successor, I predict if he goes to Congress he will distinguish himself. He is only 38 years of age, hammered himself on a rock to what he is, he was a good soldier, and I am told by those who know him a man of brain.
>
> This election has surprised friend and foe. I done what little I could to defeat Powers, and would you believe done some talking in this and other towns. Now as to your State. It looks to me that Butler is to be your next Governor. Believing thus would it be well for you to aspire for the nomination in your party? Let that be as it may, if Mass. nominates one of her arristocratic sons for Gov. let them make their own speeches. It is no time for R[epublicans] to over do expecting to succeed. I know there are thousands who have been active in their ranks that prefer to stand and look on a while.
>
> We Greenbackers have swept every thing clean in this county. Don't think you will see any despatches from Blaine this year as to the election.

Long watched the progress of the Greenback movement closely in other parts of the state, especially in Penobscot and Sagadahoc counties, which were even more strongly Greenback than was Aroostook. Maine politics boiled over in the years 1878–1880. The state constitution, up to 1881, required a majority vote for governor. A plurality vote threw the election into the legislature, in which the Greenbackers had no chance unless they effected a fusion with the Democrats. In the 1879 legislature Aroostook had in the House two Republicans, three Democrats, and two Greenbackers, while Penobscot, the most radical county, had fourteen Greenbackers to four of all other parties.

Had the Greenbackers adopted fusion in 1878 and 1879, as they did in 1880, they could have secured control of the state, but the rapid increase of their vote in 1878 misled them into overestimating their strength and attempting to carry through singlehanded. In 1879 the bolters seemed likely to succeed. Washington Long stood successfully for the seat for Fort Fairfield and was designated in the handbook of the 1880 legislature as "Greenback-Republican." Of his colleagues from Aroostook County, three were listed as Republicans, two as Democrats, one as a Greenback-Democrat, and one as an Independent.

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[1] Solon Chase of Turner, a leader in the Greenback party, who won wide attention through his picturesque method of campaigning. He drove about his district with a yoke of steers, frequently decrying the Republican fiscal policy, which, he declared, had reduced the sales value of "them steers" and farm products generally.

That legislature was the center of Maine's most notorious election scandal. Alonzo Garcelon, the Democratic governor, and his Council had attempted to count out some thirty-seven members of the House and Senate to ensure a fusion majority to elect the new governor. Blaine saw his province in revolt, hastened to Augusta, and made his home, across the street from the Capitol, the armed center of a determined drive to prevent the seating of the new legislature. Arms were brought to the Capitol by Governor Garcelon, and mob violence was feared. The Republican state Supreme Court passed adversely upon the claims of the fusionist governor, who surrendered control of the Capitol and the election lists to the legislature as originally returned. It does not appear that there was any question of the validity of Long's election.

In September, 1880, the fusionists triumphantly elected their governor, Harris M. Plaisted, but Long himself was defeated by his regular Republican opponent, Lauriston R. King. He writes from Fort Fairfield, October 12, 1880: "I was defeated here for Rep[resentative] by a maj[ority] of 5, good as 100. Looks to me that Hancock must be the next president. I hope you will step into the Senatorship."

In this he was wrong. Hancock not only was not elected, but failed to carry Maine.[1] Aroostook County, however, gave Hancock almost two hundred more votes than Garfield and elected a Democrat to represent it in Congress. Of Maine's seven Democratic electors, four were Greenbackers.

Long's position in 1881, after his defeat, is dubious, for there are none of his letters for that year. The merger of the Greenbackers with the Democrats destroyed the enthusiasm which their separate organizations had fostered, just as happened ten years later to the Populists. That he followed with interest his nephew's career in Massachusetts is evident, as he repeatedly warned him not to underestimate Butler's vote-getting ability.

On June 8, 1882, he writes:

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[1] The presidential vote in Maine in 1880 was: Garfield, 74,000; Hancock, 65,000; Weaver, 4,400.

> The R[epublicans] in the State are having a lively time for candidate for Gov. I think Robie will win. Thomas expected to carry this county, but I doubt if he gets a single delegate. Robie and myself are personal friends, he wrote me the other day, "to do what I could for him." I have done so, but he is a weak man, the weakest the State ever had except Coburn. There is more ability in Plaisted's little finger than in a doz. like R[obie]. Thomas is a man better fitted for the place than R[obie] but the politicians can't handle him so well. We Fusionists wanted Blaine put on to the Cong[ressiona]l ticket, had it been so we should carry the State by a large majority.
>
> I hope you are not in despair over the politics of Mass. Keep your light burning until after your next election.

It is curious that Washington Long should have been so lenient toward Butler and the Simmons affair, in view of his strictures against Blaine and Conkling and the G.O.P. leaders.

On June 15, 1882, he wrote his last extant letter to his nephew. In it he referred with pleasure to the latter's sentiment which led him to buy the old place which his father enjoyed: "He and myself have spent many a day over those grounds." Washington Long himself was building a hall to seat six hundred people, which, he says, might, in his nephew's opinion, be a poor investment:

> Well there is a pleasure in having a place for people to meet. My friend Robie for Gov.! I told you he stood the best chance. The Granger element in the State was for him. This county Thomas regarded as his right bower, but the delegation stood 48 for Robie, 12 for Thomas!! Such is fate. Robie is the smallest man the State ever nominated for Gov. I want to see the "Civil Service Reformers" go to the polls, shut up their eyes, and put in the votes for R[obie] and swear they have voted the R[epublican] ticket. Plaisted in my opinion is to be our next Gov. although heaven will be shaken to defeat him. . . .
>
> If you could come here on the 4th of July and talk to this county we would give you a *crowd*, better far than Frye had last year.

This hall which Washington Long had built for his home town remained a memorial to his faith in government by discussion, in the democratic fashion of arguing out political questions in the open forum. The informal days of the village store solons had gone. By 1880 Fort Fairfield had a population of 2,800. The railroad connection to Bangor had assured an outlet, independent of the St. John River, for Aroostook's lumber and potatoes. The later pictures of the town show that it was no longer the frontier hamlet in which Long had flourished in the 1860's and 1870's.

Big business interests were invading the district, both in the timber tracts and in the potato fields. But if one wonders whether the hall which Long built was to be filled with yes-men of Bangor or Boston capitalists or independent-minded citizens, one can get some light from the vote cast in Aroostook for Bryan in 1896, and for Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 when the Democrats carried the state elections.

In 1924, however, losing their faith in third-party movements, the Aroostook farmers turned their backs on LaFollette, yielded to the appeal of Calvin Coolidge's Yankeeism, and swung into the Republican column. That year saw Aroostook content with potato prosperity, for which no economic legislation seemed needed. The fact was that the Progressive movement in Maine, like the Greenback movement in the seventies, sprang from the ranks of the farmers who had been Republicans, while the LaFollette party in 1924 drew its strength from the labor unions in the industrial cities, which had normally voted the Democratic or Socialist tickets.

Washington Long died on October 21, 1882, at Fort Fairfield. He was buried in his native town of Buckfield, and in the history of that town, dedicated to its most illustrious son, John D. Long, is a portrait of his Uncle Washington, the author of these letters.

John Fiske: An Interpretation

By Henry Steele Commager

In 1900 Americans were able to read John Fiske's last book, *The Life Everlasting*, and, in translation, Ernst Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*; thus, appropriately, the finale of eighteenth- and the prologue of twentieth-century philosophy merged in curious discord. For to Fiske, with his confident assurance of immortality as a scientific and philosophical truth, the universe was no riddle; it meant intensely and meant good, and to find its meaning was his meat and drink. He had found that meaning, indeed, forty years earlier when, browsing in Little, Brown's bookstore, he had come across the *Social Statics* and the *Principles of Psychology*, together with a prospectus of the cosmic plan already elaborated by the Englishman Herbert Spencer, and he had never felt compelled to seek another. He had promptly subscribed, not only because he was interested, but, he confessed, as "his duty to mankind," and thereafter he was assiduous in performance of duty. Two years later, under the trees of Petersham, he was reading choice passages from the *First Principles* to his fiancée, and these auspices attended his courtship, his marriage, and his early ventures into law and journalism. To the end of his life, indeed, Fiske devoted the major part of his energies to understanding and restating the doctrines of Herbert Spencer.

And what were those doctrines? They were, briefly, those of social evolution, the application of the Darwinian thesis to human society. They taught that man had evolved, socially as well as biologically, from the simple to the complex, that all human institutions had experienced this process, and that the process was governed by what Fiske himself called cosmic laws. They revealed that man had progressed, in accordance with these laws, from savagery to civilization, from chaos to order, from anarchy to law, and they promised further progress in accordance with the irresistible workings of cosmic forces.

To Fiske, as to Spencer and his disciples in England, this was indeed a gospel of good cheer. For it appeared to solve a problem that was gravely troubling the most thoughtful men of that generation. That was the problem of the validity of the moral and religious teachings that had been taken for granted in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but that were now seriously challenged by the findings of science. The philosophy of the Enlightenment, with its faith in reason and in law and its acceptance of absolutes, had been found wanting. The defects did not appear fatal, and they had been partially healed by Transcendentalism, with its assertion of the validity of truths that transcended reason and made proof superfluous. Fundamentally there was harmony rather than conflict between the Enlightenment and Transcendentalism; as every student of Jefferson or Emerson knows, they complemented each other. Both assumed a universe governed by law and knowable to reason; both taught that God—or providence—was good, nature benevolent, and man and society alike perfectible. To both, man was the center of the universe, and to both, the laws that controlled nature and society were absolute, and assured, in the end, the infinite happiness of mankind.

But Transcendentalism itself threatened the integrity of the Enlightenment because it relied so largely upon subjective and a priori rather than sensational facts. By the mid-nineteenth century Transcendentalism—and its manifestations in Romanticism—had lost respectability almost everywhere but in America; in America it was respectable but ineffectual. The early nineteenth century offered nothing in place of reason and idealism; neither Hegelianism nor Positivism nor the Scotch common-sense philosophy could restore to Americans their waning faith in man, in reason, and in progress, nor stem the rising tide of materialism.

At this juncture the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer saved the day, and it was the privilege of Fiske to carry the glad tidings to his fellow countrymen. The new teachings answered perfectly the needs of the time. They gave new assurance of a universe governed by law and of the progressive destiny of man. And now, at last, it was all based, not on fallible reason nor on mere intuition, but on the irreproachable findings of science. Evolution outmoded Transcendentalism, but it did not overthrow Transcendentalism, for if its methods were profoundly different, its conclusions were the same. Reason and intuition had wrestled vainly with the problem of evil in a universe logically or ideally good; evolution made the problem irrelevant. The Enlightenment had built a Heavenly City, and Transcendentalism a Utopia; but evolution held out to man the dazzling prospect of a future more glorious than anything which either had imagined, and its promise carried conviction.

It was the historical function of John Fiske to explain and popularize to Americans these findings of Darwin and Spencer, to square them with religious orthodoxy, adapt them to American society, and apply them to American institutions. He lulled a generation of Americans into the conviction that there was no conflict between science and religion, helped them to sublimate their acquisitive economic practices into a philosophical system, furnished them a new basis for their belief in progress, and inculcated in them faith in the destiny of their own country and the ultimate destiny of man.

To Fiske, more largely than to any other American, was due the immense prestige which Herbert Spencer enjoyed in the United States. Youmans was, to be sure, the pioneer; but Youmans did not live to see the fulfillment of his efforts. Fiske was the ideal spokesman. He was zealous, enthusiastic, eloquent, and indefatigable; he was persuaded that Spencer was the greatest philosopher of all time and that evolution concluded all philosophy, and he won his generation to this persuasion. The influence of Spencer is, indeed, the most striking phenomenon in the intellectual history of the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The formal philosophers and academicians were not greatly impressed by him; but to the average man he was the Luther of the philosophical Reformation. And this was not only because the assiduity of Youmans and the zeal of Fiske made him plausible, but because his teachings, popularized and even vulgarized, furnished a rationalization for rugged individualism and exploitative economy. He appealed to philosophical liberals like Edwin L. Godkin and Henry Holt; he appealed no less persuasively to beneficiaries of that liberalism like Andrew Carnegie. It is not remarkable that Spencer was more widely read in the United States than in England, or that when misfortune threatened the completion of his great project, it was Americans who came to his aid. His audience here was ready and eager, and Fiske had merely to explain, not to convert.

Yet Fiske's own concern was less for the social and economic implications of the doctrine of evolution than for the religious, and he early dedicated himself to the task of reconciling evolution with orthodox Christianity. It is difficult now to appreciate the shock with which devout Christians of the 1860's received the theory of evolution. When Darwinism first burst upon the faithful, it seemed to threaten the very foundations of their faith. It rejected special creation and design, and challenged every system of philosophy or religion which reserved to man a privileged place in the universe. These threats, to be sure, had been anticipated, but neither the Deism of the eighteenth nor the liberal Unitarianism of the early nineteenth century had penetrated deep into American orthodoxy. Darwinism was far and away the most formidable danger which orthodoxy had till now encountered. Yet within a comparatively short time an accommodation was reached, and the issue, which might permanently have arrayed science against religion, was resolved or avoided.

For this happy solution Fiske was in large part responsible. For the rôle of conciliator he was admirably equipped. He had been born to orthodoxy, he was early familiar with the gentle heresies of the Transcendentalists, he was thoroughly at home in science as in religion. He was, in short, precisely the man to reassure the pious that evolution, far from threatening the foundations of faith, strengthened them. This was the thesis not only of the great *Cosmic Philosophy* but of a dozen other volumes of essays, lectures, and sermons. For it was inescapably clear to Fiske that evolution implied the existence of a creative mind and of a plan, that it required belief in an omniscient God and a beneficent nature. But there was more here than even Spencer had supposed. Not only religion as an institution, but faith itself was part of the great evolutionary process. This was the substance of Fiske's cosmic theism, suggested with originality, argued with plausibility, elaborated with learning, dimly anticipating some of William James's later intuitions.

The ethical note is, indeed, far stronger in Fiske than in his master, and it permeates all his writings, historical as well as philosophical. Fiske was at bottom a moralist, just as the great Transcendentalists, Emerson, Parker, Alcott, had been moralists. Science was for him no mere objective study, nor was the universe that science revealed impersonal and amoral. "The distinction between right and wrong," he asserted, "is rooted in the deepest foundations of the universe." And again: "I think it can be shown . . . that the cosmic process is ethical in the profoundest sense, that in the far-off morning of the world, when the stars sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy, the beauty of self-sacrifice and disinterested love formed the chief burden of the mighty theme."

Fiske remained, then, the most notable and certainly the most articulate representative of Victorian optimism. He was sure that he could read the cosmic processes and that they promised well for man. He thought the world good but knew that the best was yet to be. He expressed in prose, usually sober but sometimes lyric, the buoyant faith of Arnold and Tennyson and Browning, the faith in an eternity which affirmed the conception of an hour. Yet even as he wrote and preached so confidently, science was abandoning the positions which he thought impregnable, and with it philosophy. A new physics was to unveil a mechanistic and impersonal universe in which man was insignificant, to substitute energy for purpose, and to match evolution with entropy; a new philosophy confessed that progress was a fiction and moral laws illusions with which men momentarily consoled themselves.

But all this Fiske stubbornly ignored, and his letters as well as his more formal writings are innocent of any recognition of its import. Other Americans, notably Henry Adams, were much concerned with the meaning of the new physics and with the effort to apply it to society. Of all Americans of this generation, indeed, Fiske and Adams present the most illuminating contrast. Both New Englanders, reared in the Puritan tradition, molded by Harvard College and its associations, self-trained to history and to science, at home in English thought and society, their differences in outlook were far more significant than their similarities in station. Fiske preached a genial optimism, Adams a malign pessimism; Fiske was confident of progress, Adams no less sure of degradation; Fiske insisted stubbornly on preserving the ethical elements in science, Adams was indifferent alike to ethics and to religion. To Fiske the universe was an organism evolving inevitably toward perfection, and the destiny of man was to share in this evolution; to Adams the universe was a clock that was running down, and the destiny of man a steady deterioration ending in death.

In another respect, too, Fiske bears a superficial resemblance to the melancholy Adams. Not only were both historians, but both attempted to formulate laws of history. In that generation, as Adams tells us, every historian thought that he was on the verge of discovering some great law that would do for history what Newton had done for the natural sciences. Adams himself formulated a law, and so, too, did his brother Brooks and the scientist, John William Draper.

Even in more limited fields there were efforts to find some framework that would explain or illuminate historical development—the frontier, geography, democracy, race, economics. Adams presented his law after he had written his histories, and one looks in vain through the brilliant pages of the *History of the United States* or the *Life of Albert Gallatin* for any application of the second law of thermodynamics. Fiske formulated his law first, but he applied it to history only incidentally. That law was, very simply, the law of evolution. It was Spencer applied to historical as well as to sociological processes.

The logical laboratory for the testing of such a law was, of course, the American. For America was, clearly, the climax of the evolution of European society. Here in this new world the interaction between inheritance and environment could be most clearly observed; here social and political institutions had developed most naturally; here the whole process was so recent and so fully recorded that it afforded peculiarly illuminating data to the evolutionary historian. As early as 1879 Fiske mapped out a course of lectures on the genesis of American political ideas "treated according to the law of evolution," and he had the assurance of Spencer himself that if he would stick to history, he could "go beyond anything ever yet done." He did stick to history, but he did not go very far—not, indeed, beyond his generalizations.

The trouble was, of course, that the scheme was too large for practical purposes, too large and too generalized. Fiske was brave enough in the announcement of his formula but timid in its application. Spencer had pointed the way toward emphasis upon the particular, and his synthetic philosophy was the result of an accumulation of a multitude of facts. Fiske confined himself to a few more obvious facts and failed to achieve a synthesis. Notwithstanding his interest in the evolution of institutions, the history that he actually wrote was orthodox political and military narrative, narrow in scope and parochial in point of view. He was concerned with the modification of old-world inheritance by new-world environment, but he limited his study of inheritance to Anglo-Saxon law and politics and of environment to the Atlantic coast. He was concerned with institutions, but he left out economics, and his social history, though charming, was merely descriptive. His philosophy of history, in short, was promising, but the promise was never fulfilled.

It is not for their philosophy, however, that Fiske's histories are remembered and sometimes read, but for other qualities of a very different character. Fiske had a talent for the organization and exposition of historical materials that amounted to genius. No American historian was ever more successful in unraveling the tangled skein of history and reweaving it into a pattern bright and clear. There was no room for confusion in Fiske's historical scheme, for evolution does not permit of confusion. Scarcely less important were a breadth of learning and urbanity of treatment, an old-fashioned scholarship that was at home in ancient, medieval, or modern history, familiar with ethnology and anthropology and mythology, ready with an apt allusion from homely experience or an appropriate quotation from literature. Together with this there was everywhere the play of a lively intelligence—a quality reflective rather than philosophical—a readiness to interpret character or moralize about events that fitted well the Victorian mood. And all these qualities were enhanced by a style always smooth and clear, usually felicitous, and occasionally brilliant.

These qualities grace most of Fiske's sweeping panorama of our colonial history. Everywhere—in the *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, the *Beginnings of New England*, the *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, and the posthumous *New France and New England*—one is beguiled by a warm feeling for the physical environment, a generous recollection of illuminating details, brilliant portrayal of character, a sense of life and of movement, a lively humor, a spaciousness and sophistication of treatment. Everywhere the learning is unobtrusive, the imagination controlled, the argument firm and independent. Modern scholarship discounts some of the interpretation—the insistence upon the yeoman and Cavalier element in the Old Dominion, for example—but modern scholarship has yet to paint a more picturesque canvas of colonial history than that which came from Fiske's expert brush.

Yet, notwithstanding these literary virtues, Fiske is no longer widely known or widely read. Scholars still consult *The Discovery of America*; students who gag at McMaster or at Hildreth read *The Critical Period*; but Fiske has no audience comparable to that which his contemporaries, Parkman and Adams, command. The fact is that in his own day Fiske's fame derived very largely from his lectures. It was for lectures that he prepared his histories, and it was, appropriately, as a lecturer that he was most familiar to his own generation.

This is the story most elaborately set forth in Fiske's voluminous letters, and it is a story not without its sober overtones. As a lecturer on historical topics Fiske served a useful purpose; to him, more largely than to any other, is due the credit for reviving an interest in American history and for giving that interest a scholarly rather than a merely chauvinistic quality. His audience, to be sure, was ready and sensitive. The Centennial Exposition had reawakened interest in the American past, and the Civil War had inspired a pride in nationalism that was easily canalized into an interest in national history. Fiske's first historical lectures were given to English audiences, and his fame reverberated back to his own country; if the English were interested in the American past, certainly it was respectable for Americans to confess the same interest. In 1879 Fiske gave a course on American history at the Old South Church in Boston; "the applause was great," he wrote, "and I had a sort of sense that I was fascinating the people and it was delicious beyond expression." He was, indeed, fascinating, and the demands upon him were incessant. Soon he was bounding about the country, hurrying from town to town, from state to state, his hirsute behemoth figure familiar to audiences from Cape Cod to Puget Sound. Lecturing brought him fame and fortune, and soon it was fame and fortune that he was interested in. He abandoned the Harvard College Library and his ambitions for a teaching position, abandoned, too, his ambitious scholarly projects, and threw himself wholeheartedly into his lectures. After a time Major Pond got hold of him: Pond who had sponsored Beecher and Mark Twain and many others. Fiske loved the excitement of it all, compared himself cheerfully to the circus, the opera, the Greek play, and boasted of a "Fiske season." He conquered New England, he harried the Middle West, he carried the Pacific coast by storm. In 1881 he "made a pile of money" in Wisconsin, for "they're lively folks out there, want to hear all the new notions"; three years later he was sure of ten thousand dollars for the season; in 1888 he confessed to 143 lectures. He was a veritable Chautauqua, a peripatetic chair of history and philosophy, and he cheerfully accommodated his menu to the taste of his audiences. He lectured to universities and learned societies and to the President's cabinet; he lectured to ladies' clubs and sipped tea; he lectured to girls innocent of history but eager for culture, and counted five courses at fashionable schools in one winter. Thus he laid waste his powers.

In all this Fiske illustrated a development characteristic of the postwar generation: a watering down of the spiritual content of philosophy, an acquiescence in materialism, an admiration for the public manifestations of success. An earlier generation, too, had taken to the lecture platform, but one looks in vain through the letters of Emerson or Parker or Alcott for any such concern with social prestige and financial returns as permeates the correspondence of Fiske. These giants of an earlier day were men with a message. They, too, counted their audiences, but they counted them with a view to the influence that they might exert, the converts they might make. There is much in Fiske's letters about his audiences, but little about history or philosophy.

This materialism, emanating from the lecture platform, affected many aspects of Fiske's character. It explains, in part, his desertion of philosophy for history, and it explains the kind of history that he wrote. He confessed that he preferred ancient or medieval to American history, but he willingly adapted himself to his market. He took on job after job and regretted that he had so little time for study or thought. Even Harvard College, finally, was admirable because its fellowship brought material rewards, and it is melancholy to read that observation on college friendships: "the moment a little favor is desired, you have only to suggest it, and it's 'Come on, my dear fellow, we'll do what we can for you.' That's why I say, let all my boys go to Harvard College; it pays."

In other respects, too, Fiske illuminates certain traits characteristic of his time. Perhaps the most interesting of these was that return to colonialism which Mr. Van Wyck Brooks has recently noted as an essential element in the New England mind of the postwar years. Fiske himself was a Yankee born and bred, a product of an environment more parochial, perhaps, than other parts of New England. It was New England that he loved, and he resisted every inducement to live in any other section. To walk beneath the elms of Cambridge was his delight, and to tramp the fields of Petersham was very heaven. Yet even in this Connecticut Yankee there were distinct traits of the new colonialism. Compare Emerson in England with Fiske, a quarter-century later: Emerson studying English traits but preserving his American traits with austere dignity; Fiske reveling in English society, eager for English patronage. Imagine Emerson writing, as did Fiske: "This X club that I dined with last Thursday is the most powerful and influential scientific coterie in England. . . . You see they are an influential set of chaps, and there are ever so many fellows in England who would have thought it a great thing to be invited to dine with them. They are exclusive enough, and not lavish with their compliments to folks. Besides all this, they have a good deal of indirect influence with the best Reviews, and so on." Fiske's physical roots were in New England, but his intellectual in Old. There, he felt, was his spiritual home, and tea in London with the right people surpassed anything that Boston had to offer.

It was not only that England was the source of the new philosophy, the home of Darwin and Spencer. In other respects, too, Fiske looked to England—in literature, education, and the arts. The persistent colonial, he was sure that only in Europe did they know about painting and sculpture and the arts, and, for all his letters say, he had never heard of Richardson or Sullivan, Saint-Gaudens or La Farge, while for him Homer and Ryder and Eakins painted in vain. He had grown up in the midst of the pleasantest architecture in America, but he was irritated that we did not "honestly confess our stupidity . . . by copying Oxford or Cambridge buildings literally." It was English literature that he read, English poetry that he quoted, English character that he liked.

So far as his letters indicate, indeed, Fiske was more familiar with and more interested in English than in American public affairs. The indifference which he managed to display toward the great issues agitating American society during his lifetime suggests a curious disassociation from the fundamental interests of that society. He was a young man at college when the batteries at Charleston barked at Fort Sumter, and he congratulated himself that defective eyesight made him ineligible for military service. Nor did he later confess any active interest in the issues of the war or in its outcome; his study of the Mississippi Valley in the war was historical merely. So, too, with the issues and events that dominated American life through the last third of the century. Fiske's letters do not recognize any of the great political questions: reconstruction, impeachment, the contested election, civil service reform, tariffs, trust and railroad regulation, the money question, expansion, and imperialism. They are equally innocent of reactions to social and economic issues. During the years of Fiske's maturity the country was swept by two major panics, by agrarian revolt, by profound disturbances in the relations of capital and labor. Farmers gathered in Grange halls and denounced monopolies; Greenbackers called for inflation; western legislatures struck at the railroads, and the Supreme Court sustained them; anarchists rioted in Haymarket Square, and innocent men were held responsible for the riot; Pinkerton detectives fought a pitched battle with workingmen on the banks of the Monongahela; the Pullman strike tied up transportation throughout the nation, and Cleveland sent troops to Chicago in defiance of Altgeld. Populism swept the West, farmers clamored for free silver, Bryan rejected the cross of gold, and a bumptious nation went to war with Spain and was perplexed at its consequences. Not a word of all this disturbs the placid surface of Fiske's correspondence. Through it all he went serenely on, preparing his courses, counting his auditors, and rejoicing in success.

This divorce from current affairs was in one particular especially remarkable. That was with respect to practical progressivism. Fiske devoted a good part of his lifetime to preaching philosophical progressivism; but in contemporary efforts to secularize that philosophy he had no interest. He had grown up in the atmosphere of the greatest, the most profound, the most sweeping of all reform movements in our history, and he reached the height of his powers at the time when the progressive movement of the nineties was enlisting the energies of men and women all over the country. Henry George, Bellamy, Debs, Altgeld, Bryan, Riis, Storey, Gladden, and a hundred other crusaders were wrestling with the task of ameliorating the crowding evils that afflicted American society. But if Fiske had knowledge of or interest in all this, he failed to reveal it. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the consolation which the Spencerian doctrine did, after all, afford the philosopher: that though the cosmic processes worked slowly, they worked surely, and all would come right in the end. Certainly it was to the conservatives, the defenders of the status quo and of laissez faire, that Spencer irresistibly appealed, and these, in their struggle against radicalism, Fiske all unwittingly supported.

Even in Fiske's professional work there appears something of this same insularity. He was a purveyor of philosophy but scarcely a philosopher—as his contemporaries Royce and James were philosophers—and his professional contacts were meager. Neither his letters nor his writings reveal any interest in the philosophy that antedated Spencer—in Plato or Aristotle or Aquinas or Spinoza or Kant; nor did he trouble himself with contemporary movements other than the Spencerian. He appeared at the Concord School of Philosophy but ignored the weary Transcendentalists who sponsored it. He lectured regularly in St. Louis but was not interested in the Hegelianism which had here put down uncertain roots. He associated with William James but not with James's new pragmatic philosophy.

In history, too, Fiske's professional isolation is striking. The most widely known historian of his day, his responsibility for the revival of interest in American history was a compelling one, but he did not interpret it as requiring any association with fellow workers in the field or recognition of their harvest. Just at the time when Fiske himself turned to history, the study of history in the United States was becoming organized and professionalized. Scholars trooped hopefully over to the German universities and, returning with their Ph.D.'s, conducted seminars dedicated to the study of manuscripts and the production of monographs. History emancipated itself from its antiquarian and its filiopietistic strings, divorced itself from literature, and married science. Scholars like Schouler, Winsor, Rhodes, McMaster, Adams, and a host of others reëxamined and rewrote the history of the American past, and the professional journals groaned with the products of their disciples. It is not apparent that any of this new ferment affected Fiske. One would not know, from his writings, that any contemporary historian had written anything of the slightest interest to him. Much of *The Critical Period* was based upon the first volume of McMaster's *History*, but one searches in vain for any reference to that scholar. In 1895 Fiske gave a lecture on the Frontier in American History, but his letters do not mention the fact that Turner had announced the frontier theory two years earlier.

Indeed, in history as in philosophy, it is difficult to escape the impression that Fiske was a magnificent amateur and, toward the end of his career, something of a dilettante. This is not to suggest that his scholarship was not thorough nor his purpose serious, but that his significance lies largely in his successful popularization of the findings of others. His own contribution—and it was important—was limited to his doctrine of the social significance of the prolongation of infancy. In philosophy he was, as his friend Howells observed, "the mockingbird of Spencer," and with the passing of Spencer, Fiske's philosophical writings have taken on a faintly antiquarian character. In history he made some original contributions, but nothing that he wrote has the permanence of the best of Parkman or of Henry Adams, and for the most part he was content to polish the nuggets quarried by others. He consistently accommodated himself to his patrons, in philosophy and in history alike; even his books, with their neat arrangements and their dramatizations, are evidence of that. His talents for organization and exposition were of so high an order that they overwhelmed those talents for original scholarship which he had possessed. His mind was uncreative, his genius secondhand. And in this, too, he reflected his age, which exploited the past for the necessities of the present, rationalized its will into a religion, and laid up little of use to the future.

But no interpretation of Fiske that confined itself to his intellectual significance and ignored his personality would be complete. The explanation of his immense popularity is not to be found exclusively in the gospel that he preached, but rather in qualities of character and personality that endeared him to his contemporaries and recommend him to posterity. For he was, indeed, a wonderful creature, so large and energetic, breathless with life, bubbling over with enthusiasm, buoyant and cheerful and generous, an intellectual dynamo with a mind that raced like electricity and an inexhaustible store of learning, prodigal of his talents and of his affections; a great, companionable person out of Pickwick, happy in the inns of London or on the highroads of England, reveling in long talks and long bouts with beer and tobacco and ready to leap to the defense of these with his indomitable pen, confessing cheerfully his enjoyment of food and drink. Nothing wearied him, not the endless succession of books to be catalogued or to be read or to be written, or of lectures to be delivered; he would edit an encyclopedia or furnish copy for the newspaper or preach a sermon or sing songs on demand; even travel was not tedious, and he never grumbled at the discomforts of the railroad or of small-town hotels, but found it all refreshing. He was incurably romantic: about his wife, whom he adored, and his children, who tumbled about him; about beauty in every form—the snug hills of Petersham or the lochs of Scotland or the blue waters of Puget Sound, the beeches of England, and the fragrant roses that he cultivated. And he was happiest when he could sing the lyrics of Schubert or play the sonatas of Beethoven. He delighted in the richness of life; and in his felicity he embraced with gusto his work, his family, his friends, his books, knew no hesitations or frustration, never doubted that his world was good or that his feet were set firmly upon the right path. This is the Fiske who emerges, living, from his letters; and he is, for all his limitations, one of the most lovable figures of his generation.

Trusts for Accumulation of Income:
The Wills of Benjamin Franklin and Peter Thellusson[1]

By Joseph Warren

In September, 1934, Edgar L. Rhodes of Brookline, a part owner of the firm of Rhodes Brothers Company, made a will in which, after making provision for his family and for annual gifts to charity, he directed that the residue of his estate be held in trust for accumulation until the principal and accumulated income should amount to $100,000,000, when four-fifths thereof should be paid to the Gordon College of Theology and Missions of Boston and one-fifth to the New England Baptist Hospital. If either of these institutions should cease to exist, the trustees were to pay the fund to such organizations as they should designate as doing similar work. The bequest to the Gordon College of Theology and Missions was conditioned upon that institution's maintaining absolute loyalty to its adopted creed: the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.

Mr. Rhodes died on October 15, 1937. In January, 1938, the will was compromised under the Massachusetts statute allowing such procedure, and an agreement was filed by which the college and the hospital surrendered the gift of the residue and the accumulations and took in place of them a much smaller bequest of capital and income maturing in a much shorter time.

It is not intended to give a professional opinion upon the validity of this will but to call attention to certain considerations, historical and otherwise, which are suggested by it. One may consider, in the first place, trusts for accumulations for a private person. These involve the Rule against Perpetuities: that "no interest is good, unless it must vest, if at all, not later than twenty-one years after some life in being at the creation of the interest."[2]

The rationale of the rule has best been stated by Professor John C. Gray.[3] The doctrine was developed by the courts in order to further the free alienation of land. It strikes down not all future interests, but remote future interests. Suppose land is devised to John Smith and his heirs, but if any of them take holy orders, to Robert Jones and his heirs. It is obvious that John and his heirs *may* remain laymen for a century or more and that the gift to Robert may never take effect—or only after many years. Yet John will have great difficulty in selling the land. No one will wish to buy it with the sword of Damocles of Robert's off-chance hanging over him. And if the prospective vendee attempts also to get a release from Robert, he will find Robert putting an exorbitant price on his conditional interest. The difficulty is, of course, greatly increased after Robert's death, for in this country all children inherit equally, and the prospective purchaser will have to deal with the bargaining idiosyncrasies of a number of persons. Professor Gray puts it in this way:

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[1] See also Samuel F. McCleary's remarks on the Franklin Fund in 2 *Proceedings*, XII. 17–29. In my account of the Franklin Fund I have made extensive use of Henry S. Pritchett's article, "A Tale of Two Cities," in *Scribner's*, LXXVI (November, 1924), 470–475.

[2] John C. Gray, *Rule against Perpetuities*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1915), §201.

[3] *Ibid.*, Chapter VII.

> It is desirable that a man's motives to make the most of his property should not be diminished by the danger of losing it on a future contingency; on the other hand each generation should have the power of providing for those who come immediately after it in the way it thinks best by limiting the interests given them; and the Rule against Perpetuities, as extended, is the line which the law has laid down so as to give both these desirable objects a reasonable field without encroaching on the other.[1]

The rule means that a man can leave by will property to his unborn grandchildren at their birth, or to his unborn grandchildren at twenty-one; but, unless there are special features in the will, he cannot leave it to his own unborn grandchildren at twenty-two, or to another's unborn grandchildren at any age. No rule of law is more mathematical in its application or is more inexorably enforced. Two examples will show this. If the income of property is bequeathed to Charles's widow (if he leave one surviving him) for life, and then the principal to Charles's children surviving his widow, the gift to such children is bad. The widow is not necessarily Charles's present wife or some woman now living; she may be an unborn person. As a result, this gift to the children after the death of an unborn person is too remote. Again, in a case where a testator directed his trustees to carry on his business as a gravel contractor until his gravel pits were worked out and then to sell the pits and his other land and divide the proceeds among his issue then living, the ultimate gift was held void because although only half an acre remained to be dug out, which would ordinarily have taken only three or four years, yet vicissitudes might possibly have postponed the completion until too remote a time.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, §268.

No rule of law has been applied with such precision, and there is no more perfect example in the legal history of the common law of the slow and sure development of a legal doctrine. It was 250 years from its beginnings in 1682 to its completion in 1833. Just before it had fully flowered came the famous will of Peter Thellusson in 1797.

Thellusson's father was a citizen of the state of Geneva, and Thellusson himself was born in Paris about 1737. He had at an early age a considerable sum of money and did so well with it commercially in England that at his death there in 1797 he had over £700,000. When he made his will in 1796, he had three sons and three daughters. All three sons were carrying on his business and were members of Parliament. Two of them had children.

The will made a relatively moderate provision for his family, to the extent of about £137,000, and disposed of the residue, about £600,000, in the following extraordinary manner. After counseling his sons "to avoid ostentation, vanity and pompous show," he devised all his land and all his personal property to be invested in land to trustees to accumulate the rents and profits during the lives of his three sons, and of the sons of each of his sons, then in being or thereafter to be born to each of his sons, and of such issue as any of his grandsons should have as should be living at the time of the testator's death or born in due time afterwards, and upon the decease of the last survivor to settle one-third on "the eldest male lineal descendant then living" of the testator's eldest son, a second lot on the eldest male lineal descendant then living of his second son, and the third lot on the eldest male lineal descendant then living of his third son in tail male with cross remainders. And if there should be a general failure of all the male descendants of his three sons, the money was to go to the Crown to be applied to the use of the sinking fund.

Peter Thellusson left three sons and four grandsons, whose ages ranged from thirty-six years to five months. Shortly after his death two more grandchildren were born, so there were, in all, nine lives during which the accumulation was to run.

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[1] *In re* Wood, L.R. [1894] 3 Ch. 381.

Mr. Morgan, the celebrated actuary of the Equitable Life Assurance Company, calculated that there was more than an even chance of the accumulation lasting till 1868, and that the property to be reserved for the ultimate trust, about £600,000 at Thellusson's death, would in seventy-five years amount to £23,299,611. The last of the *cestuis que vies* died February 25, 1856.

The trust was, of course, litigated by the family, who claimed that it was void. The court said that the Rule against Perpetuities applied to a contingent gift of accumulation of income; but the trust was upheld by the court because the gift was not too remote, being confined to lives in being.[1] However, the scheme failed to fulfill the expectations of the testator. The legal profession succeeded by its charges in keeping the estate within reasonable limits. Down to 1833, £89,000 had been expended in counsel fees. The compensation allowed to the trustees being nominal, the property was managed by receivers, whose charges were very high. Furthermore, there was a clause in the will which set aside an establishment at Brodsworth "to be kept for the purpose of receiving any of my trustees, or my sons, who shall choose to go and spend a little time there occasionally." There was litigation as to whether this provision included other trustees than those originally appointed. In 1828 the court gave "a liberal construction" to this clause so far as the trustees were concerned, but held that the posthumous hospitality did not include grandsons. A liberal allowance was ordered out of income for keeping up the establishment, especially during the shooting season.

In thirty-six years the accumulation had amounted to only £326,000, a little over half the original fund. Furthermore, in 1856, when the trust fell in, the House of Lords was obliged to determine what was meant by "the eldest male lineal descendant then living" of one of the testator's sons, and decided in favor of a younger man by an elder branch as against an older man by a younger branch.[2]

Thellusson's will contained a clause to this effect: "As I have earned the fortune I now possess with industry and honesty, I trust and hope that the legislature will not in any way alter my will, or the limitations thereby created, but permit my property to go in the manner in which I hereby dispose of it." The storm of abuse with which this preposterous will was greeted contained a charge that the provision for addition to the sinking fund was so remote of accomplishment that it could not be attributed to patriotic motives but to a miserable attempt to bribe Parliament not to interfere with his scheme.

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[1] Thellusson *v.* Woodford, 4 Ves. Jr. 227, 11 Ves. Jr. 112 (1798–1805); Francis Hargrave, *Juridical Arguments*, II (London, 1799), Appendices 1 and 2; John F. Hargrave, *The Thellusson Act* (London, 1842); article on Peter Thellusson in *Dictionary of National Biography*; Herbert Barry, "Mr. Thellusson's Will," *Virginia Law Review*, XXII (February, 1936), 416–438.

[2] Thellusson *v.* Rendlesham, 23 Beav. 321 (1856); 7 H.L.C. 429 (1859).

No one knows who drew the will or what suggested the plan to Thellusson. It has been believed that the founding of Pitt's sinking fund in 1786 had some influence, but there is no proof of it. I have sought to find some connection between the Franklin will of 1790, discussed later in this paper, and the Thellusson will, but have found none. It was, however, an era when thoughts of accumulations were in the air.

The court having correctly decided, in view of the precedents, that the will was legally valid, Parliament did little to interfere with it. But the effect of the decision is said to have been extraordinary. Testamentary and other settlements more or less like Thellusson's for every kind of curious object sprang up. The scheme was seized on by avaricious and purse-proud testators. Accordingly, Parliament passed in 1805 what was known as the Thellusson Act, which restricted accumulations for private trusts to twenty-one years but did not in any other way affect the Rule against Perpetuities. New York and Pennsylvania have statutes based on this act.

The common-law Rule against Perpetuities received its final benediction from the House of Lords in 1833. That court then held valid a future gift (not a case of accumulation) to take effect at the end of a term of twenty years after the expiration of twenty-eight selected lives in being in 1818, the date of the testator's death. This estate, it may be noted, was finally closed in May, 1918.

There are three interesting modern examples of the application of the rule. A testator died in 1926 leaving by will interests which were not to vest until "20 years from the day of the death of the last survivor of all the lineal descendants of Her Majesty Queen Victoria who shall be living at the date of my death." Evidence showed that in 1926 there were about 120 such descendants in England, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, and that there might be others elsewhere. It was not certain whether any of the Czarina's children were living, and it appeared that the expense of tracing those who had fallen into obscurity through the war would be heavy. Then there were questions with respect to morganatic marriages. The English Court of Appeal held that these difficulties were "not insurmountable" and that the gift was valid—this although the House of Lords had said in 1805 in the Thellusson will case that the test was "any number of lives the extinction of which could be proved without difficulty."[1]

In re Moore,[2] however, presented a vaguer case. Here a gift after "twenty-one years from the death of the last survivor of all persons who shall be living at my death" was held void for uncertainty.

In Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga* the will of Timothy Forsyte bequeaths the residue to trustees

> . . . in trust for that male lineal descendant of my father Jolyon Forsyte by his marriage with Ann Pierce who after the decease of all lineal descendants whether male or female of my said father by his said marriage in being at the time of my death shall last attain the age of twenty-one years absolutely, it being my desire that my property shall be nursed to the extreme limit permitted by the laws of England for the benefit of such male descendant as aforesaid.

Must the lives be human lives? Suppose a limitation itself too remote is made of a horse, dog, or some long-lived animal such as an elephant or a tortoise. If it is a female animal, the gift is bad because property in the young follows property in the mother. Suppose, however, it is a male elephant—the encyclopedias say that elephants live from 150 to 200 years.

Curiously enough, a similar question recently arose in a case in Ireland. The testator left one hundred pounds to his executors to spend four pounds a year for the support of each of his dogs. Should any balance remain in the executors' hands on the death of the last dog, he left it to "the Parish Priest for the time being of the Parish of Tullaroan for masses for the repose of my soul." The judge held that the Rule against Perpetuities applied to a contingent gift to a charity (gifts for masses are now held to be charitable gifts) and that he could not take judicial notice of the fact that the dogs could not live more than twenty-one years after the testator's death: that "lives" meant human lives, and that the gift to the priest was void.[3]

The case was approved in the New York decision of Matter of Howells,[4] where a trust fund was established to care for the two pet cats and three pet dogs of the testatrix and thereafter for a specified person. By statute in New York the lives are expressly limited to two lives, and as there were five animals, the gift over was bad on that account alone. But the court extrajudicially expressed the opinion that the lives must be human lives.

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[1] *In re* Villar [1929] 1 Ch. 243.

[2] [1901] 1 Ch. 436.

[3] *In re* Kelly [1932] 1 Irish 255.

[4] 145 Misc. Rep. 557 (1932).

In Matthews *v.* Daniel,[1] a case in North Carolina before the Civil War, a Negro man was bequeathed to A and her heirs and on a remote contingency over to someone else. The court held the gift over bad. It said: "The argument that here the event must happen, if at all, in the lifetime of the negro, and that so the event is limited to a life in being, has at least the merit of novelty to recommend it, but will not bring the case within legal limits." But in truth the argument cannot be answered.[2]

It will be interesting now to turn to accumulations for a charitable purpose. The Rule against Perpetuities does apply to a single contingent remote gift to a charity. But a gift to a charity which is certain to come into possession later, with a gift of income either to be paid annually to the charity or to be accumulated, is a present gift to the charity. At the worst it can only be said that the enjoyment is postponed. In England, however, it has been held that where there is an immediate gift to a charity, a direction to accumulate the income is void as against public policy. The doctrine of the Massachusetts court, however, is that "the limits of an accumulation for the benefit of a charity are subject to the order of a court of equity." In other words, the court has a discretion, at any time that it deems the accumulation to be running counter to public policy, to modify or to stop entirely the rolling up of interest and dividends for a charitable purpose.

There are two examples of charitable trusts for accumulation in Massachusetts which are worthy of particular notice.[3] The first is the famous Franklin codicil.

Benjamin Franklin, who died in 1790, made on June 23, 1789, a codicil to his will by which he left £1,000 to the town of Boston to be let out "upon interest at five per cent. per Annum to such young married artificers, under the Age of twenty-five years, as have served an Apprenticeship in the said Town, and faithfully fulfilled the Duties required in their Indentures, so as to obtain a good moral Character from at least two respectable Citizens, who are willing to become their Sureties in a Bond." The interest on the loans and on the original fund was to be accumulated for one hundred years, when it was estimated by Franklin that the amount would be £131,000. Of this sum he then directed that £100,000 should be laid out "in Public Works which may be judged of most general utility to the Inhabitants such as Fortifications, Bridges, Aqueducts, Public Buildings, Baths, Pavements or whatever may make living in the Town more convenient to its People and render it more agreeable to strangers. . . ."The remaining £31,000 was to be continued at interest in like manner for another hundred years, and at the end of the second term this fund, which he thought would then be £4,061,000, was to be distributed among the inhabitants of the town and objects designated by the governor of the state. He left a like sum, under the same conditions, to the city of Philadelphia.

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[1] 2 Hayw. 346 (1805). [2] Gray, *Perpetuities*, §228.

[3] A third example is the Fitzgerald Fund of Mayor John F. Fitzgerald, a gift of $1,000 in 1906 to accumulate for one hundred years for the benefit of the city of Boston. On June 30, 1941, it amounted to $3,557.39.

Before even a half century had passed, the economic impracticability of the Franklin scheme was realized by the boards of both cities. From the book of applications of the Boston managers, for instance, it appears that some twenty-eight young mechanics applied for grants in 1791 in sums varying from $67 to $266. These men represented many different trades: brickmakers, tanners, silversmiths, hairdressers, saddlers, and the like. At the end of fifty years only four hundred loans had been made by the Boston managers, and the number of applications had dropped to one a year. In 1836 the board declared:

> . . . it is apparent . . . that the benevolent intentions of the donor have not been realized, and that, in the present condition of our country, it is not advantageous to married mechanics under the age of twenty-four years to borrow money to be repaid in easy instalments, at the low rate of interest, and the improvidence of early marriages may fairly be inferred. The great number of instances in which sureties have been obliged to pay the loans, has rendered it not so easy, as formerly, for applicants to obtain the required security.[1]

As a result of difficulties such as these, the total Boston fund on July 1, 1891, was but a little over $391,000 ($391,168.68) instead of the much larger sum which Franklin had anticipated. At that time $72,000 was set apart for investment for the second hundred years, and $319,000 was at once available for "Public Works," subject to the outcome of last-minute litigation instituted in Philadelphia by Franklin heirs in an attempt to break the codicil of the will. By 1904, when all legal problems had been settled, the sum had increased to $408,000. It was felt that since the apprentice plan had failed, the best thing to do was to help trades. An evening school for trades, the present Franklin Union, was proposed. The trade-unions objected because it was feared a supply of strikebreakers would be built up—an apprehension which has not been justified by the facts. In 1906 the construction of the Franklin Union building for a technical school was started, the money for the building coming from the Franklin Fund and the land from the city of Boston, while a maintenance fund equal in amount to the sum supplied by the Franklin Fund was given by Andrew Carnegie. The second part of the Franklin Fund, $72,000, now running its second century, reached $411,488.16 on January 1, 1927; $598,798.62 on November 30, 1935; and $636,994.94 on April 30, 1937.[1]

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[1] *Scribner's*, LXXVI. 475.

The management of the Franklin Fund in the century and a half of its existence has gone through several phases. In the early years it was in the hands of the selectmen of the town of Boston, together with the ministers of the oldest Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in the town. When in 1822 Boston became an incorporated city, the mayor and the board of aldermen succeeded the selectmen as trustees on the assumption that such a transfer of control was implicit in the provision of the new city charter vesting in the mayor and aldermen all the powers hitherto exercised by the selectmen. In 1903, however, when a movement was on foot for using the available part of the fund for the construction of a public park, the question was raised in the courts as to whether or not the mayor and aldermen were legally the successors of the selectmen as trustees of the fund. The Supreme Judicial Court rendered a decision that they were not, further arguing that "in such a case when it becomes impossible to administer a public charity precisely according to the directions of the founder it is the duty of a Court of equity to carry out his general purpose as nearly as practicable." The court accordingly ordered that the board of managers of the fund should consist, in addition to the clergymen of the three churches mentioned above, of nine persons (a number equal to that of the selectmen of the town at the time of Franklin's death) including the mayor of Boston ex officio.[1] The trustees were subsequently incorporated as the Franklin Foundation by an act of the Massachusetts legislature approved on June 1, 1908.

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[1] On June 30, 1941, the fund had reached $749,939.76.

The management of Philadelphia's fund, which since 1870 has been in the hands of the Board of Directors of City Trusts, has not produced so fortunate results as those achieved in Boston. At the end of the first hundred years there had accumulated approximately $90,000, a small amount in comparison with the $391,000 then in the Boston fund. The portion of this to be set aside to accumulate for another hundred years accordingly amounted to $20,000, as compared with the $72,000 in Boston. The difference between the Boston and the Philadelphia results seems to have been in large measure due to the fact that in Philadelphia the fund was administered strictly according to the will long after it was clear Franklin's plan would not work. Great efforts were made to find mechanics willing to make use of the money accumulated under the fund, but this anxiety to get the money into use resulted in a less rigid scrutiny of the trustworthiness of the borrowers, and for this reason a considerable sum was lost. In Philadelphia the final disposition of the first part of the fund was not made until 1908, when the sum of $133,076.46 was turned over to the Franklin Institute for a building.

Another instance of accumulation for a charity in this commonwealth is illustrated by the recent case of Frazier *v.* Merchants Bank of Salem.[2] The testator bequeathed his fortune, with the exception of two small legacies, to the bank in trust to invest the principal and add thereto the accumulated income until principal and income should amount to $1,000,000. This sum was then to be turned over to the Salem Hospital as a permanent fund. The estate did not exceed $117,000. The court upheld the trust, declaring that the interest of the hospital vested at the testator's death so that the Rule against Perpetuities was not violated; nor was the gift against public policy. Mr. Justice Qua said:

> Quite apart from the Rule against Perpetuities there are reasonable limits to a testator's right to impound present day wealth in the hope of being able to project his ideas into the unknown conditions of a distant future. . . . In this instance the period of accumulation will be long. It is conceivable that before a fund of approximately $117,000 can be accumulated to $1,000,000 changes

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[1] Boston *v.* Doyle, 184 Mass. 373 (1903).

[2] 296 Mass. 298 (1936).

> in the social and economic structure will have rendered the scheme impracticable or impossible of accomplishment. But with the experience of the past as a guide it is safer to suppose that opportunities to invest money at interest will continue and that the Salem Hospital or some institution identifiable with it or sufficiently similar to it, serving the same public need in the same locality will be in existence and capable of utilizing the ultimate benefits of the trust in the interests of the public as intended by the testator. Indeed from the present day viewpoint it would not seem unlikely that the full accumulation might be attained within a time not much longer than that which appears to have been either expressly or tacitly approved in . . . [previous decisions].[1]

And now the Rhodes will has been compromised. But all property lawyers of a highly specialized sort will regret that the Massachusetts court will not have an opportunity to consider whether the gift to the Gordon College of Theology and Missions was contingent rather than immediate, or whether the accumulation of the income for this small institution was so against public policy as to be subject to the revision of a court of equity.

[1] *Ibid.*, 301.

Writs of Assistance in England

By George G. Wolkins

Writs of assistance are famous chiefly because James Otis argued against them. It was in an attempt to examine the case of Boston merchants against the issue of a writ of assistance on the application of Thomas Lechmere, Surveyor General of His Majesty's Customs for the Northern District of America, in the Superior Court of Judicature in Boston in the February term of 1761, that I read a paper before this Society in June, 1924, on "Daniel Malcom and Writs of Assistance."[1] Writs of assistance to seize uncustomed or smuggled goods were apparently introduced during the reign of Charles II as an additional instrument to enforce the collection of revenue. Since then the form of the writ has been modified only slightly, and the following is quoted from an Act of Parliament of 13 and 14 Charles II, c. 11, §5, an "Act of Trade":

> And it shall be lawful to or for any Person or Persons, authorized by Writ of Assistance under the Seal of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, to take a Constable, Headborough or other publick Officer inhabiting near unto the Place, and in the Day-time to enter, and go into any House, Shop, Cellar, Warehouse or Room, or other Place, and in Case of Resistance, to break open Doors, Chests, Trunks and other Package, there to seize, and from thence to bring, any Kind of Goods or Merchandize whatsoever, prohibited and uncustomed, and to put and secure the same in his Majesty's Store-house, in the Port next to the Place where such Seizure shall be made.[2]

That is the language of the Stuart statute of 1662. It provides for a general writ: no information is required to be filed. No description of persons or places or goods to be searched or seized is prescribed: it is a general warrant, for use on occasion, the customs officer to be judge of the occasion; it is effective during the reign of the king in office when it issues, and for six months after his death. In the paper referred to, offered under the expert guidance of Worthington C. Ford, then the Editor of the Society, I made diligent effort to document each assertion and to explore every inquiry that might be thought germane to the subject. Unhappily, my diligence slackened toward the end of the paper, and I allowed myself to be trapped into using the following sentence: "In America, in the Fourth Amendment to the federal Constitution and in the constitutions of the several states there were included prohibitions against general writs, and by 1817 the English Board of Customs had itself abandoned the use of Writs of Assistance except upon information supported by oath."[1] To the first part of that sentence no serious exception can be taken. The Fourth Amendment is explicit: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."[2] No public officer, therefore, in this country, can be supplied with a general warrant for use on occasion, he to be judge of the occasion. About that there can hardly be a question.

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[1] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 5–84.

[2] *Statutes at Large*, III. 237.

It is to the latter clause of the statement under review that this present note is being addressed: "... and by 1817 the English Board of Customs had itself abandoned the use of Writs of Assistance except upon information supported by oath." The authority relied upon was Horace Gray, Jr., who provided the notes and the appendix to "the celebrated case of the 'Writs of Assistance' "[3] that appear in Quincy's *Reports*.[4] Gray states:

> But in England the practice of issuing general writs of assistance continued until 1817, when a limit was imposed upon their use by an order of the Board of Customs, providing that no writ of assistance should in future be delivered to any officer of the customs, unless he should previously make oath before a magistrate of his belief and grounds of belief that smuggled goods were lodged in a certain house. And thus the reasonableness of the position of the Colonies was finally vindicated in the mother country.[5]

Gray cites two authorities for the first of the two statements. One is Joseph Chitty, "of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law," who says:

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[1] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 24.

[2] This text, word for word, was adopted by the Constitutional Convention in New York in 1938 and as an amendment to the state constitution was approved by vote of the people, November 8, 1938. William F. McKinney, *Consolidated Laws of New York Annotated* (New York, 1939), Book 2, Constitution, Article I, Section 12. Until the amendment was effective, New York was the only state in the Union not to include this prohibition in its bill of rights. See editorial, *New York Times*, July 13, 1938.

[3] Josiah Quincy, Jr., *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, between* 1761 *and* 1772, Samuel M. Quincy, Editor (Boston, 1865), iv.

[4] *Ibid.*, 395–540. See also 2 *Proceedings*, VI. 195.

[5] Quincy, *Reports*, 535.

> According to an order of the board of customs of 2d April, 1817, no writ of assistance is in future to be delivered to any officer of customs, unless he previously makes oath before a magistrate that he has received information that smuggled goods are lodged in a house or houses (stating the number of houses if more than one), that his informer is a person upon whom he can depend, and that the goods have been seen on the premises, as he is informed and verily believes.[1]

Gray's other citation is from Thomas Coote Wildman, "of the Secretary's Office," who brought together in convenient form not only the regulations issued by the customs commissioners but also the minutes of action they had taken:

> Writs of assistance are not to be delivered to any officer, until he shall make declaration:—"That he has received information that smuggled goods are lodged in a house or houses (stating the number of houses if more than one), that his informer is a person upon whom he can depend, and that the goods have been seen on the premises, as he is informed and verily believes."[2]

Publication of Chitty's and Wildman's manuals was separated by an interval of thirty years, but both are conclusive in support of Gray's pronouncement that "a limit was imposed upon the use" of writs of assistance by the Board of Customs in 1817. There remains, however, the fact that the personnel of customs boards is subject to change, and it is clear from Wildman's text that in the course of the thirty years there were important modifications in administering the Acts of Trade. The clause in Wildman, "until he shall make declaration," is not the same as the clause in Chitty, "unless he previously makes oath before a magistrate." In 1847, in Wildman, writs are not to be granted to subordinate officers without the consent of their principals; in 1849 no officer, "on any pretence whatever," is to retain the writ in his possession; and "Officers of Customs, unprovided with commissions from the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, are to secure the attendance of an officer of that department before they enter houses, or other places, in search of private stills, etc." There is emphasis upon change, as if it were realized that in respect to a general writ abuses could creep in and that the rights of the individual ought to be safeguarded against the general warrant as a possible weapon of arbitrary power. Gray was quite right in pointing to the general order of 1817 so far as he affirmed the fact of its issue, and there was nothing inconsistent either in his stating that the provision in the reign of Charles II for writs of assistance was repeatedly reënacted, as in 6 George IV, c. 108, §40, and 16 and 17 Victoria, c. 107, §221,[1] or in his printing the text of a writ of assistance issued in the name of Victoria.[2] The point is that the law remained unchanged, but the practice, the procedure, the administrative orders of the customs authorities were bound to vary as new conditions developed and the authorities found themselves obliged to adapt their ministerial function to situations not previously encountered. "And, if in London," says Wildman, "not until the Solicitor . . . shall have reported that there appears to him ground for allowing the use of a writ of assistance; the officer being required first to state confidentially to him the particular premises in respect of which the information is given . . ." shall the writ be granted. These instances are proof that procedure was not set in a rigid formula, unchanged and unchanging, as Gray's subsequent dictum might lead one to believe: "And thus the reasonableness of the position of the Colonies was finally vindicated in the mother country." Almost it would appear in this rather spontaneous generalization Gray had yielded to a human impulse to pontificate for the benefit of students of the law and of history.

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[1] Joseph Chitty, *A Treatise on the Laws of Commerce and Manufactures* (London, 1824), I. 791.

[2] Thomas Coote Wildman, *The General Orders and Minutes of the Board of Customs Consolidated by Their Directions, to the 30th June*, 1854 (London, 1854), 358–359.

In 1924 I read the texts with some care, but today, in the light of other information, they convey other meaning. In 1924 I felt bound to agree with Gray's pious conclusion, "finally vindicated," and I thought I could say safely, as I did say: "It can hardly be denied, therefore, that the argument of James Otis influenced and to a degree determined the course of legal history in that particular."[3] England had rung the knell of the general writ of assistance in respect to the customs; thenceforward, from 1817, such limits were placed upon its use that no general writs of assistance would issue in England "except upon information supported by oath"; and for more than a century the authorities in England had deemed it not prudent to put into the hands of customs officers for use on occasion the general writ of assistance that had its forceful derivation in a Stuart Act of Trade. There I rested; I was sure of my ground, and the assertions of fact that I presented with such confidence appeared finally in the Society's *Proceedings*.

In October, 1926, two years later, a fortunate interview with the

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[1] Quincy, *Reports*, 397*n*.

[2] *Ibid.*, 399.

[3] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 24–25.

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Librarian of the Custom House in London gave an unexpected turn to the inquiry. With much courtesy the different departments of the Custom House were shown me. I saw the specially constructed wine cellar for the use of the commissioners, the facilities for communication with outports, the archives, and the library. Among the treasures in the library were a log book in the handwriting of John Paul Jones, who had sailed from Dundee, the copper plate from which the commissions for America were struck off, a writ of assistance that had been pawned in the eighteenth century, and such of the ancient files as were spared by the fire of 1814. The Librarian, B. R. Leftwich, M.B.E., then directed attention to a piece of parchment that had been in a collector's safe during a fire in one of the outports. The parchment had shriveled to an eighth of its original size, but it had contracted so evenly that the print and script were plainly legible. Except for evidence of scorching, it had much the appearance of a photographic miniature of the original, and it was being preserved among the curios of the customs establishment. It was a writ of assistance, and in the name of George V, for use "from time to time as they shall think proper. . . ."

"Do you mean," I asked the Librarian, "that a collector in an outport is allowed to keep such a writ in his possession for use as he may think fit?" "Certainly," was the reply. "Every important collector of the customs has one in his safe. In these days of the motor car we can't wait to apply to the King's Bench for a special warrant." And so it was! The conclusions in respect to writs of assistance in England arrived at by Gray and those who had followed him, myself included, had been wide of the mark; our historical statements needed to be revised. Not only had the general writ of assistance survived with very little change in language, but the Board of Customs had authorized its use "from time to time as the officers shall think proper," although it is used in an extremely guarded manner. It is worth mentioning that in an important English authority published in 1854 there is to be found no reference to the so-called general order of April 2, 1817, but the 1662 statute stands out in unaffected virility.[1] In 1876 there was a codification or "consolidation" of customs laws then in effect, and for a clear statement as of April 7, 1927,

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[1] *The Laws of the Customs Consolidated by the Direction of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, with a Commentary by Felix John Hamel, Solicitor for Her Majesty's Customs* (London, 1854), 215.

I turn now to a letter from Mr. Leftwich, who, besides being Librarian of the Custom House, is Secretary to the Commissioners of H.M. Customs and Excise:

> As regards "Writs of assistance" I have pleasure in transmitting herewith a cancelled copy of that at present in use.[1] You will see that it emanates from the Court of King's Bench which is the present successor of the old Court of Exchequer which for this purpose was abolished in 1881. The Statutory sanction for its use is contained in the Customs Consolidation Act of 1876, 39/40 Vict, Section 204 which reads:
>
> "All writs of assistance issued from the Court of Exchequer or other proper court shall continue in force during the reign for which they were granted and for six months afterwards, and any officer of Customs or person acting under the direction of the Commissioners of Customs having such writ of assistance or any warrant issued by a justice of the Peace may in the daytime enter into and search any house, shop, cellar, warehouse room or other place and in case of resistance break open doors, chests, trunks and other packages and seize and bring away any uncustomed or prohibited goods and put and secure the same in the King's Warehouse and may take with him any constable or police officer who may act as well without as within the limits of the district or place for which he shall have been sworn or appointed."
>
> The whole essence of a "Writ of Assistance" is speed in use where delay would endanger the revenue. In all ordinary cases a Search Warrant granted by a magistrate is used but it occasionally happens that to delay matters while a Magistrate was being sought for would endanger the safety of the Revenue and hence it is open to an Officer to procure from his superior officer, a writ of assistance for immediate action.
>
> The exact regulations governing the use of this extremely powerful document are strictly confidential but I may say that occasions when its use is necessary are comparatively rare, the magistrates' Search Warrant being usually all that is required.[2]

In *Ham's Year Book*,[3] a kind of handbook for the use of officers of the customs establishment, the following items are brought together:

> *Custody of Writs of Assistance.*—Collectors and other officers to whom writs

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[1] See the facsimile accompanying this article. For purposes of comparison there is also reproduced here a draft form of a writ of assistance in the handwriting of Thomas Hutchinson and prepared undoubtedly as a pattern for the clerk of the court to copy and issue in the so-called Paxton case. Without question this is the document the text of which Gray includes in his appendix to Quincy's *Reports*, 418–421. See also *Proceedings*, LIX. 414.

[2] B. R. Leftwich to G. G. Wolkins, April 7, 1927, MS. in the Society's library.

[3] "Customs, Laws and Regulations of H.M. Customs and Excise, Search of Premises for Uncustomed or Prohibited Goods under Writs of Assistance or Warrants Issued by Justices of the Peace," *Ham's Year Book* (London, 1930), I. 180.

Prov. of the Mass Bay

George the third by the grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King Defender of the faith &c.

Seal

To all & singular our Justices of the peace Sheriffs Constables and to all other our Officers and Subjects within our said Province and to each of you Greeting

Know ye that whereas in and by an Act of Parliament made in the fourteenth ~~thirteenth~~ year of the reign of the late King Charles the second ~~it is declared to be~~ A lawful to & for any person or persons authorized by Writ of assistants under the seal of our Court of Exchequer to take a Constable Headborough or other publick Officer inhabiting near unto the place and in the day time to enter & go into any House Shop Cellar Warehouse or Room or other place and in case of resistance to break open doors chests trunks & other package there to seize and from thence to bring any kind of goods or merchandize whatsoever prohibited & uncustomed and to put and secure the same in our ~~his Majesty's~~ Storehouse in the port next to the place where such seizure shall be made.

And whereas in & by an Act of Parliament made in the seventh & eighth year of the reign of the late King William the third there is granted to the Officers for collecting and managing our Revenue and inspecting the plantation trade in any of our Plantations the same powers & authority for visiting & searching of ships & also to enter houses or warehouses to search for and seize any prohibited or uncustomed goods as are provided for the Officers of our Customs in England by the said last mentioned Act made in the fourteenth ye year of the reign of King Charles the second, and the like assistance is required to be given to the said Officers in the execution of their office as by the said last mentioned Act is provided for the Officers in England

And whereas in and by an Act of our

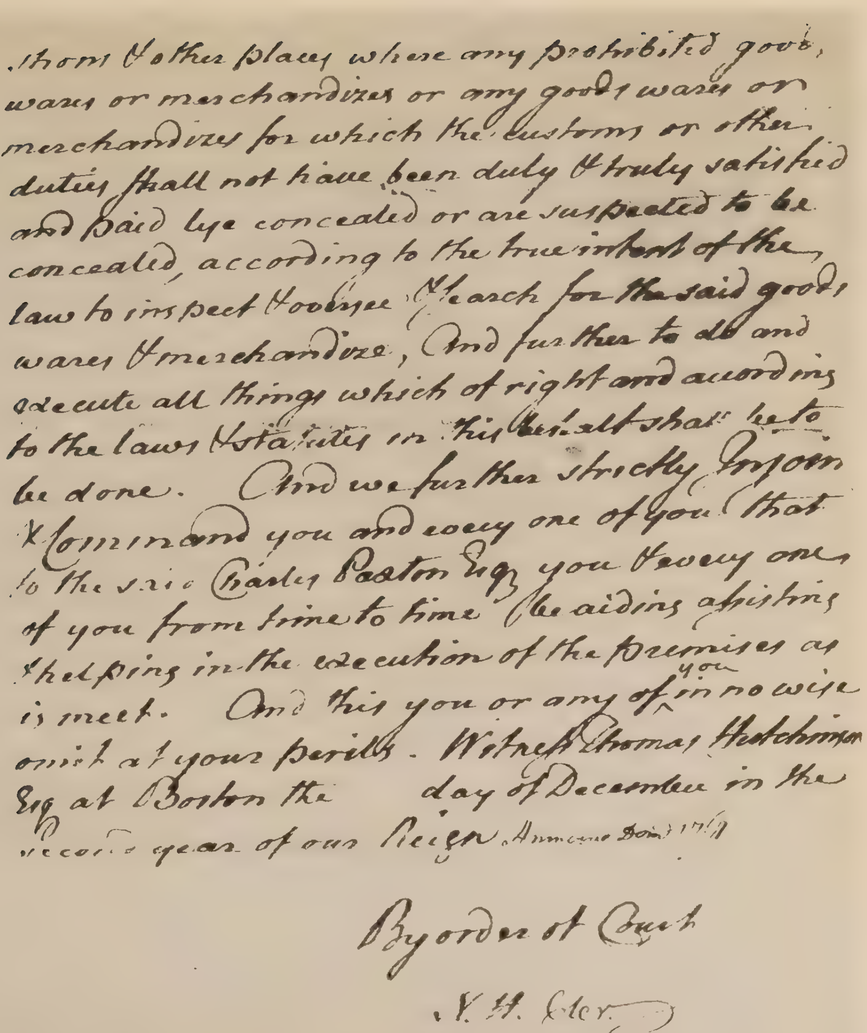
A the Officers of our Customs & their Deputies are authorized and impowered to go & enter aboard any Ship or Vessel outward or inward bound for the purposes in the said Act mentioned and it is in & by the said Act further enacted & declared that it shall be said Province of Massachusetts bay made in the eleventh year of the reign of the late King William the third it is enacted & declared that our Superior Court of Judicature Court of Assize and General Goal delivery for our said Province shall have cognizance of all matters and things within our said Province as fully & amply to all intents & purposes as our Courts of Kings Bench Common Pleas & Exchequer within our Kingdom of England have or ought to have.

And whereas our Commissioners for managing and causing to be levied & collected our customs subsidies and other duties have by Commission or Deputation under their hands & seal dated at London the 22d day of May in the first year of our Reign deputed and impowered Charles Paxton Esqr. to be Surveyor & Searcher of all the rates and duties arising and growing due to us at Boston in our Province aforesaid and have in & by said Comission or Deputation given him Power to enter into any Ship Bottom Boat or other Vessel & also into any Shop House Warehouse Hostery or other Place whatsoever to make diligent search into any trunk chest pack, case truss or any other Parcell or package whatsoever for any goods, wares or merchandize prohibited to be imported or exported or whereof the Customs or other Duties have not been duly paid and the same to seize to our use, In all things proceeding as the Law directs

Therefore we strictly Injoin & Command you & every one of you that, all excuses apart, you & every one of you permit the said Charles Paxton according to the true intent & form of the said comission or deputation and the laws & statutes in that behalf made & provided, B in the day time to enter & go into the vaults cellars warehouses

Shops

B as well by night as by day from time to time to enter & go on board any Ship Boat or other Vessel riding lying or being within or coming to the said port of Boston or any Place, or Creeks thereunto appertaining such Ship Boat or Vessel then & there found to search & view and the persons therein being strictly to examine touching the premises above ~~& also [illegible]~~



Rooms & other places where any prohibited goods,
wares or merchandizes or any goods wares or
merchandizes for which the customs or other
duties shall not have been duly & truly satisfied
and paid lye concealed or are suspected to be
concealed, according to the true intent of the
law to inspect & oversee & search for the said goods
wares & merchandize, And further to do and
execute all things which of right and according
to the laws & statutes in this behalf shall be to
be done. And we further strictly Injoin
& Command you and every one of you that
to the said Charles Paxton Esq. you & every one
of you from time to time be aiding assisting
& helping in the execution of the premises as
is meet. And this you or any of you in no wise
omit at your perills. Witness Thomas Hutchinson
Esq at Boston the day of December in the
second year of our Reign Annoque Domini 1761

By order of Court

N. H. Cler.

Writ of aſsistants

writ iſsd. to the Survey.r General 27th may. 1763

1st Decr. 1763

to Tim. Folger Feby 2nd 1765
to B. Hallowell Esq: 22 Mar, 1765
to Jno. Fisher. 1 April 1768
to Jno. Mascarene 1 april 1768
to Edwd. Winslow – 8 Feby 1769
to Capt. Wm Reid of ye Sloop Liberty
10th Feby 1769.

of assistance have been issued are held personally responsible for their safe custody. (13)[1]

Scope of Writs of Assistance.—Writs of Assistance are only available in that portion of the U[nited] K[ingdom] in which they are issued (a writ issued in England is available in Wales and *vice versa*). Action in the Isle of Man or Channel Islands must be taken under a Justice's search warrant. (14)

When to be used.—A writ of assistance does not confer a general and absolute authority to enter and search premises, and should not be used unless there are very strong grounds for suspicion. If the grounds for suspicion are reasonable, but not so strong, the search should be made under the authority of a Justice's warrant.

If, however, the matter appears to be of great urgency and valuable time would be lost in finding a Justice, the writ of assistance may be used.

In no circumstances should a writ of assistance be used if a search warrant has been refused by a Justice in respect of the suspected premises unless the Board's sanction is first obtained.

It should be noted that premises cannot be entered and searched under a writ of assistance at night time. (15)

Use of Writ of Assistance or Search Warrant.—When the use of a writ is sought under circumstances arising out of the personal knowledge of an officer little difficulty should be experienced in determining whether the writ or the search warrant is the appropriate method, but where the proposed use is based on information received, unless the informer is a person on whose word the officer can rely, a search warrant, not a writ of assistance, should be used unless the latter appears necessary owing to urgency or other circumstances.

When information is received from a person outside the Service, the officer to whom it is tendered should carefully examine the informer in order to satisfy himself as to the *bona fide* character of the information. If practicable, the informer should be required to sign a statement setting forth the nature and quantity of the goods, the place of concealment, and the reason for supposing that they have been smuggled. The informer's address should be given on the statement and his signature attested by the officer.

The statement is then to be submitted to the Collector or other officer in charge who will decide which method is appropriate should he decide that the evidence is sufficient to justify either.

In case the Collector or other officer is in doubt whether the evidence is sufficient to justify a search by either method, the facts are to be submitted to the Board for their directions—an unobtrusive watch being kept over the suspected premises in the meantime.

If the Collector considers it necessary he may personally accompany the officer to make the search, or depute an officer to do so. (16)

Search on Sundays, Christmas Day or Good Friday.—In Scotland and Northern Ireland premises cannot be searched either by Justice's warrant or writ of assistance on a Sunday, Christmas Day or Good Friday. In England or Wales a writ of assistance is not valid on these days and any search necessary must, therefore, be under a Justice's warrant. (17)

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[1] The numbers quoted in parentheses refer to paragraphs of an order issued by the Board of Customs.

Presence of Police.—The presence of the police should be required only in cases where there is reason to expect a resistance to the search.

Pursuit of Contraband Goods.—If it should be ascertained that uncustomed goods have been removed from the suspected premises to other premises and if a search is being made by virtue of the writ of assistance, the goods may, on reliable information of the fact, be pursued, the result being reported to the Board.

If, however, the search is being made on a Justice's warrant, the further search may be made either by virtue of a writ of assistance or a fresh Justice's warrant must be obtained, whichever course appears to be the more expedient.

Attention is directed to the powers conferred on officers to search carts, etc., by s. 203, C.C. Act 1876 (19).

Report of the use of Writ.—The writ must be returned to the Collector or other officer responsible for its custody immediately the search for which it was issued is completed, with a full report, for transmission to the Board, of what has been done with it. A similar report should be made where a Justice's warrant has been used. (19 A)

As an item in constitutional law the course of the general writ of assistance in England is an inviting field. The origin of the customs writ seems to reach far back into the dark ages. The merchant formed the guild, and the guild was a safeguard against oppression. Worthington C. Ford argued that it would be strange if there had been no protest against such a usage, so liable to abuse.[1] But in any case it seems desirable to say this much as an addendum to the paper read here in 1924.

There are at least two inferences. First, that exceeding care should be exercised by the casual lay investigator in examining a subject somewhat complicated even for experts, and having examined it, he owes it to himself to leave the subject to the experts. And second, that this is only another example of the English talent for compromise—the accommodation of old devices to conditions not dreamed of when the old devices were first used. General warrants were illegal except in cases provided for by Act of Parliament.[2] An Act of Parliament sanctioned the writ of assistance in respect to uncustomed and prohibited goods. Therefore, in England, the general writ of assistance is still used and probably will continue to be used so long as there is possible need for its use.

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[1] W. C. Ford to G. G. Wolkins, June 14, 1927, MS. in the Society's library.

[2] See *Proceedings*, LVIII. 24, *n* 70.

Reapportioning the House of Representatives under the 1940 Census[1]

By Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

The recently completed sixteenth decennial census of the United States has gathered an immense amount of statistics on numerous important subjects, but this was not the purpose for which the Constitution required a census. According to Article I, Section 2, "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States . . . according to their respective numbers. . . ." The first "actual enumeration" of persons was to be made within three years after the first meeting of the new Congress, and a new census was prescribed thereafter "within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they [Congress] shall by law direct." As no federal direct taxes have been levied for many years, the main reason for the 1940 census was the reapportionment of the House of Representatives to meet the changes in state populations since 1930. This task was brought to a successful close in November, 1941. The object of this paper is to describe the task and the obstacles which had to be surmounted.

Long familiarity with the constitutional provisions just quoted may easily blind one to the fact that they made two notable innovations in the art of government. Never before had a national legislature been based on the population of the units represented. And never before had a nation attempted to count its whole population periodically. How did the framers come to think of these two political devices?

The few representative national legislatures existing in 1787 were apportioned among towns, counties, and other political units equally or, for reasons of history and property, with very little regard to existing population.[2] In the Congress set up by the Articles of Confederation every state, large or small, had the same voting power. The foreign example best known to the Federal Convention was the

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[1] Between the delivery of this paper and its publication I revised the text so as to make it accord with the situation created by the final disposition of the reapportionment question by Congress.

[2] William S. Carpenter, "Apportionment," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, II. 138–141. See also Francis W. Coker and Carlton C. Rodee, "Representation," *ibid.*, XIII. 309–315.

British House of Commons, where great cities like Manchester had no members while depopulated villages like Old Sarum each chose two members under George III merely because they had done so under James I. The English rotten boroughs served only as examples to be avoided.[1] Where then did the Convention go for a precedent? Undoubtedly to the legislatures of the thirteen states. Thus the Massachusetts constitution of 1780[2] gave each town roughly one representative for each 225 rateable polls; and the New York constitution of 1777[3] apportioned assemblymen to counties with considerable attention to the population and provided for a periodic revision. Madison said during the first week of the Convention: ". . . there was the same reason for different numbers of representatives from different States, as from Counties of different extents within particular States." And a month later he asked: "Why are Counties of the same States represented in proportion to their numbers? Is it because the representatives are chosen by the people themselves? So will be the representatives in the National Legislature. Is it because, the larger have more at stake than the smaller? The case will be the same with the larger and smaller States."[4]

At the outset there were three main views in the Convention about the contemplated Congress. Some delegates from smaller states, like Luther Martin of Maryland, advocated an equal voice for every state as under the Confederation. Most delegates from larger states, led by Madison, Wilson of Pennsylvania, and Gorham of Massachusetts, wished representation according to the number of inhabitants. A third group of influential individuals, like Gouverneur Morris, Elbridge Gerry, and Rufus King, wished property as the basis, either alone or in combination with population. They received support from southern delegates, who desired slaves to be considered in the apportionment.

Gradually the conflict was clarified because direct taxes were also concerned in the apportionment. The Revolutionary doctrine that taxes and representation ought to go together was still strong. Here another precedent was close at hand in the eighth of the Articles of Confederation. As originally adopted, this article assessed the financial contributions of the thirteen states according to their real estate, but that had proved unworkable because of the difficulties of valuation. Consequently Congress, on April 18, 1783, had proposed an amendment to levy the quotas of revenue among the states according to their inhabitants, with slaves (described as "all other persons") counted at three-fifths of their number.[1] By 1787 eleven states had ratified this so that, although not yet in force, it carried great weight.

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[1] *Records of the Federal Convention of* 1787, Max Farrand, Editor (New Haven, 1911), I. 450 (James Wilson).

[2] Chapter I, Section 3, Articles I and II.

[3] Articles IV, V, and XVI. See also Article XII as to senators.

[4] Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, I. 37, 447; see also *ibid.*, 177 (Brearley of New Jersey), 180 (Williamson of North Carolina).

Eventually the population group and the property group joined forces by using this recent Confederation proposal and extending it from direct taxation to representation in the House. Gorham and others shrewdly remarked that the towns or counties with the largest numbers had been observed to have the largest amount of property and vice versa, so that property and population would produce approximately the same apportionment.[2] Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina justified the inclusion of slaves by the clever formula that "productive labor" was the basis of the apportionment.[3] At one stage the Committee of the Whole actually voted to apply the same rule about population to the Senate too.[4] This extreme advantage for the larger states was carried by only one vote. The Convention was in a ferment. The delegates from New York and several small states threatened to go home for good. The result was the Great Compromise: equality in the Senate, representation in the House according to population.

It should be noticed that the apportionment of the House had nothing to do with the number of voters in each state, then much cut down by property qualifications. Women and children were counted with men. Aliens were included; so were slaves on a three-fifths basis until the adoption of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments.[5] Everybody was included except untaxed Indians.

The Convention's second notable innovation, a periodic national census, played a much smaller part in the debates. Very little was said about precedents for this far-reaching device. Few could have been found. When an annual census was proposed in Parliament in 1753, it was violently opposed as "subversive of the last remains of English liberty; and as likely to result in some public misfortune or an epidemical disorder." After passing the House of Commons, the bill was thrown out by the House of Lords for fear of disclosing to her enemies England's weakness in fighting material.[1] The first English census was not taken until 1801. The first French census was ordered in 1800, but the machinery was so inadequate that the results were not treated seriously. An earlier experiment in Sweden in 1749 merely assembled parish reports. An enumeration in Denmark and Norway in 1769, when they were under one government, was entrusted to private persons and was somewhat unreliable. The first general census of Spain, taken the same year, aroused considerable resistance from the people, who feared that it was a preliminary to increased taxation; they accordingly tended to supply inaccurate information.

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[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Gaillard Hunt, Editor, XXIV (Washington, 1922), 260.

[2] Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, I. 587–588, 593, 605.

[3] *Ibid.*, III. 253.

[4] *Ibid.*, I. 193.

[5] Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment provides: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting whole numbers of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed." The difference in wording from Article I, Section 2, is probably not material. A further provision, that the representation of any state in the House shall be reduced when any of its adult male citizens are denied the vote by that state,

As a result of these experiments the few European students and administrators who considered the problem in the last half of the eighteenth century seem for the most part to have formed the opinion that an attempt to enumerate the residents of a large and populous country would be shipwrecked on administrative difficulties. Necker had written that it was impossible to make a general census of so extensive a country as France, and similar views had been expressed by German and English scholars.[2]

Nothing in the debates of the Convention shows that the delegates were troubled by the dangers and serious practical difficulties which contemporary Europeans considered fatal obstacles to an accurate census. Here again it seems likely that the framers found their precedents in America. Perhaps they knew about the periodic enumeration established in New France in 1665 and continued in Quebec until 1754. Surer examples were provided by practices under the Confederation. Article IX gave Congress power to make requisitions for the army from each state, the quota being proportioned to the

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has remained a dead letter. Aside from Southern opposition, the practical obstacles to enforcement of this provision are very great. See Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment* (Washington, 1941), 94–97.

[1] Walter F. Willcox, "Census," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), v. 663.

[2] Walter F. Willcox, "Census," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, III. 295–300. Many of my statements are taken from Professor Willcox's articles.

number of white inhabitants. Accordingly, on December 11, 1781, Congress recommended that the legislature of each state count its white population and transmit the result to Congress as soon as practicable.[1] In response to this request New York enacted a statute (March 20, 1782) setting up an elaborate machinery for a census of white inhabitants by counties.[2] On February 17, 1783, Congress, during a debate on the collection of funds from the states to defray the expenses of the war, etc., called for a fuller census. The legislature of each state was required to obtain a just and accurate account of its land, dwelling houses, and other buildings, and also "the number of its inhabitants, distinguishing white from black."[3] Perhaps the desire to number inhabitants was connected with the new plan for basing state quotas on population rather than real estate, which, as has been seen, was submitted by Congress to the states two months later. The census measure of 1783 ordered all the returns to be in by March 1, 1784. On July 2, 1784, the Massachusetts legislature provided for the required census to be taken by towns the following autumn.[4] But several states took no action at all. It was clear that any census, to be effective, must be conducted by the national government.[5]

There is positive evidence in Edmund Randolph's papers that another precedent for a census was supplied by the New York constitution of 1777.[6] Besides apportioning assemblymen and senators according to population it directed that "as soon as the expiration of seven years, subsequent to the termination of the present war, as may be, a census of the electors and inhabitants in this state shall be taken, under the direction of the legislature." A reapportionment was then to be made. A further census was to be taken every seven years.[1] As a matter of fact, however, no state census was taken in New York until 1795.

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[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXI. 1165.

[2] *New York Laws*, 1774–1784 (Albany, 1886), 428.

[3] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXIV. 136–137.

[4] *Laws and Resolves of Massachusetts* (1784–1785), 42. Caleb Strong, on January 18, 1788, cited this state census law as a reason why the Massachusetts convention should ratify the Constitution: "This mode of census is not new." Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, III. 260.

[5] See the debates in the North Carolina convention. Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, III. 343. The Federal Convention had to consider as best it could the populations of the thirteen states in apportioning the first Congress, which was to sit before a census could be taken. Conflicting estimates which were used in committee are given in *ibid.*, I. 572–574; III. 253. See also the estimate of contributions to direct taxes, *ibid.*, I. 190. All these estimates are much below the populations found by the 1790 census. Furthermore, it seems clear that Massachusetts was underrepresented in the first Congress in comparison with Pennsylvania; and that Georgia was overrepresented. Some states, like New Hampshire, were ready to accept underrepresentation because they thought it might have some effect on direct taxation and because they feared the expense of sending several Congressmen a considerable distance.

[6] *Ibid.*, II. 139. The document in question has emendations by Rutledge, who was a member of the Committee of Detail.

The action of the Federal Convention in establishing a census is ascribed by a French statistician[2] to the fact that the members appreciated the value of statistics so keenly that they instituted the statistics of their country on the very day that they founded their government. This agreeable praise is undeserved. The earliest suggestions that the census might yield scientific by-products came on the eve of the census of 1800, when the American Philosophical Society, with Jefferson as its president, and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences petitioned Congress to have the population classified by ages, in the hope of getting light upon the average duration of human life.

The decennial census grew out of the Great Compromise. When this finally settled that the House of Representatives was to be based on state populations, the delegates had to face the obvious fact that those populations would not remain unchanged. During the eighteenth century the population of the thirteen colonies had doubled every twenty-five years; and new states would be created out of the western territory extending to the Mississippi. Some canny Easterners proposed that Congress itself should allot representatives to the new western states in meager amounts so that the Atlantic seaboard would always be able to outvote the frontier.[3] Wiser heads, like Mason of Virginia, protested that if the western states were admitted into the Union, they must be treated as equals.[4] Another reason for the decennial census was that the enumeration on which the first Congress was based was admittedly inaccurate,[5] and a fair basis ought accordingly to be obtained as soon as possible. Congress could not be trusted to determine when each successive census should be taken because many existing members might wish to perpetuate the preponderance of their own states. Consequently, the Constitution itself must fix the time.

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[1] New York Constitution of 1777, Article V. See also Articles XII and XVI.

[2] Moreau de Jonnès. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, III. 296.

[3] See Gorham, Sherman, and Gerry in Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, I. 560, 578; II. 31.

[4] *Ibid.*, I. 578–579.

[5] See note 5 on page 369, above.

Why did the American census of 1790 succeed when preceding European attempts had proved so abortive? Plainly, because our ancestors were gathering facts in order to do something. As John Dewey says, we think for a purpose and not in the abstract. The amassing of information just because it is interesting and may be of use some day is a task for professors, not politicians. Only in a very mature government is the collection of facts for their own sake likely to be done thoroughly and accurately. The American census has been accurate because mistakes hurt large masses of people right away. If the count of a state was too low, it might lose a seat rightly its due. On the other hand, the temptation to pad population figures was prevented, at least in the earlier decades, because big numbers would bring a big direct tax.[1]

Although the reapportionment clauses seemed sufficiently clear to the Convention, they have since raised many difficult problems. Before the 1930 census I discussed several of these in an article in the *Harvard Law Review*.[2] New problems have since become acute.

I

What Happens If Congress Fails to Make a Reapportionment after the Census?

Loyal obedience to statutes depends largely upon a widespread conviction that they were justly enacted, and this conviction is seriously weakened by an unfair allotment of representatives. Taxation with underrepresentation is only somewhat less unacceptable than taxation without representation. In recognition of these principles Congress reapportioned the House of Representatives within two years after every census until the census of 1920 was taken. Up to that time the steady increase of population through births and immigration was handled by an increase of the size of the House of Representatives. Thus states whose population increased more slowly did not often have to lose seats. This easy way out was blocked after the 1910 census when the House reached its present membership of 435. The desks were taken out from the House Chamber, but there was little room for more chairs without serious overcrowding and loss of dignity. The inconvenience of discussion in a large group was also apparent. Proposals to increase the House further were voted down. Henceforth if rapidly growing states received more representatives, the number from stable states would have to be cut down. The burning issue became, not what states should gain seats, but what states should lose them. When such a loss happens, state pride is injured, and Congressmen with hopeful political futures may find their seats legislated out of existence.

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[1] See the closing paragraph of Number LIV of *The Federalist*, by Hamilton or Madison.

[2] "Congressional Reapportionment," *Harvard Law Review*, XLII (June, 1929), 1015–1047.

The census of 1920 revealed great shifts of population during the preceding decade, notably to California and Florida and the automobile-manufacturing states like Michigan. The agricultural states in the Mississippi Valley and the South were bound to lose badly by a reapportionment. Their opposition was sufficient to keep the House of Representatives apportioned under the census of 1910 for over twenty years. And the weight of each state in a presidential election depends largely on the number of its representatives. It was not until the first New Deal victory in November, 1932, that the facts of 1910 ceased to determine the composition of the House of Representatives and the Electoral College. The best apology for this prolonged inaction of Congress was made in February, 1940, by Congressman Rankin of Mississippi:

> I, more than any man alive, am responsible for the failure to reapportion Congress in accordance with the 1920 census. That census was taken in the wintertime, which was the first time such was done. At the time it was taken many of the farmers were more or less scattered, it was hard to find them, and therefore the census, in my opinion, was incomplete. Again, it was taken when we were just emerging from the World War and when hundreds of thousands of former soldiers had not returned to their homes. As a result, if we had reapportionment according to that census, many agricultural States would have lost a portion of their representation, and a very large portion. Finally we brought out a compromise bill to raise the membership of the House to 460, which would have saved all the agricultural States. Possibly one or two of them would have lost 1 Member each. . . . [But this bill was recommitted by a majority of four votes.] That was a signal that they were unwilling to do justice to the small and the agricultural States. We served notice that if they did not take that they would not get anything. We did not propose to disrupt the agricultural States and the small States if we could avoid it.[1]

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[1] *Hearings before the Committee on the Census, House of Representatives, 76th Congress, 3d Session, on the Apportionment of Representatives in Congress, February* 27, 28, 29, *March* 1, 5, 1940 (hereafter cited as 1940 *Hearings*), 2.

The dislocating factors Mr. Rankin mentions were less serious than the westward migrations from the Dust Bowl which affected the census of 1940.[1] The states which will lose by reapportionment can usually point to some emergency which has warped the latest returns of population. Such arguments would excuse Congress from reapportioning after almost any future census!

Can any legal steps be taken to end such a deadlock? The Constitution orders Congress to reapportion decennially, but the violation of a constitutional duty does not necessarily enable the courts to compel its performance. Several clauses of the Constitution impose a duty which nobody has the power to enforce. Thus, no court will compel a governor to yield a fugitive from justice to the governor of another state as the Constitution requires; and no court will compel Congress to guarantee to a state a republican form of government. The duty to reapportion seems to be a similar imperfect obligation. The courts cannot force Congress to do its duty in this respect any more than they can force it to levy new taxes in order to pay judicial salaries if Congress prefers to leave the treasury empty. The Supreme Court would probably refuse to pass on the validity of an antiquated apportionment and would say that this is a political question which judges must not touch.[2]

Fortunately, Congress itself found a way out of the dilemma. In 1929 it passed a law setting up a permanent scheme for the distribution of seats in the House, which was to go into operation automatically after the census of 1930 and every later census unless Congress acted on the new population figures within a fixed short period. This automatic reapportionment bill was drafted at the request of Chairman Fenn of the House Committee on the Census, and the chief credit for procuring its enactment belongs to Senator Vandenberg of Michigan. The plan was supported by precedent, for the Apportionment Act of 1850 had delegated to the Secretary of the Interior the power to distribute seats in a House of 233 members after each census. The Secretary had proceeded accordingly after the census of 1850 and that of 1860, but in each instance Congress modified his distribution by itself subsequently adding a few more seats.[1]

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[1] See the statements of Congressman Curtiss of Nebraska and Congressman Ford of California in *ibid.*, 5, 6, 10.

[2] This position is supported by several cases in Illinois, where the legislature, in defiance of the state constitution, has refused to reapportion senatorial districts for over forty years. The Supreme Court of Illinois has declined to order that the legislature pass an apportionment act; to enjoin the state treasurer from paying the salaries of the legislators on the ground that they were invalidly elected; or to release a man convicted for carrying concealed weapons in violation of a statute enacted by the unrevised Illinois legislature. See *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1017–1019; *Illinois Law Review*, XXIV (February, 1930), 709; 46 *American Law Reports, Annotated* (1927), 964.

The 1929 act[2] contemplated the following steps after the 1930 census and every subsequent census:

1. The Census Bureau would prepare a scheme showing, among other things, the population of each state and the number of representatives allotted to it in a House of the existing size (now 435) according to the mathematical method "used in the last preceding apportionment."

2. The President would transmit this statement to Congress within a week from the convening of the next regular session after the completion of the census. In 1929 this meant that the results of the census of 1930 would be reported to the second or lame-duck session of the Seventy-first Congress, which convened in December, 1930. Hence the act of 1929 specified that session and "the second regular session . . . of each fifth Congress thereafter." As will be seen, this provision caused much unexpected trouble.

3. Just as under the statutes enacted after every census before 1920, Congress would be left entirely free to use the information thus transmitted, or any other data, for the purpose of passing its own apportionment law based on the recent census.

4. If Congress should fail to make its own apportionment before a specified time, the reapportionment scheme submitted by the President, drawn up according to the method last used, would automatically go into effect at the election in November, 1932, 1942, and so on. This was the novel feature in the act. Thus Congress could reapportion if it wished, but the inactivity of Congress was not to produce the stalemate of the 1920's.

With the passage of this act after a protracted struggle, everybody drew a long breath and assumed that decennial reapportionments were secured for the future. When the census of 1930 was taken, the President submitted the required scheme to Congress on

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[1] See 9 Stat. 432 (1850); *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1025, *n* 28; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 114–117. The Secretary of the Interior was directed to use the Vinton Method, hereafter discussed.

[2] 46 Stat. 26, §22 (June 18, 1929).

December 4 of that year, distributing 435 seats by the method used in the last preceding apportionment, that of 1911. California gained nine seats, Michigan four, Texas three, and a few other states one or two each. Missouri lost three seats, and twenty other states lost one or two each. Congress did nothing. Consequently, the apportionment just described took effect automatically for the election of president and representatives in November, 1932, and remained in operation through the 1940 election. It looked as if the new plan would work equally well for the census of 1940 and thereafter.

When the 1929 act was passed, the constitutionality of automatic reapportionment seemed plain. The only possible objection was that since the Constitution imposed on Congress itself the duty of reapportioning, Congress must not delegate this function to the President, or, in substance, to the Census Bureau. But Congress had frequently delegated its express constitutional powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Tariff Commission, and other administrative bodies or officials; and as yet no such delegation of powers had ever been invalidated by the Supreme Court.[1] In May, 1935, however, the Supreme Court overthrew the National Industrial Recovery Act, partly because Congress had improperly delegated to the code authorities the power to regulate interstate commerce.[2] Does the Schechter case throw any doubts on the validity of automatic reapportionment? I do not think so. The N.R.A. code authorities and the President were given enormous powers over business to use as they pleased. But under the blanket reapportionment act the President and the Census Bureau have no real choice whatever about what happens. With the given population figures and the specified mathematical method, there is only one possible way in which 435 seats can be distributed. It is just a matter of applying the multiplication table and pressing the right keys on the electrical calculating machines. It seems entirely proper for Congress, in advance of a census, to turn this task of pure figuring over to the Census Bureau. And suppose a suit were brought to question the validity of an automatic apportionment and enjoin officials in every state from demarcating districts and holding elections in accordance with the Census Bureau's distribution of seats. Think of the practical consequences of such an injunction. It would throw the country back to an apportionment made ten years before. That would be far worse than the delegation of Congressional powers. Every judicial instinct of statesmanship would favor the reapportionment in order to avoid such a result. Hence it looked as if the blanket statute of 1929 had settled the reapportionment problem for ever.

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[1] The authorities are collected in *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1044–1047.

[2] *A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corp.* v. *United States*, 295 U. S. 495 (1935).

But on February 6, 1933, the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution took effect, abolishing lame-duck sessions and placing the first session of a newly elected Congress in the January after its election instead of the December thirteen months after its election. It was a wise reform, but it killed automatic reapportionments under the act of 1929, which was fatally entangled with lame-duck sessions. That statute required the President to submit the scheme for distribution of seats after the 1940 census to the second regular session of the Seventy-sixth Congress, which was elected in November, 1938. In 1929 everybody expected that this session would begin in December, 1940, immediately after the completion of the 1940 census. But the Twentieth Amendment moved the beginning of this session ahead to January, 1940, before the 1940 census was even begun. Consequently, unless Congress amended the blanket statute of 1929, the 1940 census would be thrown into the maelstrom of Congressional debate. Since there had been shifts of population since 1930, many states would have again faced the loss of seats, and their opposition might easily have defeated a specific reapportionment as it did after the 1920 census. Were we to go through another decade of disregard of the Constitution? If so, until after 1950 the House and the Electoral College might be apportioned according to the census taken in Hoover's administration. And the prospective losses would be still greater after the census of 1950, so that the deadlock might prolong itself indefinitely.

Senator Vandenberg therefore took up the cudgels again. He introduced a bill to keep automatic reapportionment in operation by a few simple changes in the timetable laid down in the 1929 act. The President sent a special message to Congress urging enactment. Some stormy hearings were held when the bill reached the House. Congressman Rankin of Mississippi appeared once more in the vanguard of the opposition. He insisted that reapportionment must wait until the population figures were out. It was not fair, he said, to ask a Congressman to vote for a reapportionment measure before the census, when he did not know whether the method it prescribed would help or harm his own state. Dr. Calvert L. Dedrick, a high official of the Census Bureau, replied that the Congressman was like a man called upon to draft football rules ahead of the game without knowing which team was going to win or lose.[1] Several prospective losers under the 1940 census resented the inclusion of foreigners in the basis of reapportionment when (so they insisted) many such aliens were illegally in the country. At one stage the House Committee actually reported the bill with a clause excluding aliens, in flat disregard of the constitutional words, "the whole number of persons in each state."[2] Another obstacle to the Vandenberg Bill was the eagerness of advocates of other changes in the 1929 plan, some of them perhaps desirable but calculated to cause prolonged disagreements.[3] The supporters of the bill stuck steadily to the idea of correcting the timetable and, for the time being, nothing else. The spring of 1940 was indeed an anxious time for the friends of automatic reapportionment.

Luckily, the disastrousness of another ten-year deadlock was so obvious that the amendment of the timetable was carried, and on April 25, 1940, it was approved by the President.[4] This 1940 act continued the main plan of the 1929 act but provided that the President should transmit the scheme for distribution of seats under the 1940 census within one week after the opening of the *first* regular session of the *Seventy-seventh* Congress,[5] which convened on January 3, 1941, allowing plenty of time for the preparation of the scheme. Congress was left free to enact its own reapportionment under the 1940 census within sixty calendar days after receiving this statement; but if there was no such specific fresh legislation, then the President's scheme would automatically go into effect to govern the Congressional elections in November, 1942.[6] The same procedure was to be used after the census of 1950, 1960, and so on.

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[1] 1940 *Hearings*, 56.

[2] Fourteenth Amendment, Section 2.

[3] Examples are the substitution of a different mathematical method, discussed in Part II of this paper, and the removal of gross inequalities among Congressional districts (see below, page 406, note 1).

[4] *Acts of the Seventy-sixth Congress, 3d Session*, Chapter 152, Public Number 481; 2 *United States Code, Annotated* (1940 Supplement), §2a.

[5] The 1929 act applied to the *second* regular session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

[6] The 1929 act allowed Congress to keep reapportionment under consideration during the whole of the session at the start of which the presidential scheme was submitted. The contemplated lame-duck session after the census of 1940 would have ended on March 4, 1941. The "sixty calendar days" allowed by the 1940 act after the transmission of the scheme to Congress

The main features of this 1940 plan for automatic apportionment weathered the storm after the results of the 1940 census were laid before Congress, but some details of the procedure described in the foregoing paragraph were blown away and are no longer part of the legal structure. These matters will be discussed in Part III. Since they are closely connected with another apportionment problem which has not yet been mentioned, I shall first explain that problem (in Part II) and then return to blanket apportionment while narrating the events of 1941.

II

How Should Representatives Be Distributed among the States?

When the Federal Convention decided that the House should be apportioned among the several states "according to their respective numbers," with at least one representative for each state, it went on to make several qualifications. The apportionment is not based upon the actual population of a state, which is easily found for every census, but upon what may be called its "representative population," a figure which is much less accessible. The reduction for slaves became a thing of the past after the Civil War. On the other hand, the exclusion of Indians not taxed continued through several apportionments. For example, it affected Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma considerably in the 1930 apportionment. However, it was decided to include all Indians in reckoning the 1940 apportionment, since every Indian is subject to taxes on cigarettes and gasoline, and, if he happens to own oil lands, he will probably pay an income tax as well.[1] So in the 1940 census the representative population coincided with the actual population. For the sake of simplicity, the word "population" is here used to mean representative population.

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on January 8, 1941, expired during March. If the 1940 act had also allowed Congress to go to the end of the session before the presidential scheme went into effect automatically, reapportionment would have been left in the air until December, 1941, too late to make it possible to plan satisfactorily for elections in November, 1942, especially as the legislatures in many states meet only in the odd years. And it would have been a pity to delay the operation of the new apportionment until the 1944 elections, four years after the census. Therefore, the sixty-day limitation was very wise: it gave the state legislatures time from March, 1941, until November, 1942, in which to establish new Congressional districts.

[1] As to the inclusion of Indians, see Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 11; letter from Attorney General Jackson to the Secretary of Commerce in *Congressional Record*, LXXXVII (temporary), 80 (January 8, 1941).

Another qualification in the Constitution is that there shall not be more than one representative for every 30,000 inhabitants. Although no longer important, this caused much trouble in the Convention. The original ratio proposed was one member for each 40,000 inhabitants. The Convention used that ratio in apportioning the initial House of Representatives, which met before the 1790 census, and "forty thousand" remained in the draft of the Constitution until the very last day of the Convention as a minimum limit for Congressional districts in later Congresses. Furthermore, some delegates wished this ratio not to be merely a limit but the actual basis for all future apportionments so that there would always be one Congressman for every 40,000 inhabitants. This would have caused a House of about ninety members after the census of 1790, but objectors pointed out that the representatives would, with the rapid increase of population, soon become too numerous. Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut suggested that when the American population was equal to that of France, we should have a House of nine hundred.[1] Such objections evoked an interesting reply from Nathaniel Gorham: "It is not to be supposed that the Govt will last so long as to produce this effect. Can it be supposed that this vast Country including the Western territory will 150 years hence remain one nation?"[2] Eventually the ratio was made a limit, so that the number of representatives was *not to exceed* one for every 40,000 inhabitants. This allowed the average Congressional district to be increased at will by Congress after each future census, and it is now over 280,000. If an inflexible ratio of 1:40,000 had been retained, the present House under the census of 1930 would contain over 3,000 members.[3]

Many delegates, however, continued to attack the 40,000 ratio as a limit because a House of fewer than one hundred under the anticipated results of the census of 1790 was considered to be too small a body to represent the nation properly. Some delegates were "very uneasy" because the size of the House had not been increased.[4] On the last day of the Convention, September 17, 1787, when the engrossed Constitution was brought before the members, Nathaniel

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[1] Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, III. 143.

[2] *Ibid.*, II. 221.

[3] For representative populations in 1930, see Edward V. Huntington, *A Survey of Methods of Apportionment in Congress* (Senate Document Number 304, 76th Cong., 3d Sess., 1940), 27. Representative populations for every census are given in Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 226–233.

[4] Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, II. 623 (Langdon of New Hampshire).

Gorham said that if it was not too late, he wished the limiting ratio might be reconsidered and changed to 30,000 so as to give Congress a wider limit and lessen objections to the Constitution. This motion was seconded by Rufus King and by Daniel Carroll of Maryland. It was an impressive occasion because it called forth the single speech which Washington made during the Convention. During four long months he had remained silent except to put questions as President, and in the Committee of the Whole, when others were in the chair, he still had not spoken although the problems at issue must have deeply stirred his emotions. When, however, he rose for the purpose of putting the question on the change of ratio, he said that "he could not forbear expressing his wish that the alteration proposed might take place. It was much to be desired that the objections to the plan recommended might be made as few as possible—"[1] Thereupon Gorham's motion was unanimously passed. Signs of the resulting erasure in the engrossed Constitution are plainly visible in the word "thirty."[2]

There is nothing in the debates of the Convention to indicate that the delegates realized that they were imposing a complicated mathematical task on Congress by the deceptively simple words "according to their respective numbers." However, the difficulties immediately became apparent when the Second Congress undertook to redistribute seats in the House after the census of 1790. The populations of the fifteen states at that time are given in Table I.[3]

[1] Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, II. 644.

[2] See the facsimile in *ibid.*, 650. An amendment regulating the ratio of apportionment and the size of the House was submitted by Congress in 1789 but failed of ratification. 1 Stat. 97; *Annals of Congress*, II. 1984.

[3] The representative populations here given are taken from *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Paul L. Ford, Editor, v (New York, 1895), 494. Corrections have been made in the population of Connecticut and in the total national population. The number of representatives assigned to North Carolina and South Carolina by the vetoed bill is incorrectly stated and should be twelve and seven, respectively.

Jefferson's figures diverge somewhat from the population statistics in *Senate Document Number* 91 (22d Cong., 1st Sess., 1831). The biggest variation is for New York, which has 331,589 as against Jefferson's 353,915. Probably the Senate Document is correct, for it closely corresponds to the New York population given in *Annals of Congress*, III. 18, and in Rossiter, *A Century of Population Growth in the United States*, 1790–1900 (United States Census, 1909), if allowance be made for slaves. Maryland has 278,514 (201 above Jefferson's figure); Connecticut, 236,841 (900 above Jefferson's figure). The other states have the same populations as given by Jefferson or vary within five persons. The total population is 3,615,920 as against Jefferson's 3,636,132. Oddly enough, the Senate Document corresponds very closely to the Senate Journal of October 27, 1791, which was signed by Jefferson as Vice-President.

Although the figures given in the Senate Document for New York and for the total repre-

Table I

Census of 1790

Apportionment of House of Representatives by Method Actually Used and Later Nineteenth-century Methods

Ratio 1:33,000

State	*Representative Population*	*Exact Quotient*	1 *Actual Apportionment of* 1792	2 *Method of* 1840	3 *Vinton Method*
Virginia	630,558	19.108	19	....	....
Massachusetts	475,327	14.404	14	....	....
Pennsylvania	432,880	13.118	13	....	....
North Carolina	353,521	10.713	10	11	11
New York	352,915	10.694	10	11	11
Maryland	278,313	8.434	8	....	....
Connecticut	235,941	7.150	7	....	....
South Carolina	206,236	6.249	6	....	....
New Jersey	179,556	5.441	5	....	6
New Hampshire	141,823	4.298	4	....	....
Vermont	85,532	2.592	2	3	3
Georgia	70,843	2.147	2	....	....
Kentucky	68,705	2.082	2	....	....
Rhode Island	68,444	2.074	2	....	....
Delaware	55,538	1.683	1	2	2
Totals	3,636,132	110.187	105	109	110

N.B. The dots indicate that the representation of a state is the same as that under the actual apportionment. Observe that 3,636,132÷33,000=110.2.

sentative population would produce somewhat different results from Jefferson's figures under later mathematical methods, I have left unchanged my tables based on Jefferson's figures; the calculations in his memorandum are important historically since they led Washington to veto the original apportionment bill after the 1790 census. See note 1, page 382, below.

The very useful article by Edmund J. James, "The First Apportionment of Federal Representatives in the United States," *Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, IX (January, 1897), 1–41, gives (37*n*) an unsatisfactory explanation of Jefferson's New York discrepancy of 21,000. James suggests that Jefferson took the total New York population without deducting two-fifths for slaves. This, however, would mean over 50,000 slaves in New York, whereas the *Annals of Congress* and Rossiter give 21,324 slaves. Moreover, Jefferson's figure for the representative population of New York is larger than the total New York population of 340,120 as given in *Annals of Congress*, III. 18.

Mr. L. F. Schmeckebier, to whose kindness I am indebted for the foregoing information, If the population of each state had been an exact multiple of 33,000, the ratio finally selected by Congress,[1] the task would have been easy. But what should be done when Virginia had 630,558, Massachusetts 475,327, and so on? These irregular numbers presented no obstacle to an equal apportionment of direct taxes when these were imposed by the early Congresses.[2] The amount to be divided was then so large that each state could easily be given its exact share by imposing a tax of one dollar, or ten cents, or any other amount, for each inhabitant. Fractions of a cent would irritate nobody. But the simple arithmetical solution of giving 19.1 representatives to Virginia and 14.4 representatives to Massachusetts did not work. Congressmen could not be conveniently cut up. When the chosen ratio of 33,000 was applied to the various state populations, producing the quotients of decimal fractions shown in Table I, it became evident that each state must be given either too many or too few representatives, and never its exact share. Similar irregularities have, of course, appeared in every subsequent census, including that of 1940. Hence Congress can never distribute seats equally. How then does one go about distributing seats unequally?

More than a dozen solutions of this problem have been seriously proposed. Up to the time when the problem became acute under the 1910 census because so many states were bound to lose seats, three methods had been used and proved unsatisfactory. After 1910 the whole treatment of the problem changed, and much better modern methods were discovered. Two of these are expressly embodied in the present blanket Reapportionment Act. The three older and the two modern methods can be explained by going back to the census of 1790 and showing how Congress actually apportioned the House in 1792 and what Congress would have done if it had then applied each of the methods subsequently recognized by law. (The results of the three older methods under the 1790 census are given

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suggests that Jefferson may have made his mistake by adding three-fifths of the slaves to the New York total population. See Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 107–111.

[1] Congress first drew a bill attempting to use the constitutional ratio of 30,000, with an additional member for most states having a fraction exceeding one-half, somewhat in accordance with the method used later after the census of 1840. The bill is printed in *Annals of Congress*, III. 540. On the advice of Jefferson this bill was vetoed by Washington for reasons which Webster and Story rightly refused to consider altogether satisfactory. See Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution* (5th ed., 1905), I. 495, *n* 2. Numerous other references on the vetoed bill are given by me in *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1022, *n* 21.

[2] For statutes apportioning direct taxes, see *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1021, *n* 17.

in the successively numbered columns in Table I. The results of the two modern methods under the same census are given, below, in Tables III and IV.)

Method of Rejected Fractions (used after each census from 1790 to 1830, inclusive). In the actual apportionment following the census of 1790 Congress adopted the easiest solution, disregarding the fractions entirely. Each state was given the number of seats expressed by the integer in its quotient. (See Column 1 in Table I.) This method carried out the views of Thomas Jefferson,[1] and it was probably what the delegates in the Convention of 1787 expected although they gave very little attention to the whole matter.[2] John Marshall closes his narrative of the first apportionment with the optimistic words: "Thus was this interesting part of the American constitution finally settled."[3]

The same method was employed four times more. It can now be seen that it was too favorable to large states. On the last occasion of its use, after the census of 1830, Daniel Webster vigorously protested against the inequalities caused by this method in the average districts of different states. Although the precise method he wished to substitute was also faulty, he formulated for the first time the correct principle for interpreting the apportionment clause of the Constitution:

> The Constitution, therefore, must be understood, not as enjoining an absolute relative equality,—because that would be demanding an impossibility,—but as requiring of Congress to make the apportionment of representatives among the several states according to their respective numbers, *as near as may be*. That which cannot be done perfectly must be done in a manner as near perfection as can be. . . . In such a case approximation becomes a rule. . . .[4]

Immediate objections to the apportionment of 1792 were likely on the part of North Carolina and New York, whose large fractions were counted as zero just as were the very small fractions of Rhode Island and Kentucky. Gradually Congressmen came to realize much more serious defects. For example, they began by assuming an average district of 33,000 persons. With a total population of slightly above 3,630,000 in 1790, there should have been 110 such average districts and 110 seats in the House. Yet the actual apportionment of 1792 created only 105 seats or an average district of 34,630. In short, the whole process by which the fractions were created was arbitrary. Furthermore, Congress discovered in subsequent apportionments that startling fluctuations in the size of the House might occur without relation to any change in the total population of the country. If, for example, just before the 1790 census 3,000 people had moved out of Rhode Island to other states and 3,000 had moved out of Kentucky, the representation of Rhode Island and Kentucky would have been reduced to one Congressman each. Consequently, the total size of the House would have fallen to 103 seats. The size of the House might even decrease considerably although the total population had appreciably increased. This peculiarity came to be called the "population paradox."[1]

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[1] See *Writings of Jefferson*, v. 493–501; see also note 3, page 380, and note 1, page 382, above.

[2] The discussions about the disposition of fractions mostly related to the initial apportionment of Congress by the Constitution (note 5, page 369, above). See Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, I. 559 (Sherman and Gorham), 560–561 (Gouverneur Morris), 572–573 (Patterson), 586–587 (Sherman), 602 (Ellsworth and Wilson); II. 368 (Ellsworth and Madison); III. 260 (Caleb Strong in 1788). See also *The Federalist*, Number LIV. The bill vetoed by Washington did consider fractions.

[3] *Life of George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1807), V. 324.

[4] Story, *Commentaries*, I. 504*n* (italics in the original). See also *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1023, *n* 24.

Method of 1840. Because of Webster's speech, Congress, after the 1840 census, varied the method originally used by providing that each state having as its quotient a fraction greater than one-half should be assigned an additional representative.[2] Suppose that after the 1790 census the House had been apportioned by this method with the same ratio of 1:33,000. North Carolina, New York, Vermont, and Delaware all having fractions over one-half, each would have received one more representative, and four new seats would have been added to the House. (See Column 2, Table I.) Yet this would not have been satisfactory, for although Congress started to get a House of 110 members, it would still have ended with a House of only 109 members. Furthermore, this method was also subject to the population paradox.

Vinton Method (used for each census from 1850 to 1900, inclusive).[3] The Method of 1840 was used only once, and after the next census Congress turned to a third system: the Vinton Method. This had the advantage of enabling the size of the House to be fixed in advance. By dividing the number of seats into the total population Congress found the size of an ideal Congressional district. This fixed ratio was then used, as in 1792, to produce an exact quotient for each state. After representatives had been assigned for the integers as previously, there would still be a few unassigned seats. The first of these would be given to the state having the largest fraction in its quotient; the second seat for the second largest fraction; and so on down the list until the total number of seats originally planned for was distributed. For example, if Congress had used the Vinton Method to apportion a House of 110 seats after the 1790 census, it would have employed a divisor of 33,000 and have obtained the quotients for states as in Table I. The integers would have accounted for 105 seats, as in the actual 1792 apportionment. There would have been five still unallotted. North Carolina, having the largest fraction (0.713), would have had the first. Then in order would have come New York, Delaware, Vermont, and New Jersey. The expected 110 seats would thus have all been distributed. (See Column 3 in Table I.)

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[1] See Huntington, *Survey*, 18–19; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 5–7.

[2] 5 Stat. 491 (1842). See *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1022. This was substantially the method adopted in the apportionment bill vetoed by Washington.

[3] See *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1025–1026; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 113–119. This method was named after Congressman Samuel Finley Vinton of Ohio.

Although the Vinton Method appears to be so simple that any schoolboy might work it out, it always caused trouble. In the first place, a state with a fraction just below that of the state which got the last seat would be sure to make frantic objections. Consider the resentment of Maryland in 1792 against New Jersey (0.007 difference in fractions).[1] Congress might in the end have appeased Maryland through the addition of a 111th seat. But it is obvious that if there were to have been 111 seats, a new divisor, instead of the 33,000 which was only appropriate for 110 seats, ought to have been applied to the state populations; and the new divisor of 32,758 would have produced a new set of fractions with an entirely different order for the claims of the states to the seats assigned for fractions. In short, the fractions provided only a very accidental and arbitrary measure of inequalities. Finally, although the Vinton Method avoided the old population paradox, it fell into another, the "Alabama paradox," which was just as bad. That is, with no corresponding change in the size of the population, an increase in the total size of the House might be accompanied by an actual loss of a seat by one or more states.[1] This paradox first came to the attention of Congress in tables prepared in 1881, which gave Alabama 8 members in a House of 299 and only 7 members in a House of 300. In 1900 by the Vinton Method Maine retained 4 members in a House of 383, 384, or 385 seats. But if 386 seats were to be allotted, Maine's representation dropped to 3. It came back to 4 for a House of 387 or 388, dropped back to 3 for one of 389 or 390, but rose to 4 for one of 391 and stayed there. "Now you see it, and now you don't," commented Representative Littlefield of Maine. It might even happen that the state which lost a seat in this way was the only one which had expanded in population while all the others had shrunk. Any method which is capable of producing an Alabama paradox arouses so much resentment that it cannot be used. So long as the Vinton Method was followed, this paradox was avoided whenever necessary by a further increase in the size of the House. But that was no longer possible when the Chamber was practically filled to the limit.

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[1] The resentment would be especially great if (with different populations and size of House) the seats were all filled before the fractions over one-half were exhausted. The instinct which produced the Method of 1840 would lead Congress to create new seats so as to satisfy every state with such a fraction.

Thus there were at least three objections to the older methods, which started with the concept of the fixed ratio or ideal district: (1) They produced these queer results called paradoxes. (2) Every time a different size for the House was assumed, it was necessary to start the whole calculation over again to see how seats would be distributed. (3) After a scheme was finished, there was no satisfactory measure of inequalities. When the size of the House became to all intents and purposes fixed at 435 seats, the gain of a seat by a growing state, A, necessarily meant that some other state, B, would lose a seat. The losing state would surely say: "Look at state A, it has a new seat; its average district is smaller than ours." State A could reply: "If you get the seat rather than we, your average district will then be smaller than ours." Nobody knew how to end the argument conclusively. The only way to satisfy the two states was to give both the seats they demanded, and since 1910 this has been virtually impossible. Consequently, it became important to have a plan of distribution which would hold up mathematically and which would enable any inequalities to be justified by simple reasoning.

Modern Methods. This crisis brought about an entirely fresh approach to the reapportionment problem. It is now known that the evils just mentioned are inextricably entangled with the use of the fixed ratio or ideal average district, natural as it was for our ancestors to employ that device. As a result, the ideal district has been tossed overboard. There is no longer any worry about what to do with the fractions: one doesn't even bother to learn what the fractions are. They are too artificial. Such quotients as appear above for the 1790 census were absolutely useless for the 1940 census. The whole process of reapportionment is absolutely different from that pursued in the nineteenth century. Hence the three evils have disappeared. The emphasis is now laid, not on the technical process of computation, but on the practical tests of fairness which the final results must satisfy.

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[1] See *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1025–1026; Huntington, *Survey*, 28–29; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 7.

This valuable reform is largely the work of three men. In 1910 Dr. Joseph A. Hill, Chief Statistician of the Bureau of the Census, started the mathematical analysis of the reapportionment problem. In the same year a distinguished statistician, Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University, devised an improved process of computation, which he called the Method of Major Fractions. In distributing seats under the 1910 census Congress used this method although its implications were not yet fully realized; in fact, the calculations in applying this method would be quite different today. In 1921 Professor Edward V. Huntington of the Department of Mathematics at Harvard University made the first extensive investigation of all known methods and of the possible tests of fairness. He dealt with the problem as what the mathematicians call an existence theorem. Given certain conditions, do any solutions exist, and if so, how many? The conditions that any true solution must meet include absence of paradoxes; a workable general rule of operation which can be applied by any expert in the Census Bureau, and which will distribute a specified number of seats after a particular census with certainty and in only one way; and, most important of all, a rational test of inequalities among states which will give assurance that the distribution of seats under the chosen method will satisfy the constitutional requirement that the apportionment shall be as nearly equal as possible. Huntington proved that there are only five known methods which, under the specified conditions, deserve consideration. Only two of these modern methods need be considered. One of them turned out to correspond with the Method of Major

Fractions used ten years before. The other, which Huntington called the Method of Equal Proportions, was proved by him to satisfy the conditions better than any other method. The correctness of Huntington's analysis has been confirmed by two groups of scientists, the Census Advisory Committee and a special committee with Raymond Pearl as chairman, appointed by the president of the National Academy of Sciences in response to a request from the Speaker of the House for information about the mathematical aspects of the reapportionment problem. Both these bodies expressed unanimously a preference for the Method of Equal Proportions.[1]

Modern Methods in the 1940 *Act.* The blanket Reapportionment Acts of 1929 and 1940 recognize both the methods just discussed. A provision in the act of 1929, continued in that of 1940, requires the President's statement to Congress to contain three schemes: (1) the distribution of the existing number of seats in the House (now 435) showing "the number of Representatives to which each State would be entitled under an apportionment . . . by the method used in the last preceding apportionment"; (2) a similar scheme by the Method of Major Fractions; (3) a similar scheme by the Method of Equal Proportions. Since the Method of Major Fractions had been used in 1910, schemes (1) and (2) were, of course, identical in the presidential statement submitted after the 1930 census. Congress was then at liberty to compare the results of the two methods and choose the Method of Equal Proportions if it wished. But since the law provides that if Congress does nothing, the scheme based on "the method used in the last preceding apportionment" must go into effect automatically; and since Congress took no action, the Method of Major Fractions governed the automatic reapportionment under the 1930 census.

Thus Congress did not follow the recommendations of the distinguished scientific bodies in favor of the Method of Equal Proportions. Its action was mainly due to the influence of Professor Willcox, who had made great contributions to other features of the census. He still considered—mistakenly, I think—that the method he had devised in 1910 remained the best solution of the reapportionment problem. When two eminent professors, Willcox and Huntington, flatly disagreed, legislators, in their bewilderment, took the easiest way out by giving priority to the method they themselves had used before.

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[1] The four basic documents are: Edward V. Huntington, "The Apportionment of Representatives in Congress," *Transactions*, American Mathematical Society, XXX (January, 1928), 85–110; "Report of the Census Advisory Committee," *Quarterly Publications*, American Statistical Association, XVII (1921), 1004 (reprinted in *Hearings before the Committee on the Census of the House of Representatives*, 69*th Cong.*, 2*d Sess.*, *on H. R.* 13471 [January and February, 1927], 53–58); "Report of the Committee of the National Academy of Sciences" (February 5, 1929), *Annual Report*, National Academy of Sciences (Fiscal Year 1928–1929), 20–23 (reprinted in *Congressional Record*, 70th Cong., 2d Sess. [March 2, 1929], 4966–4967, and in 1940 *Hearings*, 70–71); Edward V. Huntington, *A Survey of Methods of Apportionment in Congress*, Senate Document Number 304, 76th Cong., 3d Sess. (1940). For a full recent account of all the modern methods, see Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 12–72.

Thereupon, the respective partisans of each method awaited eagerly the results of the 1930 census. When they were published, the laugh was on both alike: for a House of 435 members it made no difference which method was used. Both distributed a House of that size in exactly the same way, although they would have varied for a little larger or smaller body.

When the 1929 act had to be amended because of the constitutional change in the time for Congress to meet, the mathematical issue revived in full force. Willcox and Huntington both testified at the hearings, and the Census Bureau experts contributed valuable material. However, the House Committee thought it wiser to avoid antagonisms on the floor by merely correcting the timetable. Hence the provisions of the 1929 act about mathematical methods, already outlined, remained in effect for the 1940 census. Consequently, the President's statement sent to Congress on January 8, 1941, contained schemes according to both the Method of Major Fractions and the Method of Equal Proportions.[1]

Both these modern methods had an important official status and ought to be understood. Before explaining their differences it will be well to discuss the qualities and advantages which they possess in common.

The Distribution of Seats by the Census Bureau. Both these modern methods operate in the same general way in the Census Bureau. In neither does the old conception of the ideal district play the slightest part. Given a set of census figures and a particular method, e.g., the Method of Major Fractions, the Bureau can by a single process of calculation prepare for Congress a statement which shows the distribution of seats for a House of any size which may possibly be desired. It is no longer necessary, as under the methods of the last century, to start the calculation over again for every different number of members. The Bureau prepares a "priority list" long enough to cover the largest number of representatives conceivably desired; the names of the states are arranged on this list in a series determined by the particular method, the states appearing more or less frequently according to their size. The technical process of framing the priority list is as follows: first, the Bureau assigns one representative to each state to satisfy the constitutional guaranty; second, by arithmetical operations which need not be explained here[1] and which differ according to the method used, the Bureau calculates for each state a succession of rank indexes, each rank index indicating when this state is entitled to a second seat, a third seat, and so on up; third, the Bureau takes all these rank indexes for all the states and arranges them in a single series in order of size, beginning with the largest rank index and working down. This forms the priority list.

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[1] These schemes are given in Table VII. The Method of Major Fractions, which had been used in the last preceding apportionment (1930), had the preferred status. The ensuing proceedings in Congress will be narrated at the close of this paper.

Just to show how easy it is to understand a priority list, Table II gives the last part of such a list worked out under the 1790 census according to the Method of Major Fractions.[2] Since Congress then expected a House of 110, it is not necessary to go beyond the 112th seat.

After the priority list is finished, a scheme for distributing seats in a House of any specified size, e.g., 105 or 110, can be quickly made up. One goes down the priority list giving one more seat to each state every time that its name appears and stopping when the required number of seats has been filled. Still other states below stand ready to take successively any additional seats, should these be provided. The priority list somewhat resembles a line of passengers standing in the corridor of a dining car waiting for places. Each is given a seat in turn, and one can tell at a glance who are next entitled to seats if seats become available.

All this work is done in the Census Bureau. It appears complicated, but for those who know how, it is easy. A single expert has calculated an entire apportionment of forty-eight states and checked the results in less than two and a half hours by the clock.[1]

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[1] For technical details, see *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1029, *n* 39; Huntington, *Survey*, 6, 10; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 8–11, 13–15, 22–24.

[2] Schmeckebier (*Congressional Apportionment*, 195–203, 216–225) gives complete priority lists for 1930 and 1940 by both the Method of Major Fractions and the Method of Equal Proportions.

Table II

Portion of Priority List

Apportionment of House under 1790 Census by Method of Major Fractions

(During the distribution of the first 100 seats several states received their final allotment, which coincides with their representation in the actual apportionment of 1792. These are as follows: Maryland, 8; South Carolina, 6; New Jersey, 5;[2] New Hampshire, 4; Georgia, 2; Kentucky, 2; Rhode Island, 2.)

Seat Number in House	*Rank Index*	*State*	*Cumulative Number of Seats for States*
101	37,025	Delaware	2[3]
102	36,299	Connecticut	7
103	36,032	Virginia	18[3]
104	35,209	Massachusetts	14
105	34,630	Pennsylvania	13
106	34,213	Vermont	3
107	34,084	Virginia	19
108	33,669	North Carolina	11
109	33,611	New York	11
110	32,781	Massachusetts	15[2]
111	32,743	Maryland	9
112	32,647	New Jersey	6

A scheme for apportioning a House of any specified size can be rapidly drawn off from the priority list by the Census Bureau. Suppose Congress in 1792 had told the Bureau to get a scheme by the Method of Major Fractions for distributing 105 seats, the actual size of the House then fixed. The Bureau would have taken the Major Fractions priority list under the 1790 census (see Table II) and would simply have given each state the cumulative number of seats (see the extreme right-hand column of Table II) which that state gets the last time its name appears in the priority list before the stopping point is reached (105th seat, in extreme left-hand column of the list). The last, or 105th seat in the House would have gone to Pennsylvania, giving her thirteen representatives. The resulting scheme appears in Table III (next to last column). Notice that by this method Virginia would have had only eighteen seats, and Delaware would have had two, whereas the actual apportionment gave them nineteen and one, respectively.

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[1] 1940 *Hearings*, 54.

[2] New Jersey got 6 seats by the Vinton Method and Massachusetts, 14. See Table I.

[3] In the actual 1792 apportionment Delaware got 1 seat and Virginia, 19.

Then suppose that Congress had also requested a scheme by the same method for a House of 110 seats, the size Congress expected to get when it began the 1792 apportionment. As will be seen from the priority list in Table II, Vermont would now have stood at the head of the line and hence would have had the 106th seat for its third representative. Next in line would have been Virginia, North

TABLE III

Census of 1790

Schemes by Method of Major Fractions

State	*Representative Population*	*Actual 1792 Apportionment*	*105 seats*	*110 seats*
Virginia	630,558	19	18[1]	19
Massachusetts	475,327	14	14	15[2]
Pennsylvania	432,880	13	13	13
North Carolina	353,521	10	10	11
New York	352,915	10	10	11
Maryland	278,313	8	8	8
Connecticut	235,941	7	7	7
South Carolina	206,236	6	6	6
New Jersey	179,556	5	5	5[2]
New Hampshire	141,823	4	4	4
Vermont	85,532	2	2	3
Georgia	70,843	2	2	2
Kentucky	68,705	2	2	2
Rhode Island	68,444	2	2	2
Delaware	55,538	1	2[1]	2
Totals	3,636,132	105	105	110

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[1] Note difference from actual apportionment of 1792.

[2] Note difference from Vinton Method in Table I.

Carolina, and New York. The 110th seat would have belonged to the fifteenth representative from Massachusetts. It will be observed that Massachusetts would have been better off than under the arbitrary Vinton Method, which gave her only fourteen members. New Jersey, which got the 110th seat under the Vinton Method, would in this case have had only five members and would have been still waiting outside the closed doors of the House, vainly seeking the sixth seat, for which there was no room.

The Method of Equal Proportions works in the Census Bureau in much the same way, and it is not necessary to give a priority list for that method. The rank indexes would be different; and the states would appear in a slightly different order, with smaller states coming in a little sooner than they do under the Method of Major Fractions.

TABLE IV

Census of 1790

Schemes by Method of Equal Proportions

State	*Representative Population*	*Actual* 1792 *Apportionment*	*EP* 105 *seats*	*EP* 110 *seats*
Virginia	630,558	19	18	19
Massachusetts	475,327	14	14	15
Pennsylvania	432,880	13	12[1]	13
North Carolina	353,521	10	10	11
New York	352,915	10	10	11
Maryland	278,313	8	8	8
Connecticut	235,941	7	7	7
South Carolina	206,236	6	6	6
New Jersey	179,556	5	5	5
New Hampshire	141,823	4	4	4
Vermont	85,532	2	3[1]	3
Georgia	70,843	2	2	2
Kentucky	68,705	2	2	2
Rhode Island	68,444	2	2	2
Delaware	55,538	1	2	2
Totals	3,636,132	105	105	110

[1] Note difference from Method of Major Fractions in Table III.

For example, under the 1790 census Vermont would have squeezed in just ahead of Pennsylvania for the 105th seat; as a result, Pennsylvania would have had only twelve representatives by Equal Proportions in a House of 105 whereas Vermont would have had three representatives. By Major Fractions, Pennsylvania would have been just ahead of Vermont at this stopping point (see Table II), and they would have had thirteen and two members, respectively. However, if the House were fixed at 110, both methods would have yielded the same results. The two schemes by the Method of Equal Proportions are presented in Table IV, above.

Superior Merits of the Modern Methods. Why are these two methods better than any older one? First, because they avoid the population paradox, the Alabama paradox, and the other uncertainties of apportionments existing before 1910. The size of the House can be fixed with sureness in advance. With given state populations no state loses a member as the size of the House rises.

The second advantage is that members of Congress are relieved of all the burden of calculating possible apportionments over and over as they used to do. All the necessary calculations in distributing seats can be made, once for all, by experts and electric machines in the Census Bureau.

The third and biggest advantage is that once the plan for distribution of seats has been submitted by the Census Bureau to Congress, the inequality between any two states can be easily measured in the manner hereafter described; and one can prove that this inequality is the smallest amount possible under the principles of the chosen method. One obviously can never hope to get an absolutely equal apportionment. There will always be some states which are relatively underrepresented and others which are relatively overrepresented. The point is that whenever an underrepresented state complains that it ought to get one more seat instead of some other state which denies this claim with equal vigor, it is now possible to settle this dispute quickly by a little simple arithmetic. It can be shown that if the two states exchanged seats, the inequality between them would be even greater than under the submitted scheme.

In other words, there are two stages in an apportionment: the distribution of seats to the various states and the measurement of inequalities under this distribution to show that it reduces inequalities to a minimum. Nineteenth-century Congresses spent all their time on the first stage and did not know how to tackle the second at all. The first stage is now entirely taken care of by the Census Bureau; and Congressmen can in a very satisfactory way devote all their attention to the second. It is true that what the Census Bureau does in compiling the priority list is hard to explain. But Congressmen do not need to understand it. The resulting scheme is all they need to look at (see Tables III and IV).[1] They do not have to bother about the way by which the Bureau distributes seats because they can test the fairness of the result so easily. All it takes to measure inequalities is a little division or subtraction.

Measurement of Inequalities. For illustration, assume that Virginia in 1792 is dissatisfied with the apportionment of 105 seats by either modern method. She claims nineteen seats instead of the eighteen given her (Tables III and IV) and says she ought to have one of the two seats allotted to Delaware. Let us measure the inequalities between Virginia and Delaware. Four kinds of measurement are indicated by Table V, below. (The data in the two lines following the names of the states do not have to be figured out by a Congressman. He can get them at once from a special table compiled by the Census Bureau.)[2]

In order to understand this measurement of inequalities it is desirable to remember that the Constitution embodies two ideals of a reasonably equal apportionment. In the first place, it contemplates approximately equal Congressional districts: every representative should have as nearly as possible the same number of constituents. This ratio is found by dividing the population of a state by the number of its representatives. (See Table V, Column 1.) In addition, the Constitution contemplates that every inhabitant, no matter in what state he lives, shall have as nearly as possible the same representation at Washington, the same share in the attention of a Congressman. In other words, every 100,000 inhabitants, no matter where they live, should have the same number of Congressmen. This ratio is found by dividing the number of a state's representatives by the number of hundred thousands in its population. (See Table V, Column 2. This use of hundred thousands is purely for statistical convenience to avoid very small decimals, and the state's population may of course be less than 100,000. Today it is more convenient to use a million.) Approximate uniformity of both these ratios (in districts and in representation per 100,000) is desirable, and there is no inherent reason for the choice of one rather than the other, although the concept of equality of districts is more familiar and more readily grasped. If an absolutely equal apportionment could be made, all the states would have the same average districts and the same representation per 100,000; and it would make no difference which of the two ratios was considered in the assignment of seats. But inevitable inequalities do, in fact, exist, and in measuring these it will be found that it may make a difference which kind of inequality one looks at.

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[1] For similar schemes for all the forty-eight states under the 1920 census and the 1930 census, see Huntington, *Survey*, 22, 23; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 64–65. For the 1940 census, see Table VII, below.

[2] For such a table under the 1930 census, see 1940 *Hearings*, 64–65.

Another important point is that there are two different ways to measure any inequality. Suppose, for example, that Mr. Roosevelt's popular vote (27,241,939) is being compared with Mr. Willkie's (22,327,226).[1] One can use subtraction to reach the absolute difference and say that Mr. Roosevelt's vote was larger by 4,914,713. But it is just as informative to use division and discover the relative difference; then one could say that Mr. Roosevelt's vote was 22.01 per cent larger than Mr. Willkie's. All the time in practical affairs inequalities are thus measured by percentages: for example, Dow-Jones averages and steel production. And this is the way inequalities are measured in the Method of Equal Proportions. On the other hand, in the Method of Major Fractions one uses subtraction and measures inequalities by absolute differences.

The gist of each of these methods is as follows. Suppose that, under the scheme compiled by the Census Bureau by a particular method and transmitted in the President's statement, a fixed number of seats (now 435) is distributed so that state A is underrepresented in comparison with state B. A has a larger average district than B and fewer representatives per 100,000 inhabitants. Hence A claims that it ought to get one of the seats assigned to B in the scheme. If it did, the inequalities would be reversed, and state B would be relatively underrepresented. The question is whether the inequalities can be decreased by the transfer of the disputed seat. To answer this question, the inequality between A and B must first be measured,

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[1] These figures are taken from the *World Almanac* (1941), 42, derived from the Associated Press.

TABLE V

Measurement of Inequalities—House of 105

Virginia and Delaware

State	*Representative Population*	*Equal Proportions and Major Fractions*			*Exchange of One Seat (to 1792 Apportionment)*		
		Seats	*Average District* (Column 1)	*Representation per* 100,000 (Column 2)	*Seats*	*Average District* (Column 3)	*Representation per* 100,000 (Column 4)
Virginia	630,558	18	35,031	2.855	19	33,187	3.013
Delaware	55,538	2	27,769	3.601	1	55,538	1.801
Absolute Inequality			7,262	0.746		22,351	1.212
Percentage Inequality			26.1%	26.1%		67.3%	67.3%

TABLE VI

Measurement of Inequalities—House of 105

Pennsylvania and Vermont

State	*Representative Population*	*Equal Proportions*			*Exchange of One Seat (Major Fractions)*		
		Seats	*Average District* (Column 1)	*Representation per* 100,000 (Column 2)	*Seats*	*Average District* (Column 3)	*Representation per* 100,000 (Column 4)
Pennsylvania	432,880	12	36,073	2.772	13	33,298	3.003
Vermont	85,532	3	28,511	3.507	2	42,766	2.338
Absolute Inequality			7,562	0.735		9,468	0.665
Percentage Inequality			26.5%	26.5%		28.4%	28.4%

using the kind of arithmetic prescribed by the particular method (as shown below); next is measured, by the same kind of arithmetic, the inequality after the proposed change of a seat; and finally, the results are compared. If the inequality is greater after the change, that change ought not to be made. And this is what will always happen so long as one sticks to the particular method. Hence it can be proved to A's Congressmen and their constituents that A ought not to get the disputed seat away from B and that both states are treated fairly in the scheme.

Method of Equal Proportions: Measurement of Inequalities. Apply this process, for instance, to Virginia and Delaware under the 1790 census (Table V). Virginia has eighteen seats and Delaware two (left half of table). By the Method of Equal Proportions an average district is much larger in Virginia than in Delaware. This seems unfair to Virginia. But closer examination leads to a different conclusion. The Method of Equal Proportions uses *division* to measure inequalities. Thus it turns out that the average Virginia district is 26 per cent larger than the average Delaware district (Column 1, last line). But if the disputed seat is then assigned to Virginia (right half of table) and the same mathematical process is repeated, it turns out that the single district of 55,538 in Delaware is now 67 per cent greater than the average Virginia district of 33,187 (Column 3): a bigger percentage than was arrived at before. Thus in this case the inequality in districts cannot be lessened by making the transfer and altering the Census Bureau's scheme as it stands (left half of table).

How about representation per 100,000? Here, too, the percentage method is used to measure the inequality. The results are exactly the same (Columns 2 and 4) as when one was dealing with districts: inequality in representation also would be increased from 26 per cent to 67 per cent by transferring the disputed seat to Virginia. For this reason, also, the transfer ought not to be made. It can be seen, therefore, that the Equal Proportions scheme transmitted by the Census Bureau, when tested through percentages, reduces to a minimum whichever kind of inequality one chooses to examine.

Method of Major Fractions: Measurement of Inequalities. Virginia and Delaware happen to get the same number of representatives by this method in a House of 105 as by the Method of Equal Proportions (compare Tables III and IV), but the inequalities are measured in a different way. This method uses *subtraction* to find *absolute differences.* Upon turning to Table V, one might feel inclined to look at the difference in size between the average districts, which is 7,262 under the Census Bureau's scheme and would be increased to 22,351 by the proposed transfer (next to last line of Columns 1 and 3). But this mode of measurement belongs to still another modern method, called the Method of the Harmonic Mean.[1] It has merits, but it is not recognized by law and hence is not discussed here. The Method of Major Fractions ignores inequalities of districts entirely. Instead, it looks only at inequalities of representation per 100,000 (or per 1,000,000 nowadays). This inequality is found by subtracting the representation per 100,000 in the underrepresented state, e.g., Virginia in Table V, from that in the overrepresented state, Delaware. This inequality is 0.746 (Column 2). If the disputed seat is then shifted to Virginia, putting the inequality the other way, and the same mathematical process is repeated, the result shows the difference to be 1.212 (Column 4), which is bigger than before. Thus the transfer ought not to be made. The Census Bureau's scheme by the Method of Major Fractions (see Table III) reduces to a minimum inequalities in representation when measured by subtraction.

The two methods may produce different apportionments. As between Virginia and Delaware, it would have made no difference in 1792 which method was used to distribute a House of 105 seats. But it would have made a difference to Pennsylvania and Vermont. By the Method of Equal Proportions Pennsylvania would have had twelve seats and Vermont three (see Table IV). By the Method of Major Fractions, on the other hand, Pennsylvania would have had thirteen seats and Vermont only two (see Table III).

The inequalities in the Equal Proportions scheme can be measured by data in Table VI (page 397). In this case if the disputed seat be transferred from Vermont to Pennsylvania, the inequalities in both districts and representation will be increased from 26 per cent to 28 per cent (Columns 1 and 3, last line). The Method of Equal Proportions therefore says that the transfer should not be made: the Census Bureau has rightly given the seat to Vermont. Even if one uses subtraction, the same conclusion follows so long as one considers inequalities in districts (Columns 1 and 3, next to last line). This would be the Method of the Harmonic Mean. But the Method of Major Fractions considers only absolute inequalities in representation per 100,000. That inequality is 0.735 if Vermont has the seat; it will be reduced to 0.665 if Pennsylvania gets the seat (Columns 2 and 4, next to last line). Hence according to the Method of Major Fractions the transfer should be made so as to distribute the 105 seats as in Table III and give the disputed seat to Pennsylvania. Thus the result here depends on the way you measure inequalities.

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[1] The Method of the Harmonic Mean is discussed in *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1038–1039; Huntington, *Survey*, 8–9; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 33–40. This method tends to favor the smaller states somewhat more than does Equal Proportions and considerably more than does Major Fractions.

We shall see shortly that the choice between these two methods for a House of 435 seats affected two states under the 1940 census.[1]

Comparative Merits of Methods. Which method is better? Although the Method of Major Fractions was used in the last two apportionments before 1940, the Method of Equal Proportions seems superior for at least two reasons.

In the first place, it makes no difference under the latter method which kind of inequality is considered. Either way it can be shown that the scheme worked out by this method in the Census Bureau cannot be improved. So long as one compares any two states by percentages, their average districts are as nearly equal as possible, and their representation per million inhabitants is as nearly equal as possible. On the other hand, the use of subtraction and absolute discrepancies is objectionable because it gives two schemes for apportionment: the Method of Major Fractions, which considers inequality of representation, and the Method of the Harmonic Mean, which considers inequality of districts. Inasmuch as popular attention is most readily focused on the size of districts, the Method of Major Fractions, which ignores districts entirely, is not well suited for explanation to students and voters who are properly anxious to understand our system of government.

A second merit of the Method of Equal Proportions concerns the interests of large and small states. It is not so favorable to large states as the Method of Major Fractions. It is not so favorable to small states as the Method of the Harmonic Mean. Since it stands midway between the other two methods, it is somewhat fairer than either to all sizes of states.

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[1] It would have affected six states in the apportionment of a House of 435 members under the 1920 census. See *Harvard Law Review*, XLII. 1032–1038.

III

The Results of the Census of 1940

The Seventy-seventh Congress convened on Friday, January 3, 1941. On Wednesday, January 8, the President sent to Congress the statement required by the Reapportionment Act, showing the new state populations and the distribution of seats in the existing House of 435 members under the Method of Major Fractions and the Method of Equal Proportions.[1] (The figures are substantially reproduced in Table VII.) The choice between methods affected only two states—Arkansas and Michigan. Unless Congress acted, the Method of Major Fractions, being that used in the 1930 apportionment, would go into effect automatically; Michigan would gain a seat, and Arkansas would lose one. However, the Method of Equal Proportions left the representation of these two states unchanged from that under the 1930 apportionment.

TABLE VII

Apportionments under Census of 1940

By Method of Major Fractions and Method of Equal Proportions

State	*Population*	*MF*	*EP*	*Change from* 1930 *Apportionment*
Alabama	2,832,961	9	9	.....
Arizona	499,261	2	2	plus 1
Arkansas[2]	1,949,387	6	7	minus 1 or 0
California	6,907,387	23	23	plus 3
Colorado	1,123,296	4	4	.....
Connecticut	1,709,242	6	6	.....
Delaware	266,505	1	1	.....
Florida	1,897,414	6	6	plus 1
Georgia	3,123,723	10	10	.....
Idaho	524,873	2	2	.....
Illinois	7,897,241	26	26	minus 1
Indiana	3,427,796	11	11	minus 1
Iowa	2,538,268	8	8	minus 1
Kansas	1,801,028	6	6	minus 1
Kentucky	2,845,627	9	9	.....
Louisiana	2,363,880	8	8	.....
Maine	847,226	3	3	.....
Maryland	1,821,244	6	6	.....

[1] *Congressional Record*, LXXXVII (temporary), 59, 79–80, 95–96 (apportionment figures).

[2] States affected by choice between methods.

State	*Population*	*MF*	*EP*	*Change from* 1930 *Apportionment*
Massachusetts	4,316,721	14	14	minus 1
Michigan[1]	5,256,106	18	17	plus 1 or 0
Minnesota	2,792,300	9	9	.....
Mississippi	2,183,796	7	7	.....
Missouri	3,784,664	13	13	.....
Montana	559,456	2	2	.....
Nebraska	1,315,834	4	4	minus 1
Nevada	110,247	1	1	.....
New Hampshire	491,524	2	2	.....
New Jersey	4,160,165	14	14	.....
New Mexico	531,818	2	2	plus 1
New York	13,479,142	45	45	.....
North Carolina	3,571,623	12	12	plus 1
North Dakota	641,935	2	2	.....
Ohio	6,907,612	23	23	minus 1
Oklahoma	2,336,434	8	8	minus 1
Oregon	1,089,684	4	4	plus 1
Pennsylvania	9,900,180	33	33	minus 1
Rhode Island	713,346	2	2	.....
South Carolina	1,899,804	6	6	.....
South Dakota	642,961	2	2	.....
Tennessee	2,915,841	10	10	plus 1
Texas	6,414,824	21	21	.....
Utah	550,310	2	2	.....
Vermont	359,231	1	1	.....
Virginia	2,677,773	9	9	.....
Washington	1,736,191	6	6	.....
West Virginia	1,901,974	6	6	.....
Wisconsin	3,137,587	10	10	.....
Wyoming	250,742	1	1	.....
Total	131,006,184	435	435	

NOTE: The representative populations are the same as the total populations. The results by Major Fractions will be used because Congress took no action.

Let us measure the inequalities between Arkansas and Michigan. (See Table VIII.) If Arkansas loses a seat and falls to six members, its average district as the underrepresented state is 11.26 per cent larger than that in Michigan with eighteen members. Suppose the disputed seat is shifted to Arkansas, giving it seven members and Michigan seventeen as hitherto. Michigan is now underrepresented, but the inequality is thus reduced to 11.02 per cent (Columns 1 and 3, last line). The transfer, therefore, should be made. This is also true if representation per million is measured by percentages (Columns 2 and 4, last line). In either event, we get back to the number of Congressmen for each state which it had during the past decade. So it is fairer for Arkansas to have the disputed seat so long as inequalities are measured by relative differences (percentages), as the Method of Equal Proportions provides.

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[1] States affected by choice between methods.

So far as size of average districts goes, Arkansas ought to have the seat even if one uses subtraction and absolute differences. Then the average Michigan district is 30,699 greater than that in Arkansas, whereas if Michigan gets the seat, the average Arkansas district will have an excess of 32,892, a larger inequality. (Columns 1 and 3, next to last lines. This is the Method of the Harmonic Mean.) However, if one applies subtraction to the somewhat less familiar comparison of representation per million inhabitants, as the Method of Major Fractions provides, then Michigan should gain a member and Arkansas should lose one. The inequality measured in this way is then only 0.3467, whereas it would be the greater amount of 0.3566 if the existing representation be left unchanged.

The upshot is that Michigan can demonstrate its claim to the seat by only one out of four obvious ways of measuring inequalities. If one looks at average districts, then Arkansas should have seven members, whether one uses percentages or subtraction. If one looks at representation per million, Arkansas should still keep seven Congressmen so long as one uses percentages. It is only when one uses subtraction to measure the inequality in everybody's share in a representative that Michigan obtains a new Congressman. Such an arrangement seems less just than the Method of Equal Proportions, yet it would have been a necessary result of the blanket apportionment act of 1940.

The conflict between Arkansas and Michigan caused Congressmen from the less populous states to become active in favor of the Method of Equal Proportions. Representative Rankin immediately brought in a bill to use that method and increase the size of the House to 460 members.[1] This came to nothing. Much more support

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[1] H. R. 1619, introduced on January 8, 1941; referred to the Committee on the Census; reported back without amendment on February 5 by H. Rept. 31; referred to the Committee of the Whole; no further action noted. This bill would have prevented the loss of members by Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; and it would also have increased the representation of several states.

TABLE VIII

Measurement of Inequalities—Census of 1940—House of 435

Arkansas and Michigan

State	*Population*	*Major Fractions*			*Equal Proportions*		
		Seats	*Average District* (Column 1)	*Representation per Million* (Column 2)	*Seats*	*Average District* (Column 3)	*Representation per Million* (Column 4)
Arkansas	1,949,387	6	324,898	3.0779	7	278,484	3.5909
Michigan	5,256,106	18	292,006	3.4246	17	309,183	3.2343
Absolute Inequality			32,892	0.3467		30,699	0.3566
Percentage Inequality			11.26%	11.26%		11.02%	11.02%

NOTE: Arkansas and Michigan are the only states affected by what choice is made between the two statutory methods in a House of 435. The Method of Equal Proportions leaves the representation as it has been under the census of 1930, while the Method of Major Fractions costs Arkansas a seat and gives Michigan one seat more. Observe that Equal Proportions reduces the inequality to a minimum if one measures it in three different ways; whereas Major Fractions achieves the smallest inequality in only one way: viz., in representation per million inhabitants if measured by subtraction.

was given to another bill, introduced by Representative Gathings of Arkansas, which distributed the existing number of seats by the Method of Equal Proportions, giving Arkansas seven members and giving Michigan seventeen as hitherto.[1] After prolonged debate, the Gathings Bill passed the House on February 18 by a vote of 210 to 142.

When this Equal Proportions bill reached the Senate the next day, it was referred to the Committee on Commerce.[2] If it did not get out of committee and get passed by the Senate and signed by the President within sixty calendar days after January 8, then by the blanket Reapportionment Act of 1940 the Census Bureau's scheme under the Method of Major Fractions would automatically become law. Thus Michigan would possess the disputed seat. Perhaps it was only a coincidence that Senator Vandenberg of Michigan was a member of the Committee on Commerce. At any rate, this committee failed to report out the Apportionment Bill, notwithstanding the plain need for haste. And the Senate was so much absorbed in debating H. R. 1776, the Lease-Lend Bill, that it never forced the Apportionment Bill out of committee. So the sixty days expired, and, as Representative Rankin feared at the hearings in 1940, the Senate was able by its inaction to fix the distribution of seats in the House.

The states were duly notified of the new law and several redistricted themselves accordingly. Practically everybody who was interested in the reapportionment problem assumed last spring that everything was settled until 1950. Some, like myself, were disappointed that the Method of Equal Proportions, although the best of all mathematically, was still only in second place. Even so, great progress had been made. Automatic reapportionment was solidly established, and the Method of Major Fractions was far better than the nineteenth-century methods. And any inequalities between states which are caused by this method and might be lessened by the Method of Equal Proportions are insignificant indeed when compared with the inequalities between Congressional districts in the same state as they are frequently demarcated by state legislatures.[1] For example, the largest Congressional district in New York now has about 800,000 inhabitants and is nearly nine times as large as the smallest New York district, 91,000. The next task seemed to be the reduction of these inequalities inside states, and meanwhile it appeared that hopes for the victory of the Method of Equal Proportions must be laid on the shelf for another decade.

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[1] H. R. 2665, introduced on January 24; referred to the Committee on the Census; reported back without amendment on February 5 by H. Rept. 30; referred to the Committee of the Whole. *Congressional Record*, LXXXVII (temporary), 331, 709, 1029–1030, 1032–1033; Appendix, 683–685. On February 17 it was made a special order; and it was extensively debated, this day and the next, in the Committee of the Whole. *Ibid.*, 1114–1129, 1165–1171; Appendix, 777–780. On February 18 it passed the House. *Ibid.*, 1172.

During the debates considerable resentment was shown against the inclusion of aliens in the apportionment. On February 3 Senator Capper introduced Senate Joint Resolution Number 34 for a constitutional amendment to exclude aliens hereafter. See Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 86–89. The question seems to be of decreasing importance since aliens are becoming relatively fewer.

[2] *Congressional Record*, LXXXVII (temporary), 1184.

A big surprise upset these expectations. In July the slumbering Gathings Bill was reported favorably from the Senate Committee on Commerce,[2] with an amendment which dealt with the situation produced by the fact that the sixty-day period provided by law for Congressional action on apportionment had expired during March. The Method of Equal Proportions was to be the sole basis of the automatic reapportionment after each future census, and a retroactive provision prescribed the same method for the allotment of seats under the census of 1940. When the bill was called up for debate in October, it became clear that the Method of Equal Proportions, like many other notable reforms, derived much of its strength from motives quite remote from pure reason. If the disputed seat were obtained by Michigan, as it would be under the Method of Major Fractions, it might be occupied by a Republican in 1943. But the Method of Equal Proportions would give the same seat to Arkansas, which would surely elect a Democrat. The Democrats now have a large majority in both branches of Congress. Sound mathematics won the support of shrewd politics. On November 15, 1941, by a strict party vote, the Method of Equal Proportions became the law of the land, and Arkansas got the seat.[3]

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[1] See Harold M. Bowman, "Congressional Redistricting and the Constitution," *Michigan Law Review*, XXXI (December, 1932), 149–179; Schmeckebier, *Congressional Apportionment*, 127–192 (reviewing actual districts in every state).

[2] Majority report by Senator Caraway of Arkansas, *Senate Report Number* 573 (77th Cong., 1st Sess.). The minority report by Senator Brown of Michigan is in Part 2. See *Congressional Record*, LXXXVII (temporary), 6373, 6432.

[3] Public Number 291 (H. R. 2665), approved November 15, 1941. For the Senate debates on the subject, see *Congressional Record*, LXXXVII (temporary), 8260–8269, 8286–8298. For the debates in the House, see *ibid.*, 8804–8807.

Even to an advocate of this method, the circumstances under which it prevailed cause some misgivings. The valuable principle of the blanket apportionment statutes of 1929 and 1940 has been weakened by the action of Congress in overturning the automatic distribution of seats several months after it had supposedly gone into operation. The great advantage of laying down the rules of the game before the play starts is mostly lost if the rules are to be remade during the second period in order to enable the heavier side to score an additional point. The events of the autumn of 1941 may prove a bad precedent after the census of 1950. The party then in power, seeing itself deprived of some coveted seats by the Method of Equal Proportions, may throw overboard the automatic reapportionment under that method and gain what it wants by substituting the Method of Major Fractions or one of the mathematically unsound methods of the nineteenth century. Although the speeches of the proponents of the Gathings Bill complimented Senator Vandenberg as the great creator of automatic reapportionment, he characterized such praises as "sending flowers to the funeral." Another objection to the new measure is that it is not so carefully drafted as the 1940 act with regard to allowing Congress reasonable time for consideration of the automatic apportionment prepared by the Census Bureau. The 1940 statute gave Congress sixty calendar days in which to approve or modify the automatic scheme. Although this period proved entirely too short under the conditions of last spring, the law of November, 1941, provides that the automatic reapportionment shall take effect only *fifteen* calendar days after the President transmits the scheme to Congress. This absurdly brief time is a strong provocation to the Congress of 1951 to ignore the specified period altogether and upset the automatic apportionment after it has nominally taken effect.

However, in spite of these drawbacks, the existing law does embody the two most valuable solutions of the apportionment problem which have yet been devised. The automatic provision prevents the inaction of Congress from again preserving an obsolete distribution of seats, and the Method of Equal Proportions is the best mathematical process known. It is to be fervently hoped that the next ten years will make the merits of these two principles so plain to members of Congress and the great body of citizens that they will not be thrown aside after the 1950 census. In particular, any supposed complexities of the Method of Equal Proportions should not be allowed to obscure the strong reasons for its retention. These reasons may be summarized as follows.

A respect for law will in the long run be best obtained if seats in Congress are distributed in the way which is least likely to produce a sense of unfairness in those who are forced to obey legislation. Each successive reapportionment will cause an increasingly critical examination of inequalities by the states which lose seats. Consequently, the mathematical superiority of the Method of Equal Proportions is also a political merit. Because of its mathematical soundness it is the method which can best stand up under this unavoidable and intense critical scrutiny. The wisest policy requires that our lawmakers be chosen according to the plan which most nearly secures the equality both in Congressional districts and in representation per million inhabitants which was contemplated by the Constitution. That plan is the Method of Equal Proportions, which has at last become the law and ought to remain the law until some new and better method be discovered in the future to take its place.

Miscellanea

Address
at the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Historical Society

By Dixon Ryan Fox

This noble celebration concentrates upon the happiest of themes: insight, faith, and effort well justified by long result. In a bomb-battered and hate-poisoned world, as we see it in these years, it is understandable if man becomes discouraged with himself. What is man, that he should call his brother to choose between death and slavery, should drop destruction into homes, into the shrines of aspiration, into the whole fabric of civilized life? When cruelty and terror sweep across our planet, it is a time to question whether the race of men is fit to live. Instinct answers that it is. Experience, in the whole story of the rise of thought and its organized expression, is more logically reassuring. That mankind can realize its highest needs, set up institutions to supply them, and then make these institutions work effectively nourishes our self-respect and nerves us to press on in human betterment. Not the murder of millions nor the waste of inestimable property can destroy beneficent ideas. Especially is this true when such ideas are empowered in institutions.

We have gathered tonight to praise Dr. Belknap and his nine associates, who a century and a half ago set the model for organized historical enterprise in America. Their insight revealed the need of history; their faith in themselves and their successors flowered in an institution to conserve it; their effort made that institution work so well that inertia, which ordinarily afflicts the human will, could not stop it.

They were interested in the past. The past, of course, exists whether we are interested in it or not, whether we know of it or not. We say the past exists, not existed. For nearly threescore years the poet-mystic Maeterlinck has rung a dominant note in all his writings: "There are no dead!" He has been especially aware that personal ancestors live in our blood and make us what we are. But the heritage of men's dreams in times past, of men's work and men's achievement, is but another name for the world we live in. It is well for us to realize that we are neither the first nor the last of the human race, neither the first nor the last to bear the charge of social life in America. We build upon the toil of others who have gone before, and those to come will build on ours. We are a layer, a stage of a great continuous achievement—inheritors of the past, stewards of the present, benefactors, we hope, of the future.

We look around upon this company of neighbors and associates, but these are not all the human fellows we have to live with and to work for. There is a vastly greater concourse of unseen fellows here tonight whose influence remains in an undying potency, as ours likewise will be here a century hence. At a dinner party dramatized in Maeterlinck's *The Power of the Dead* the guests have, with questionable taste, been making ribald jests about the marble busts of ancestors with which they are surrounded. Their host, his patience worn away, rises to rebuke them:

> They are jokes that should not be made when they deal with the dead, and especially such dead as these. I have mine, you have your own; let us learn how to show them due honor. It is they that have made us what we are, and we exist only through them! Not only are we what they were, we are nothing more, nothing else than what they continue to be! Death has not carried them far away from us; he has planted them within us! And now it is within us that they are, within us that they exist and have their being, and we are nothing but their shadows. . . . When we forget them it is our whole future that we lose sight of; and when we fail in respect to them it is our immortal soul that we are trampling under our own feet! . . . I pity those of you who do not grasp this truth; I turn toward those whom they have insulted; and with profound obeisance before their invisible presence I beg their pardon.

Through the encrusted fancy of the prose-poet shines an abiding truth. The obvious biological implications of the idea give fascination to the study of genealogy. But we are not concerned here with the composition of blood or personal dispositions. The dead, by their works, live in our community outside our bodies. Imagine, if you can, the social loss, the impossibility of physical progress if each generation had to be pioneers, if each departing generation took with them all their accomplishments, and their successors had always to begin again to clear the forest. How purposeless would seem our lives! We give full honor to those who with stout wills and axes cleared the way and built foundations, but we think of them not so much with honor for their zeal and courage as with gratitude for their achievement, into whose enjoyment our more immediate predecessors entered and upon which they in turn have built.

Some years ago, traveling the English countryside, I marveled at the number of stone bridges built by hands from which the flesh had withered long centuries ago. We, too, are debtors to such friendly hands, though our story as Americans is much shorter. We can give our honest and unfailing thanks to those who built the first roads, dammed the streams, measured the bounds of property, built houses which even in this changing scene survive to shelter families, sank the first shafts to the mines and quarries of the earth. Who can look upon an old wall without a sense of gratitude to those who built it for us? New understanding, new methods, new controls of the material world have made many old things obsolete; yet every one of them, in giving something to improve upon, is a part of the living edifice of civilization, and their original builders are entitled to respect.

We speak as if the material fabric of civilization were all that we inherit. Far more important is the legacy of institutions, customs, and ideals. Even the first Americans brought with them a full furniture of the prevailing ideals of Western Christendom, especially as represented on the British Isles, and the remembered pattern of institutions, all to be modified under American conditions. The dead hand upon the present—the old mortmain—has often been the subject of resentment, if not derision. But it lifts and sustains us far oftener than it drags us down. If we had to invent and test every social device we use, we should be far more handicapped than if we had to build the material world of civilization anew. Companies like this realize and celebrate the incomputable contribution of the past.

The past, as has been said, exists as the great environmental fact, whether we know it or not, and conditions our life every moment and at every turn. But history is different. History forgotten no longer exists, for history is only what men *know* of the past. Those who founded this Society well knew that history alone makes the past instructive, and they knew that history neglected is almost sure to be forgotten. They had in their own memory certain evidences of how history could be lost by human violence. They recalled the grievous loss that history had sustained when the mob of the Stamp

Act year had pulled down Governor Hutchinson's mansion and thrown his great collection of manuscripts into the gutter, and when, ten years later, during the British occupation of Boston, part of the Thomas Prince collection, housed in the tower of the Old South Church, was destroyed. But they were wise enough to know that most losses in the records of mankind come through simple heedlessness. They knew that history must be saved by active care. They said this in the famous first sentence of the constitution of the Historical Society: "The preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations, conduces to mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progress of society in the United States, and must always have a useful tendency to rescue the true history of this country from the ravages of time and the effects of ignorance and neglect."

They seem to have realized that a coöperative enterprise to save historical records, especially personal records, was more necessary in new America than in old Europe. We had been a mobile people since the beginning nearly two centuries before, and, in days when transportation was so arduous and space within the burden at such premium, family documents were cast aside, perhaps into the fire, to save place for more practical necessities. Travel and transportation have since, of course, become immeasurably easier, but other changes have much more than overset the advantage that this might imply and made the existence of manuscript material in private hands much more precarious. We live preponderantly in cities now, where the cost of every square foot of floor space is carefully reckoned. And if one has inherited an extensive house, it is likely that one cannot meet the cost of its service. The newer competition of industrial jobs is even more effective than the older competition of cheap land in cutting down the supply of domestic servants. Apparently fewer and fewer homes will afford the luxury of an extensive library. The historical society is even more necessary than our founders could have foreseen in providing a repository of personal records.

But they quite rightly saw that collection and care were not enough. What happened to Hutchinson's house and to the Old South Church might conceivably happen to the treasure chamber of a society. In their Introductory Address to the Public the Society said: "There is no sure way of preserving historical records and materials, but by *multiplying the copies*. The art of printing affords a mode of preservation more effectual than Corinthian brass or Egyptian marble. . . ." Once a book is distributed, it is almost certain to be preserved. The assessment of historical worth, the choice among a mass of historical materials of what should command the cost of print, especially in this modern day of American union wage scales, has been an exacting function of this Society for a hundred and fifty years. Its seventy-eight volumes of *Collections* and its sixty-five volumes of *Proceedings*—to mention only its longest-continued series of publications—are not only a monument to its industry and judgment but an incomputable boon to the cause of American history.

"My experience," wrote John Adams to Dr. Belknap in 1789, "has very much diminished my faith in the veracity of History; it has convinced me that many of the most important facts are concealed; some of the most important characters but imperfectly known; many false facts imposed on historians and the world; and many empty characters displayed in great pomp. All this, I am sure, will happen in our American history." We are glad that this depressing admonition did not dissuade the good doctor; it should have been the stoutest encouragement. History does not always speak to us with a clear voice or even a righteous purpose. But, reversing Gresham's Law, truth drives out error. The only way to correct the mistakes of history is to discover and collect more and more historical data and to argue from them. The one hundred and fifty and more volumes produced directly by this Society and the wide and endless aid it has given to innumerable scholars have done not a little to erase from history the stigma which John Adams saw upon it. By example it has done incalculably more.

The good spirits of time and place were present to bless the birth of the Society. Not long before, a new nation had declared and sustained its independence and within the previous few months, when Dr. Belknap began his efforts, had convinced itself and the world of its political integrity and strength. The events of the preceding two centuries suddenly took on new significance. Cabot, Raleigh, John Smith, Bradford, and Winthrop took on new dignity now that the grand (and, to them, quite unsuspected) outcome of their dreams and labors was in view. The impressive result set men on to the search for causes. But as America now seemed fully to begin, there was universal confidence that far greater triumphs were yet to come, events so important that they would require trained insight and proficiency in their recording. It was just the time for the first historical society.

And, happily enough, the beginning of organized historical scholarship was in New England. Outside of staying alive, and comfortably so, the Puritan's chief concern was in salvation. Not that he could do anything to affect the judgment on his soul: that matter had been attended to long ago by an all-wise God. But he was naturally curious about a personal fate whose probability could be revealed to him by an "experience," which meant a more or less clearly apprehended personal message from the Almighty, or, perhaps more certainly, by an introspective view of his own conduct supplemented by the testimony of the neighbors. Impressed with the glorious or terrible consequence of human life, and absorbed in the day-to-day history of his own soul, the Puritan was apt to keep a diary. He was admitted to the visible church, however, only by the judgment of the church members when they were satisfied that his conduct and the account of his experience had evidenced an eternal election. Community scrutiny of individual conduct was a folkway of the Puritans, as has just been suggested, and the secondary interest of the standard diary was the behavior of others. Mrs. Harriette M. Forbes has listed a great number of such personal histories in her composite volume, and there were countless others.

But, as it appeared, the whole group life of this region had unique significance. God had singled it out for His second chosen people. The first having been somewhat of a disappointment—the whole matter of divine experiments in a predestined world is difficult for the lay mind—He had resolved upon a faultless demonstration in New England. Nevertheless, laymen like Captain Edward Johnson could see the holy meaning of the record and present it in such books as his *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England*; and clergymen like Cotton Mather saw the need of such works as his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, with its entirely natural confusion of hagiography and history. Under these influences the production and preservation of historical materials, to say nothing of interpretation, constituted a sacred duty. This is not to say that every seventeenth-century New Englander who gathered up the stuff of history and tried to order it and present its meaning was moved to support a supernatural purpose in human affairs. But that spirit oftentimes appeared among the most literate class, the clergy, and undoubtedly stirred broad interest in historical study and composition.

The religious system, as everyone agrees, stimulated education. It encouraged schools whereby the common man might learn to read the Bible and thereby measure his soul's success; it led to the founding of vital colleges—on the Bay, on the Sound, in the Providence Plantations, and on the upper Connecticut—making New England the strongest center of learning throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the learning there purveyed could not be exclusively, or even preponderantly, theological; the result was a general class of, comparatively speaking, highly educated men. There were more writers and readers, and more writers and readers of history. Throughout the first eight decades of the nineteenth century most of the distinguished American historians were to be found within the membership of this Society. Most of them dealt with the history of this country. It was not from local sentiment alone, but from the greater wealth of local materials as well, that they overglorified Massachusetts achievement and Massachusetts ideals in their analytical narratives.

That our history, up to fifty or sixty years ago, was written from a Massachusetts point of view did not pass unnoticed in other parts of this country, or, I may say, unresented. Again and again in Southern polemics before the Civil War one comes upon the complaint that the standard historical writings, in what they said or what they did not say, were unfair to the South and its whole way of life. Viewed from that region, American historical scholarship was organized as a wicked conspiracy centering right here. Nor was this jealous sense of injury confined to the Southern states. In New York, for example, we have wondered, since the time of J. Fenimore Cooper and John R. Brodhead, why fate (in the shape of the Massachusetts Historical Society) had to condemn our state for so long to such an inferior place in American historiography. Forty years ago, when the New York State Historical Association was begun, this was apparently much on the minds of its founders. May I tax your patience with a paragraph from the address of the President at its first meeting:

> I think it can be very well said that New York lacked the skilful chroniclers of her events which New England possessed. In the Colonial period and in the early days of the republic, the people of New York were very busily engaged

> "laying the dark foundation deep" of that industrial and commercial supremacy which she has since so fully attained, not only by developing and seeking the opportunity, but by cultivating the habit and spirit. In the mind absorbed by business, a capacity for literary work is seldom found. In New England, on the contrary, from the very beginning there was a distinct scholarly and literary class, who were not satisfied, after some stirring event had passed, to hasten return to the counting-room, farm or factory, as the New Yorker did, but whose exultation or indignation found expression at once in a fitting written memorial. These descriptions and memorials passed into the literature and life of the whole country. What school-boy has ever learned that the first steps to colonial union, and therefore to successful resistance, were taken in New York, and yet how familiar every school-boy is with every step taken by Massachusetts in opposition to the Stamp Act? What school-boy ever remembers the battle of Oriskany except as one of the minor engagements of the Revolutionary War, or knows that here the patriots fought as men have seldom fought before or since? . . . And yet every school-boy knows in its minutest detail the history of the battle of Bunker Hill. It is for the reason that no contemporary Froissart adequately described our events that our work as a State Society is all the more important and necessary. . . .

The Massachusetts Historical Society generated others by irritation, perhaps, as well as by mere example.

In one respect the Society has not been widely imitated: that of closely limited membership. We wish we might have been present when the founders met—presumably in Judge Tudor's study—to discuss this feature of the plan. Today it might seem an "un-American" provision; in this century, when now and then an organization adopts it, there are likely to be frowns or sneers or gentle smiles of derision among those left outside. The principle of distinction is not entirely at home surrounded by the democratic dogma as delivered by Saint Andrew Jackson, though I suppose George Bancroft could have reconciled the two.

The membership clause in our constitution, with its mandate of exclusiveness, was not out of harmony with Puritan ideals. Whatever the town meeting eventually led to, the Puritan was not pure democrat. His leaders were thoroughly familiar with John Calvin's *Institutes* and with his discussion of the proper organization for church and state. "Indeed," said he, "if these three forms of government, which are stated by philosophers, be considered in themselves, I shall by no means deny that aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy far excels all others." The Revolution had done much to overset this doctrine, but in the Federalist Boston of 1791 it still seemed appropriate to have history ruled by thirty men. It would be a dismal pity if all historical societies had sought to make themselves into academies. The purpose of almost all of them should be to bring every possible man, woman, and child into historical interests through every facility an association affords. But at the same time nothing is more necessary to hold up high standards as an antidote to standardization than to maintain a few historical societies admission to which rests upon special taste or achievement. Mistakes are made—and the present speaker offers himself as an illustration—but the principle is sound.

The Society was founded to cherish the history of the United States. Few, if any, of its successors have taken on that range of responsibility and at the same time limited membership to one locality. A cursory review of the *Proceedings*, year after year, reveals that the members have taken full advantage of their liberty. Whatever was American was not foreign to them. On the other hand, at times there has been a marked preponderance of Massachusetts themes. I, for one, would not deplore but, rather, would hail this with special satisfaction.

In the pageant of the arts and sciences the local historian does not figure brightly. He is tolerated only as a poor relation of the mighty scholars who chronicle the deeds of parliaments and armies, for it seems quite clear that since the whole is greater than the part, he who writes of one small section cannot be so great as he who writes of nations and the world. Now and then there is a flash of sympathy for some Old Mortality chiseling afresh the epitaphs of years gone by, but he is generally dismissed with something of contempt as an antiquarian, uncritical and queer, in whose myopic vision perspective has no part, and who painfully works out a futile record of the insignificant. If there is a spectacle more dreary to the average man than one of these, it is a number of them gathered for mutual congratulation as a local historical society, for it is charged that their interest in the past is incident to genealogy, which itself grows out of snobbishness and vanity.

Such is the common understanding or, rather, the common prejudice, and it is wrong. Local history is a rewarding study. If by some prank of fate we might have over us, along with every other sort of official coördinator, a high director of our social policy, he might compel us to consider it. We are still, as the traveler John Bristed said a century and a quarter since, the most "locomotive people" on the face of the earth, and while perhaps there is some economic gain in living here today and there tomorrow, there is a moral sacrifice of good home sentiment. "To abstract the mind from all local emotion," wrote Dr. Johnson, "would be impossible if it were endeavored, and would be foolish if it were possible." The study of the multifarious records of the shore or plain or valley where we come to live must in some degree enrich the associations of the hearthstone so as to make life more interesting and lovely. In local history the citizen finds use, in that it can reveal the origins and growth, and thus the nature, of the institutions and social groupings with which he has to dwell and deal. Not many of us are called upon to build great empires or to wield the mighty forces of the world; in the humble occasions of the common life we need to know our neighbors and the special heritage we share so that our labors for improvement, if and when we make them, may grow out of knowledge.

But in this study there is likewise scientific value, for in the smaller field of vision we can sometimes see the ordinary undistinguished individual in his relation to society and the little human group in its relation to the soil, the climate, and the customs of the land. To say that the local historian is the microscopist of the body politic who discerns the structural relations of the man-cells would perhaps suggest some false deductions; few historians would be as much impressed with biological analogies as Hobbes or Spencer. But by his labor, like the scientific specialist, he adds his item to the general store of knowledge. If thought through with industry and sympathy and wisdom, there might result from it a masterpiece as authentic as a history of the world. As the Reverend Gilbert White could win a universal gratitude with the *Natural History of Selborne*, so another with as clear a head and great a heart might do likewise with the human history of that small Hampshire village. The significance of the work bears no correspondence with the area or number of human beings involved directly in such a study. It was considerations such as these, no doubt, that led Dr. Jameson to say so justly: "Local history is national history locally exemplified."

The great themes of history, in fact its only themes, are humanity and character; which is another way of saying: the common and the different, the general and the specific. It is concerned, of course, only with these elements in action, but, outside of writing, painting, and the like, humanity and character are revealed to posterity only in the record of action. In the record of a particular deed two questions present themselves: Why did a man do this, and why did this man do it? Studying the record in this attitude, we learn something about mankind as well as something about individuals. As the synthesizing mind reviews a sufficient number of instances, character lends itself to classification and hence merges into some suborder of mankind, though individuality always remains with some specific difference which *may* be the most important part of the story.

A modern writer, Professor Fred M. Fling, has denounced this piling up of instances from which to generalize. "If we are interested," he declares, "in what past social facts have in common, in the way in which social facts repeat themselves, if our purpose is for generalization, or laws concerning social activities . . . the result of our work is sociology, not history." But there are many scholars who are under a concern to understand the American spirit. They realize that the highly personal thoughts and acts of leaders have modified the national spirit, but they also know that that spirit, with all its circumstances, has given direction to great personalities. They wish to know from history what is meant by the American way. If this be sociology, make the most of it.

It was implied a few moments since that in local history we come nearest to the average man or the undistinguished man or the modal man or whatever it is desired to call him. And we see him more directly in the frame of his circumstances. In the circumstances of two men, or two hundred, we can find comparable data. We can then, I think, get nearer to the history of humanity.

If a dozen members of this great Society took a dozen towns of eastern Massachusetts, agreed, after long and searching discussion, upon a common pattern of investigation, and in this systematic way worked at the records that each assigned to himself, the world would know more about the Yankee of a given historic era than it has ever known before. Let me hasten to say that I well know that this will not be done, at least within this generation. We shall go on writing and listening to miscellaneous papers representing varied personal tastes, backgrounds, and opportunities. I did not propose this enterprise for a hundred members, only a dozen, but not three could be found who would undertake it. Yet there will come a time when societies will undertake such enterprises, after the manner of

Salomon's House in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or they will be undertaken by great foundations or, more's the pity, by the government.

Science progresses because science is a coöperative business. Science handles comparable data and therefore can generalize. The essential power of science lies in its hold on predictability; its triumph is a law of matter or of life. Whether the variable factors are too numerous in human behavior to make possible law or prediction I cannot say, but the kind of investigation I have hinted at is bound to be useful whether or not it ever reaches that high result. The search for law will open revealing vistas that, presumably, would not otherwise meet the scholar's eye. There is a fable of a man who turned up every acre of his extensive holding in search of treasure and found at last that he had a good farm instead.

These are years when it is hard to think about the future. Yet the record of more than ten thousand years of civilization gives us fundamental and unshakable confidence in man. In fact, most of us are confident of progress, which is a matter where it is better to believe than not to believe. It may be small comfort to those who suffer disaster to be sure that the world will right itself again, but so it will. In more glorious days to come Americans will still be curious about their glorious past. Perhaps that future will be so different that it will be difficult to discover its seeds in the America we have known for these three hundred years. Even so, there will be profit in our descendants' learning all they can about a historic social scene so different from their own. For men learn through the apprehension of contrasts, by holding up an object or a subject against a background of a different color; only thus can its character and outline become clear. If the citizens of this area in the year 2500 A.D. wish to know themselves, they will accomplish it partly by knowing the Boston of 1700, 1800, and 1900, whether they can discern an evolutionary process or can not. The work of the Massachusetts Historical Society is for the future far more than for the present. There is no present. Only the past and the future count, the one interpreted for the benefit of the other.

William Crowninshield Endicott

By Robert Grant

William Crowninshield Endicott, the twelfth president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and tenth in the line of direct descent from Governor John Endecott, was born at Salem, September 28, 1860, and died at Boston, November 28, 1936. He was the only son of William Crowninshield Endicott (1826–1900), Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts (1873–1882) and Secretary of War in President Cleveland's first Cabinet (1885–1889), and Ellen, daughter of George and Clarissa (Endicott) Peabody of Salem.

The later Endicotts "were, except for Crowninshield blood, of pure New England stock," for their lineage "in all its other strains was direct from the early settlers of Salem,"[1] including the Derbys, Gardners, and Williamses. President Endicott's Crowninshield strain was derived from Johannes Kaspar Richter von Kronensheldt, who came to Boston from Leipzig about 1688.

President Endicott once wrote of his forebears:

> After the death of Governor John Endecott his descendants for five generations continued to reside and to be buried on the Orchard Farm in Danvers, which had been in the family since 1632 when the Court of Assistants granted the estate to the Governor. The men of the family were farmers who tilled the soil as a means of livelihood; were respected members of the community in which they lived; and were in their quiet way good citizens. The women appear to have been a strong, attractive and competent race and their families were large.[2]

Young Endicott grew up in Salem where a cultivated society, evolved from the successes of her navigators and merchants, was then in its later luster. His roots were in Essex County. He went to the public school at Salem. Following his graduation from Harvard in the Class of 1883, he studied law at the Harvard Law School and in an office in Salem. He was admitted to the bar in 1886 and began the practice of law in Boston and Washington. He served as private secretary to his father during President Cleveland's first administration. In 1889 he married Marie Louise Thoron, daughter of

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[1] *Later Years of the Saturday Club*, 1870–1920, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Editor (Boston, 1927), 207.

[2] *Memoir of Samuel Endicott, with a Genealogy of His Descendants* (Boston, 1924), 5.

Joseph and Anna Barker (Ward) Thoron of New York City. He was again in Washington during Cleveland's second administration, first as private secretary to Attorney General Olney and later as Attorney for Pardons in the Department of Justice. Upon his return to Boston he took up his residence at No. 163 Marlborough Street. Thereafter for the remainder of his life he spent half of every year in the city and the summer and autumn at The Farm, Danvers.

On his return from Washington he took up his legal work in Boston, sharing a law office for more than thirty years with his close friend Charles Pelham Curtis. Endicott was never a practising lawyer in a broad sense. Litigation he left mostly to others. But from the outset his work was directed to the care of estates. As years went on, he was given charge of many trusts, small as well as large, and these duties he fulfilled with ability, unvarying consideration, and kindness. His tastes simultaneously became centered on the preservation of New England's objects of art and antiquities and on the societies which had this at heart. It was a gradual development; yet from youth he had eagerly familiarized himself with his own family tradition. So deep did his interest become in helping to preserve or restore what was beautiful or of value in the past of Essex County and New England at large that he presently found himself much sought after for his ability to reach a quick decision on artistic or historic points.

The underlying reason why Endicott was thus singled out is to be found in his delightful disposition. His intrinsic taste for the past was illuminated and sustained by a warmth of heart and a mental enthusiasm that endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. There was no one just like him in his own sphere, and there is no one to take his place, for his personality threw a glamor over everything he undertook. No one who knew him well will forget his whole-souled laughter, his sunny kindness, his candor, or the violence of his dissent, which seemed to spring from his first American ancestor. He loved to be of service in any enterprise that appealed to him, however forlorn the prospects of success might appear, and his enthusiastic sympathy with such enterprises was one of his chief graces.

At the time of his death, the official positions held by Endicott which were associated with the arts or historic tradition resembled Homer's catalogue of ships. He was President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Society for the Preservation of New England

Antiquities, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, and he was serving a second time as President of the Essex Institute. He was, moreover, Vice-President of the Peabody Museum in Salem, Treasurer of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Trustee of the Peabody Institute, the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He was also Secretary of the Boston Library Society and Treasurer of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

He was chosen a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on January 14, 1915. One of his two contributions to the *Proceedings* was made a number of years prior to his election: a memoir of his father, which was communicated by Charles Francis Adams in 1902.[1] His second contribution was the paper "John Endecott and John Winthrop," originally prepared for the Tercentenary banquet at Salem in June, 1930, and read before the Society the following October.[2] Six years before, he had printed privately his *Memoir of Samuel Endicott, with a Genealogy of His Descendants*. This comprehensive memoir of his great-grandfather was a labor of love. The qualities of his forebears, both men and women, especially in the earlier generations, are brought out with intimate and often entertaining discernment. His loyal interest in Governor John Endecott led to the writing of Lawrence Shaw Mayo's scholarly and impartial *John Endecott, A Biography*, which came off the press only a week after Mr. Endicott's death.

From the time Mr. Endicott first became a member of this Society he took an active interest in its welfare and its future. As a result he was constantly called upon to serve in positions of responsibility. He served as Member-at-Large of the Council from 1917 to 1920 and as a member of the Building Committee from 1919 to 1927. He was chosen as Vice-President in 1926, and at the Annual Meeting in 1927 he was elected to the presidency.

No memoir of William Crowninshield Endicott would be complete without some reference to the social atmosphere in which he was reared and which he sought all his life to perpetuate without self-importance. Though he was more than well-to-do, his habits, like his conversation, were those of enlightened culture. He was ever a charming and hospitable host, and the abundant gaiety of his personality had a quality of its own that kept mere chatter at a distance.

[1] 2 *Proceedings*, XV. 523–537.

[2] *Proceedings*, LXIV. 3–26.

Everyone familiar with the town house will recall the splendid portraits which Sargent did of him and of his mother, wife, and sister. No one who visited the old-fashioned Danvers estate ever forgot the uniquely charming summerhouse, designed by Samuel McIntire, formerly on the Elias Hasket Derby farm at Peabody. In these two houses New England was at its very best, for though maintained by sufficiency of means, their atmosphere was that of culture and gay refinement untarnished by talk of dollars.

Mr. Endicott was proud of his descent from vigorous and well-bred Essex County families and never forgot that he was the lineal descendant of that progenitor whose public services he emulated. Although he had a buoyant, joyous nature and a zealous spirit, always beneath his flow of spirits was the quiet wish to give himself unsparingly to the public good as he conceived it. The generous benefactions in his will made this plainer than ever. In the spring of 1936 he had presented this Society with all the papers of his father; at his death he left it a residuary bequest of one hundred thousand dollars and an additional contingent bequest of the same amount. But the emotion aroused in many a heart by his death, as shown by the host of friends at his funeral at Salem, was due solely to the depth of love felt for him as a delightful human being. He was able to command both confidence and affection by the honesty and charm of his nature, which, imbued by generations of gentlefolk, brought him to the fore as one whose ambition it was to serve society in paths often neglected by the rank and file.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Francis Russell Hart

By Worthington C. Ford

Not so many years ago a family party from the States landed on a West Indian island and proceeded to "do" it with the usual conscious and ill-directed thoroughness that is American. Wandering a little beyond the town limits, the party showed bewilderment, the ordinary result of feeling that one has rediscovered America. A young man engaged in some engineering work recognized the embarrassment of the party and offered his aid, explaining what was of interest and answering questions, more or less pertinent, in which the transient visitor abounds. At the end the lady of the party, in returning thanks, asked in a tone of astonishment: "But where did you learn to speak such good English?"

The incident was characteristic. With his curly hair and with his full and regular features, probably tanned by exposure to the sun, Hart might easily have been taken for a foreigner—there, for a Spaniard. And while speaking without an accent other than American, he always had, in the years that I knew him, a manner of speaking, a hesitation and deliberation, which might suggest an effort, readily mistaken for a little difficulty, in finding the proper word or phrase. That he had produced the impression of being foreign is not the point. Seeing that he could be helpful, he dropped his own task and was serviceable when he thought he could be useful. That trait marked his whole career.

It rests with another to detail the events of Hart's life; I can only attempt to give the background. Turning to that well of autobiography—*Who's Who*—one learns that he was born in New Bedford, a city redolent of whaling enterprise; that he began his active career as an engineer in the West Indies and in Colombia. The sketch does not tell of his joining with Alfred C. Potter in a boyhood printing partnership—the plant consisting of a font of type contributed by De Vinne, an old friend of the family. Nor does the sketch state that Hart was a product of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with which he had a lifelong connection, as a student and as a member of its directing boards of government.

In the *Technology Quarterly* for June, 1899 (xii. 123–134), Hart made his first essay in print, describing "An American Railway in

Colombia." Railroads were his first engagements, and they naturally and inevitably brought him into contact with a corporation which from small beginnings was becoming of notable size and even more notable influence in the Caribbean.

What was this corporation? In our early days the oranges, lemons, and bananas were all of foreign origin—and cheap. Later came the adaptation of California and Florida to fruit culture, and the tariff was invoked to assure a monopoly market. Spanish and Italian fruit disappeared, but the banana was untouched. The Boston Fruit Company, later the United Fruit Company, recognized the opportunity and set out to seize it. With plenty of energy and initiative, needing no tariff to give it a market, benefiting by our navigation laws, it now controls a market that a frantic monopolist might envy, territories large enough to make several states, labor constituting a good-sized army, and a fleet of fine vessels suitable to serve as a war factor, if necessary. From little beginnings it has become a power so great as to command attention in these days of big undertakings. A monopoly, certainly, made one by using natural commercial advantages. It is not military, seizing lands and ruthlessly exploiting the natives, but administrative, gaining its points by treaty and contract and holding them by good and friendly custom. It exerts a strong influence with the governments it deals with, a pressure that is powerful without being dangerous. The nearest example to be cited might be the old British East India Company, except that that body did not rest with trade and trading factories, but passed to conquest and exploitation, creating such an empire within an empire that for its own safety Great Britain had to suppress the company and take to itself the dangerous power that commercial greed had acquired and abused. No such charge has been made against the United Fruit Company.

The United Fruit Company had two difficulties to contend with: the uncertain nature of the people and the instability of the governments with which it had enforced relations; and the naturally catastrophic atmosphere of the region. Against nature—the unpredictable tropical storms, volcanoes, diseases, floods, and other devastating agencies—the company was powerless. It has carried on its profit and loss account heavy losses and accepts an upheaval as an act of God—noninsurable. Governments and people offered simpler problems. Revolutions must be discouraged, justice and policed order assured, an organized labor system introduced where such a thing had not been known; aid given to governments in need, and, in another field, protection afforded to native ruins from being worse than ruined by the amateur archaeologists. Is it a matter for wonder that such a policy was repaid by confidence, with only occasional interruptions? This combination of commerce and unofficial diplomacy was an unequaled school, turning out capable executives, men of far-reaching views, skillful in meeting and overcoming opposition without rancor. This was Hart's school—or graduate course. He was in succession General Manager, Vice-President, and President of the Cartagena Railroad. It was a Boston adventure and led to his coming to the Old Colony Trust Company and eventually to his election as President of the United Fruit Company. Not a meteoric career; better, one resting on merit and general confidence in his qualities and ability.

Another and, if the soul be in question, a saving quality, was also due in good part to these early influences. For anyone seeing the growth and inevitable tendency of this expanding power there was every temptation to become absorbed in the machine it set up; to be devoted to its interests at the sacrifice of self. The warmth and light of the tropics act upon man much as they are reflected in the soft colors of sea and sky, as they act on plant life, lavishly producing marvels in color and growth. Possessing a seed of the romantic, of which he was undoubtedly unconscious, Hart could nevertheless see the advantages of plantations, roads, and governed production: that was his trained engineering side. He also felt the influence of ocean, islands, mountains, and skies; and behind these realities lurked the history of the Caribbean and the Spanish Main, a history dripping with adventure, cruelty, piracy, and war almost from the day Columbus landed and claimed half the world for his sovereigns. The ruined evidences of great nations, the equally ruined forts and harbors of Spanish occupation, the disorder, ignorance, and poverty caused by Spanish rule awakened a sense of colorful history. Viceroy or pirate, Indian chief or mestizo, dictators and the accompanying bloody ambitions and acts, centuries old and also of today, not single but multiple instances of each, ranging from tragedy to *opéra bouffe*, could not but have their effect. Hart began to collect in a small way maps and books on the region. Curiosity, hardly awake as yet, led to this development; the surroundings encouraged and guided it.

The old maps, with the coasts fringed with a calendar of saints, names pleasant to repeat and hear, even when not invoked, aroused a wish to know more of what the lands could relate. Hart was now ripe for a wider field, and he was called to Boston.

My first serious relations with him were in connection with Fiske Kimball's *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, which was based upon manuscript material obtained by T. Jefferson Coolidge, Jr., a banking colleague of Hart. Kimball and his wife had been studying the drawings in the Society's library, and in our daily chats had shown a combination of knowledge and enthusiasm that was very attractive. I suggested to Mrs. Coolidge, Sr., the publication of a volume that would be a memorial to her husband, reproducing the Jefferson plans and giving the results of Kimball's studies. She readily agreed and named Hart as the channel of communication and audit. The only limit imposed was one of cost, and the only exercise of authority on Hart's part came to be the payment of the bills without question. He could have raised difficulties and obstacles, even to wrecking the plan. From beginning to end there was no difference between us, and all concerned were more than pleased with the result. I had, incidentally, taken measure of Hart.

My relations with him at that time showed the orderly working of his mind. He gave the impression of bearing his burdens lightly. At his desk in the Old Colony Trust Company he was always glad to see one, never pressed for time, and, without impatience, ready to discuss details. Everyone knows the pains of dealing with fretful fussiness or an arrogant assertion of knowledge—or worse, of ignorance. We have seen men in high positions who, unable to fill them, rattle in their chairs and mistake noise and hollow criticism for authority. In contrast, Hart was never fussy or arrogant, and he filled every position he occupied, equal to its joys as well as to its responsibilities. From the sessions of the Finance Committee of Technology or of the board of the United Fruit Company to the friendly gatherings at the Club of Odd Volumes, he was the same unruffled, carefree man, ready to do his part and impressing his colleagues by a quiet force that produced results.

Before he could be engulfed by a large and distracting collection of material, he had made choice of a few subjects for closer study and on a very modest scale sought new matter from Spanish sources. It was at this stage that I came really to know him and his interest in history. Full of his subject and diffident of his own ability to write, he talked freely enough to show that only a little encouragement was needed to produce a story worthy of publication. He had tasted printer's ink—a dangerous infection or poison—in his *Personal Reminiscences of the Caribbean Sea and the Spanish Main*, printed at the De Vinne Press for the Club of Odd Volumes in 1914, one year before he became a member. His first serious volume was *Admirals of the Caribbean* (1922). Gratified by the merited reception given, he followed it with *The Disaster of Darien* (1929) and *The Siege of Havana* (1931)—a goodly product, considering the many demands made upon him. In the *Personal Reminiscences* he tells something of himself, lifts a corner of the curtain, and offers a succession of scenes so simply stated as to conceal their really dramatic features. Pity that he was not led to tell more.

This is all too rare an example in these modern days. Men are usually too absorbed in their business to think of its essence apart from its daily routine. They are too occupied and too often interrupted to find time for outside ventures in history or literature. There are striking examples to the contrary. Ricardo, a banker, framed and defined in masterly fashion his theory of rent—whether right or wrong need not be disputed. Grote, a banker, turned out a history of Greece, still a fine specimen of what well-employed leisure hours may produce. To come to America, William Allen Butler, a much occupied lawyer, could emulate Eve and become known on *Nothing to Wear*. Edmund Clarence Stedman, a banker, was a poet and critic of repute—Pan in Wall Street, to borrow the title of one of his poems. Morgan found his relief in collecting and plunged into extravagances which a Huntington could only approach from one angle. The list could be extended; it would still be but a pitiable percentage of the whole. I fancy the control of large commerce and industry is more exacting than in the time of Ricardo and Grote, in spite of many mechanical aids and the minute division of superintendence.

Hart had felt success and, gaining confidence in himself, planned other essays. I encountered his questions in Simancas and Seville, where Spanish-American history is represented by more than a million documents; I found them in the British Museum and the Public Record Office and in the French Archives and the Bibliothèque Nationale. We exchanged notes, and I fear I gave him some misinformation where he required and deserved better things. He was not collecting for himself alone, for he was unselfish in his hobby. If one had asked Frank Cundall, who made Jamaican history his own, what he owed Frank Hart, one would have found him eloquent. That was only one instance of his liberality.

Is not this the quality of the true gentleman—consideration for others? He may have had ambitions; he never showed them by grasping at power. With all his success he remained unspoiled. Every year but two we met in Paris, and in Paris you may talk freely, no matter what your language. Paris was his last port of call. He had accomplished his mission, was ready to enjoy the short breathing spell, and was about to sail for home. In close sympathy and with enough of the bottled sunshine of France to justify the maxim *in vino veritas*, we talked widely of past and present, with only a glance at the future, for prediction in these parlous days is foolishness. Never was he extreme in position, or hypercritical of men or measures, or prejudiced by little events or actions. The slowness of speech, already mentioned, seemed to add to the merit of what he said, as though he was still weighing not his judgment but how he could best express it. Some said the effect he gave was one of simplicity. True, for he spoke directly and without reservations, giving a clear and simple explanation of the matter in hand, stripping it of its complications. One need not agree with him, but one could not mistake his position.

His balance of mind was much to my liking. One can give and take with ease and pleasure, without a sensation of resentfulness at the end for having been trickily bettered in argument or insulted by a half-baked opinion. It was this balance of mind that made him so strong in his many corporations and endowed him with a great capacity for gaining friends—or if not friends, supporters. He won our esteem and respect and then our affection. His training led to that. In the Indies he dealt with men who lacked a definite purpose beyond that of the day. But however contrary-minded, they were open to persuasion by one who had their interests at heart and could lead without driving. Both the Spaniard and the mixed race were explosive enough to raise difficulties to any change on the spur of the moment—powder exposed to sparks. Patience, courage, and reason would overcome great obstacles. It was a fine schooling, and Hart came back to Massachusetts a disciplined and confirmed pacificator. He is said to have described himself as "the man with the oil can." That is accurate. He poured oil on any part of the machinery that creaked, and shared his oil with anyone who needed it, not from self-interest but from sheer pleasure of giving. Is it needful to attempt to say why he was so useful—even to this seasoned Society—and so popular among his fellows, so welcomed by the best? Some things defy definition, and human qualities are among them. It suffices our purpose to say that he was a gentleman in thought, in word, and in act.

Albert Bushnell Hart

1889–1939

By Samuel E. Morison

On the tenth day of January, 1889 (to quote our *Proceedings*), "Mr. Albert B. Hart, Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University, was elected a Resident Member." The Reverend George E. Ellis was then President of this Society, Charles Deane and Francis Parkman the two Vice-Presidents, Justin Winsor the Corresponding Secretary, and Dr. Samuel A. Green the Librarian. The Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, at that time senior member of the Society, had been elected exactly fifty years before, in 1839. So, through these two memberships, Winthrop's and Hart's, we stretch back a complete century to the time when some of the founders of the Society were still alive and active in its affairs. Among the other members at the time of Mr. Hart's election were Oliver Wendell Holmes, Robert Bennet Forbes, James Russell Lowell, and Phillips Brooks.

Professional historians were then but slimly represented in the Society. Henry Cabot Lodge had been chosen in 1876, when he was a Harvard professor and Hart a freshman in college; Dr. Torrey and Justin Winsor were old members, and Edward Channing had recently been elected; but none of the hundred Resident Members, except these and Parkman, had made a profession of teaching or writing history. Albert Bushnell Hart was the first academic member who came from outside Massachusetts or who had a German Ph.D.

It was typical of the gentlemanly, amateurish, and nonprofessional character of the Society that in this same January meeting of 1889 old Mr. Winthrop declined to publish a letter written by General Zachary Taylor in 1848 about the Mexican War, because the contents would "arouse unpleasant feelings and discussion." The year 1789 seems to have been a sort of dead line, beyond which it was considered indelicate or improper for members of the Society to stir up historical dust.

Young Hart, accordingly, made his debut here in the approved fashion. At the May meeting following his election he reported on a rather ghastly subject, the opening of a grave at Duxbury in which it was hoped that the remains of Myles Standish might be found. The first skeleton uncovered "was pronounced by Dr. Jones of Kingston to be that of a woman." The second was much too tall to be the famous captain. Assistant Professor Hart offered this very safe and sound conclusion: "There is no reason to suppose that Myles Standish's remains were found."

The following year he presented an excellent paper, "The Relations between Harvard College and the First Church," of which his ancestor Stephen Hart had been one of the earliest members. Having proved his worth as antiquarian and local historian, Professor Hart ventured into the national field; and his influence, with that of others during the presidency of Charles Francis Adams, made the *Proceedings* of this Society indispensable for historians of nineteenth-century America.

In the meantime Professor Hart was becoming somewhat of an institution at Cambridge. A surviving classmate informs me that young Hart almost lost his degree at the eleventh hour, in 1880, by managing to get caught at a bonfire of doormats in the Yard on Class Day night. For a day or two his classmates feared lest the famous pun in Hart's Ivy Oration, "summer comes, but no *summa cums*," might prove a prophecy. Nevertheless, young Hart and our friend "Billy" Richardson and three others received *summa cums* that year. Theodore Roosevelt, with whom Hart in college began a lifelong friendship, graduated only *magna cum laude*.

Dr. Hart began teaching at Harvard in 1883, immediately after obtaining his Ph.D. under Hermann Eduard von Holst at Freiburg. At that time Von Holst's deadly dull and very prejudiced *Constitutional History of the United States* was the only available history, except Hildreth's, that covered the period since the Revolution in sufficient detail for a college course. Edward Channing became Hart's colleague, partner, and rival in a famous seminar of American History for graduate students. But while Channing gravitated to colonial history and only reached the national period in the present century, Hart gave the general course on United States history and sundry others on American politics, government, and diplomacy.

History 13, as this general course was called, resembled Shaler's Geology 4 and Norton's Fine Arts 3 in that every Harvard undergraduate felt that he had missed a great experience if he did not take it. History 13 had a character all its own. At exactly six and three-quarters minutes past the hour Professor Hart entered lower Massachusetts at the double-quick, bearing a huge green bag full of notes, and closely followed by a perspiring assistant, bearing an even greater bag stuffed with supplementary data. This tri-weekly procession, which Professor Hart headed with the air of a Roman general bringing home the spoils, was generally greeted by the class with a burst of applause. Stacking the notes in their gaily colored jackets and manila folders on his desk, Professor Hart proceeded to deliver a rapid, brilliant, and witty commentary on the subject of the day. Often he never consulted the notes—they appeared to be there for moral support only; but sometimes, rapidly leafing through, he would capture a sheet bearing some desired quotation, which he proceeded to read in a manner that brought down the house. The assistants were less impressed by this system since they must put the notes back, and in order, and learn about the different colored folders—blue for sources, brown for bibliography, pink for I have forgotten what. One of the pink folders, inscribed with the Professor's undecipherable script, which I have piously preserved these twenty-five years, I have used to enclose this tribute.

Large as History 13 was, Professor Hart always found time to consult individual students' tastes and to give them personal encouragement. Take my case, for example. Hearing that I was a descendant of Harrison Gray Otis, the Professor assigned to me a thesis on that forgotten Federalist. When I told him that I had discovered a case of Otis manuscripts in my grandfather's wine cellar, he said: "Bring them to me" (I mean the manuscripts, not the wine!). So I stuffed into an approved manila folder about a hundred of the manuscripts that I had flattened out, and spent an hour with Professor Hart at his residence. He leafed through the manuscripts with that rapid motion familiar in his lecturing, reading them apparently at a glance; pointed out some on the Hartford Convention that were the most significant; and handed them back to me saying: "They are highly important—don't lose them." And when returning my thesis, he said: "Morison, you ought to write a life of Harrison Gray Otis." This idea was as astonishing to me, a junior in college, as if he had suggested that I should design a cathedral or run for the presidency. But the seed sprouted, and a few years later I had the privilege of being Professor Hart's assistant and even lecturing to History 13 on the Hartford Convention. My cup of happiness was full.

Hundreds of similar cases might be cited, in which men who have made their careers in the social sciences owed their start to the personal interest, friendly encouragement, and expert guidance of Albert Bushnell Hart. In this Society today are many of his former pupils, who might well say to him on this happy anniversary: "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

Yet a greater and more enduring monument he hath in *The American Nation: A History*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. His plan for the great undertaking was presented to this Society at its January meeting, 1902. He began by alluding in terms of high praise to Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, which had been completed the year that he joined the Society. He pointed out the need of a new work, which would cover the entire history of the nation and not merely a part; and "pay greater attention than in any previous coöperative work to the development of the West, the South, and the far West, as well as the Atlantic region, the cradle of the Republic." He asked the Society to appoint an advisory committee with which he could take counsel about the scope and progress of the work; and appointed it was—President Charles Francis Adams, Vice-President Samuel A. Green, Edward Channing, James Ford Rhodes, and Worthington C. Ford. This, I repeat, was in 1902; and in 1907 *The American Nation: A History* was completed in twenty-six volumes (not counting the general index), by twenty-four different authors, Hart himself included.

The importance of the *American Nation* series lay in the fact that it was the first general presentation of the subject by the group of professional historians of the United States that had grown up in the previous twenty-five years. Even in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* a majority of the contributors had been amateurs; the permanent value of that work lies in the several critical bibliographies prepared by Winsor himself. But all save one of the contributors to *The American Nation* were professional writers or teachers of history. To read their names is almost to erect a hall of historical fame—Bourne and Andrews of Yale; Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania; McLaughlin of Chicago; Greene of Columbia; Garrison of Texas; Tyler of William and Mary; Bassett of Smith;

MacDonald of Brown; Smith of Williams; Latané of Johns Hopkins; Channing, Hart, and Turner of Harvard. Professor Hart is the only person who extorted a volume from Channing after the latter started his *History of the United States*, and the only one who ever secured a finished book, not a mere collection of essays, from Turner. The tale is told that this extraordinary feat was performed by the editor's sending Turner "collect" telegrams which became more frequent as time elapsed; by the time they threatened to come in daily, Professor Turner decided that the lesser evil was to finish his volume!

Of Professor Hart's many other historical works there is no time now to speak. Of his "extra-curricular activities," just a word. He has been more closely articulated with the stream of American life than any other academic historian of our time. On many and sundry occasions he has delivered historical addresses. His school textbooks and source books have carried the influence of academic history into all grades of schools. As far back as 1909 he was elected President of the American Historical Association. He has been godfather to the persecuted Armenians and to sundry other good causes. He was a prominent delegate to the famous Bull Moose Convention of 1912 and a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917. He has been closely identified with one of America's great fraternal organizations, the Loyal Order of the Moose.

As far back as 1914 Professor Hart was referred to by one of my colleagues at the University of California as the "Grand Old Man of American History." Another quarter century has elapsed, and the Grand Old Man of American History is still with us, hale and hearty. He has had the satisfaction of influencing for good the lives of countless men and women, to whom he has taught love of country, based upon a sound knowledge of their country's past. Pupils of his hold academic chairs in all parts of the United States. Others have been state and territorial governors, congressmen, senators and ambassadors. One is now Governor of Massachusetts, and another, President of the United States. Nobody now alive has done so much to build up the moral strength of American democracy as Albert Bushnell Hart.

Meetings

October Meeting, 1936

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 8, 1936, at 3 P.M., Mr. GRINNELL, Recording Secretary, in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. Harvey Cushing, the manuscript "Taking Book" for Ward Number 12 in Boston for the year 1785. This gives, in addition to the names of the householders, the number of polls in each family, the value of the real estate holdings, the number of carriages owned, and observations as to occupation. Among those listed is Paul Revere.

From Matt B. Jones, leaves from a commonplace book of the Reverend Joseph Sewall, 1703; and Judah Monis, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue* (Boston, 1735).

From Edward B. Alford of Brookline, the orderly book of Colonel Moses Little, 1775–1776.

From Mrs. Philip Hale, books from the library of her husband.

From Mrs. Louise W. Brooks of Nantucket, the oath of Edward Brooks of Medford as army chaplain, March 24, 1778.

From William C. Endicott, the papers and correspondence of his father, the late Honorable William C. Endicott.

From Beatrice E. Kelliher of New Haven, the records of the Library Art Club.

From Harriet B. McDonald of Churchville, New York, and Reba W. Conway of Rochester, New York, the Revolutionary War diary of Ebenezer Wild, printed in part in 2 *Proceedings*, VI.

From Mrs. Alan B. Silvey of Merion, Pennsylvania, three letters of Samuel Taggart to Jedidiah Morse, 1812–1814, and two letters of William Gordon to Jedidiah Morse, 1796 and 1798.

By purchase: Samuel Willard, *Covenant Keeping the Way to Blessedness* (Boston, 1682), *Morality Not to be Relied on for Life* (Boston, 1700), *The Fear of an Oath* (Boston, 1701), and *A Brief Reply to Mr. George Keith* (Boston, 1703); *Lord Chatham's Prophecy, An Ode Addressed to Lieutenant General Gage* (London, 1776); a letter of Lydia Maria Child to Mr. Edgerton, July 6, 1860, dealing with the question of slavery; and the commonplace book of Samuel Melyen (H.C. 1696).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Albert Rosenthal of New Hope, Pennsylvania, a collection of historical prints and engravings.

From Charles A. Coolidge, Jr., and Mrs. Frederick Deane, their father's collection of lantern slides and photographs of gravestones in and around Boston.

From Thomas Barbour, a view of Franklin Place, Boston, 1857.

From Mrs. Julian Howe of Cambridge, a photograph of the Military Commission which tried the Lincoln conspirators.

From Adna E. Smalley of Winchester, on deposit, a drum captured at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

From Grenville H. Norcross, the Harvard Tercentenary Medal.

The Treasurer, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from GEORGE RUSSELL AGASSIZ accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The chair announced the death of GEORGE FRANCIS DOW, a Resident Member, on June 4, 1936, and that of CHARLES THORNTON DAVIS, a Resident Member, on September 4, 1936.

Mr. FRANK W. GRINNELL read a paper on "Henry Fielding and Sir John Fielding as Pioneer Law Reformers in Modern England."[1]

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[1] Printed as "The Legal Careers and Influence of Henry and Sir John Fielding; an Object Lesson in the Importance of the Lower Courts," *American Bar Association Journal*, XXVI (September, 1940), 725–730.

November Meeting, 1936

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 12, 1936, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair. In the absence of Mr. GRINNELL, Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLKINS was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*. The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Catherine W. Faucon of Milton, logbooks of her father, Captain Edward H. Faucon, in the years 1829–1835, 1850–1851, 1861–1863, including accounts of voyages from Boston to the Sandwich Islands, California, and the west coast of South America, and around the world; Robert Beverley, *History of Virginia* (2nd ed., London, 1722, Thomas Prince's copy); and an autographed copy of Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* (Boston, 1869).

Through the courtesy of Arthur H. Keyes of Rutland, Vermont, photostats of letters relating to the United States frigate *Constitution*, 1804–1805.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a tax return from York, Maine, October 1, 1766.

From Robert F. Seybolt of Urbana, Illinois, *Recommendations to the Schoolmasters of Boston*, a possibly unique broadside of 1789; and *The System of Public Education Adopted by the Town of Boston, 15th October, 1789*.

From the Essex Institute, the *Boston Gazette* of December 30–January 6, 1723/24, the only copy known.

From Matt B. Jones, *A Plea for the Ministers of the Gospel* (Boston, 1706); and David Tappan, *Discourse Occasioned by the Ratification of the Treaty of Peace* (Salem, 1783).

By purchase: *To the Proprietors of a Tract of Land Known by the Name of the Pejepscott Purchase*, dated at Boston, December 31, 1764; and George Cockings, *The American War* (London, 1781).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Grenville H. Norcross, a souvenir token of the Eiffel Tower, 1889.

From Alice B. Sanborn of Malden, the medal of the Evacuation of Boston.

From Mrs. Waldo O. Ross of Beverly Farms, a medal of Daniel Webster.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death of JOSEF REDLICH, a Corresponding Member, on November 11, 1936.

The Society elected James Bryant Conant of Cambridge and James Melville Hunnewell of Boston to Resident Membership.

Mr. STEWART MITCHELL read a paper entitled "Henry Adams and Some of His Students."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 294–310.

December Meeting, 1936

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 10, 1936, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Grenville H. Norcross, a warrant to the constable of Charlestown, September 21, 1655, signed by Samuel Adams, Town Clerk.

From Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Slave Market of America* (New York, 1836), a broadside published by the American Antislavery Society.

From Robert F. Seybolt, letters of Edward Everett, July 10, 1845, and March 18, 1861.

From the Librarian, a recognizance bond of Francis Brinley, February 8, 1713/14, taken before and signed by Samuel Sewall and Edward Bromfield.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from JAMES BRYANT CONANT accepting his election to Resident Membership.

The chair announced the death of WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, a Resident Member, and President of the Society since 1927, on November 28, 1936.

Judge ROBERT GRANT read a memoir of President ENDICOTT.[1]

The Society elected Hermann Frederick Clarke of Boston a Resident Member.

The chair reported a vote of the Council authorizing Vice-President LEFAVOUR to appoint a committee of not less than five to present a candidate for the presidency of the Society.

Mr. ALLEN FRENCH read a paper entitled "General Haldimand in Boston, 1774–1775."[2]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 423–426.

[2] Printed in this volume, 80–95.

January Meeting, 1937

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 14, 1937, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair. The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From George E. Cabot, the journal of the firm of J. & T. H. Perkins, 1800–1801.

From Mrs. Robert Treat Paine, 2nd, ledgers of the firm of J. & T. H. Perkins, 1798–1800 and 1828–1829.

By purchase: *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of John Burnyeat* (London, 1691); *Loi Relative aux Nantucquois Établis en France* (Paris, 1791), a law allowing the natives of Nantucket to come to France for the sole purpose of whale fishing; *The Last Words of William Huggins and John Mansfield* (Worcester, 1783) and *The Confession and Dying Words of Samuel Frost* (Worcester, 1793), two of the well-known Isaiah Thomas crime broadsides.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Francis R. Hart, the medal of the fiftieth anniversary of the Berwind White Coal Mining Company.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE accepting election as Resident Members of the Society.

The chair announced the death of CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, a Corresponding Member, on March 24, 1936.

The chair called attention to the sixtieth anniversary of JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr., as a Resident Member of the Society with the following tribute:

ON January 11, 1937, JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr., the senior member of the Massachusetts Historical Society since the death of Winslow Warren on April 3, 1930, began his sixty-first year as a Resident Member. Mr. Morse was elected on January 11, 1877, two days after his thirty-seventh birthday, when Robert Charles Winthrop, Sr., was sixth president of the Society. From that time to this, as all those who are familiar with the publications and the records of the meetings well know, Mr. Morse has been a faithful, generous, and active participant in our proceedings.

Of the ten men who have enjoyed Resident Membership during fifty years or more, Mr. Morse now stands second in length of association. Josiah Quincy (1772–1864), who was elected at the age of twenty-four, was a Resident Member for sixty-seven years and eleven months.

Today it is our privilege to offer Mr. Morse our congratulations on the past and our good wishes for the future.

Mr. ALFRED M. TOZZER read a paper entitled "Prehistory in America."[1]

Mr. GRINNELL read extracts from letters written to his father by William Graham Sumner between 1888 and 1893.

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[1] Printed in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVII (January, 1937), 151–159.

February Meeting, 1937

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 11, 1937, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair. The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss K. H. Andrews of West Roxbury, a letter from Edmund Quincy to Henry Quincy, June 25, 1776, and two letters from P. S. Davis to General Andrews, April 19 and 20, 1861.

By purchase: a collection of letters by and to James Sullivan, and other material relating to the work of the commission operating under the fifth article of Jay's Treaty to determine the northeast boundary of the United States; and the broadsides: *Rules and Orders of the Union Fire Club of Boston, September 1, 1772*; *American Taxation* (*c* 1800), an unrecorded reprint of a popular Revolutionary song.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Charles H. Joy of Boston, a hat and cane belonging to Daniel Webster, which came into her family through Mrs. Fletcher Webster.

From the Phoenix Club of Harvard College, the medal of the Club.

The chair read the following resolutions submitted by the Council on the death of President ENDICOTT:

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

RESOLVED: That this Society herewith formally record its sense of profound sorrow at the loss it has recently sustained in the death of its beloved President, the late William Crowninshield Endicott. Elected a Resident Member in 1915, he served as Member-at-Large of the Council from 1917 to 1920, became First Vice-President in 1926 and President on April 14, 1927—the twelfth man to fill that office, and the next in succession to George Foot Moore. The welfare of the Society was always very close to his heart; and his interest in it was manifested by his unremitting efforts to raise the standard of its meetings, to improve its building, and to enrich its collections, by his gift to it last spring of all the papers of his father, who was Secretary of War under Grover Cleveland, and by his legacy of one hundred thousand dollars, the largest—save for the Sibley bequest—that the Society has ever received. He was a genial host, and loved to gather our members about his table, both in Boston and at Danvers. We shall not soon forget his joyous and gracious generosity nor his occasional whiffs of healthy temper, reminiscent of his seafaring forebears who strode the decks of Salem ships. He inherited all the finest traditions of Massachusetts, and personified the best in the civilization of New England.

Resolved: That copies of this minute be sent to Mrs. Endicott and Mrs. Carnegie.

The Society unanimously adopted these resolutions.

The chair announced the death of ELIHU ROOT, a Corresponding Member, on February 7, 1937.

The Reverend HENRY W. FOOTE read a paper entitled "When Was John Singleton Copley Born?"[1]

Mr. HENRY M. ROGERS described his meeting with Abraham Lincoln in the White House on October 24, 1862, at which time he presented the President with a letter of introduction from Robert Todd Lincoln, then a student at Harvard College.

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[1] Printed in the *New England Quarterly*, x (March, 1937), 111–120.

March Meeting, 1937

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 11, 1937, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair. The record of the February meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported accessions:

By purchase: Cotton Mather, *Elizabeth in Her Holy Retirement, An Essay to Prepare a Pious Woman for Her Lying In* (Boston, 1710), one of four known copies.

The chair announced the death of GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, a Resident Member, and Cabinet-Keeper since 1904, on February 12, 1937; and that of GEORGE READ NUTTER, a Resident Member, on February 21, 1937.

The Society elected Dumas Malone of Lincoln and Frederick Merk of Belmont to Resident Membership; and the Duque de Berwick y Alba of London and John Nicholas Brown of Providence to Corresponding Membership.

The Society transferred HERBERT ALBERT LAURENS FISHER from Corresponding Membership to Honorary Membership.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

Nominating committee to complete the preparation of the annual ballot: JAMES P. BAXTER, 3rd, *Chairman*; CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM and LAWRENCE S. MAYO.

Committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer: FITZ-HENRY SMITH, Jr., *Chairman*, and HERMANN F. CLARKE.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter which Lord CHARNWOOD had addressed to him upon receipt of the notice of the sixtieth anniversary of the election of JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr., as a Resident Member of the Society.

27 February 1937

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been much interested by the two communications which I have received from you about Mr. John Torrey Morse, Junior. I have not got Mr. Morse's address or should have written to him, though late, to congratulate him on his birthday. But it occurs to me that what I chiefly wish to say to him may interest also our fellow members of the Society. So I will ask you to do me the kindness of communicating this letter to both him and them.

I owe to Mr. Morse a peculiar debt of gratitude. Twenty years ago I wrote a Life of Abraham Lincoln which I hope has been of service to English readers and which was received with wonderfully generous appreciation in America. Now, though I had learned to revere Lincoln in my school days, my first clear understanding of the work which he did, and of the issues of the Civil War, was got from Mr. Morse's Life of Lincoln, which I read as a young man during a visit of some months at Sibley, Iowa. I have always admired this book of his (as well as others from his hand) very much, and I feel strongly that whatever solid merits my own book may have are in large part derived from his. His and mine are, so far as I know, the only two books on Lincoln which are closely comparable in scope and in aim, and so, since mine was written long after his, with the advantage not only of his guidance but of much that had been published in between, his was the book which mine, if it was a success, would necessarily in some degree displace. If this thing had happened to me, instead of to him, I am sure that I should not really have liked it, and, however politely and justly I had spoken of the newcomer's performance, there would have been a touch of reserve and of chill in my praise—("pretty good for an Englishman" is the sort of thing that my review of him might have conveyed). But, of the two or three remarkably ample and warm-hearted appreciations of my book which I specially remember, none surpassed in full-blooded generosity that which came from Mr. Morse. I was first made aware of it by a paragraph, briefly summarizing it, which I happened to see in a New York newspaper. The paragraph had the headline "Some Sportsman," and the sentiment which these two simple words express is one which has remained in my mind ever since.

I think I had the pleasure of saying something of this sort in his presence at a delightful dinner party at which I was entertained in Boston long ago. This may of course seem a trivial incident to recall in a career so long and so full of honour as his, and it is of course with some personal vanity that I recall it so long after. Yet I hope that he may like to know how gratefully I remember it, and that there are friends of his who may be interested by this little reminiscence of him.

Yours sincerely,
CHARNWOOD

Mr. M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE presented a paper entitled "An August, 1914, Plan for Peace."[1]

Captain THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM spoke on "The Real Significance of Evacuation Day."

Mr. A. B. HART spoke on the English ancestry of Abraham Lincoln and the circumstances of his birth and rearing, and presented the Society with the manuscript material he had collected on the subject.

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[1] Incorporated in *John Jay Chapman and His Letters* (Boston, 1937).

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1937

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 8, 1937, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Margaret W. Cushing of Newburyport, a manuscript volume belonging to the Reverend Caleb Cushing (H.C. 1692), in which he kept records of his church in Salisbury, Massachusetts, during his ministry there.

From Mrs. Lawrence Park of Groton, through Charles K. Bolton, the diary of Elizabeth Bancroft, 1793–1795, and other manuscripts.

By purchase: *An Eulogium Sacred to the Memory of Major General Warren*, a broadside by Benjamin Francklin [*sic*] (n.p., n.d.), the only copy known.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from HERBERT ALBERT LAURENS FISHER accepting Honorary Membership in the Society; and letters from DUMAS MALONE and FREDERICK MERK accepting Resident Membership.

The chair announced the death of JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr., a Resident Member, and Senior Member of the Society, on March 27, 1937, and that of HENRY MUNROE ROGERS, a Resident Member, on March 29, 1937.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Mr. BAXTER, Mr. BRIGHAM read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

IN the last eight years the Society has had to find a new editor, a new librarian, and a new president. This period of reorganization has taken time and care and patience. Changes of policy or management cannot be at once apparent in an institution which is almost as old as our federal government. Many plans have had to be postponed because of the financial conditions which have obtained since 1929. It is interesting to observe, however, that no less than forty-three Resident Members have been added to the roll of the Society during those eight years—well over one third of the total number, and including a dozen or more of the most active members today. Since the

Annual Meeting in 1936 we have lost not only our twelfth president but our senior Resident Member and our oldest Resident Member.

Today, as the Society elects new officers, is a good time to call attention to the very important matter of membership. There are three distinct steps to the process of acquiring new members, and each one is important: endorsement, nomination, and election. By the time a man's name comes before the Society to be voted on, he is practically certain to be added to the roll of either Resident or Corresponding Membership. The most significant steps in choosing new members are the first two: the entering of likely names in the nomination book and the act of nomination by the Council. The first step and the third are the privilege and duty of every Resident Member.

If the Society is not only to persist but prosper, the whole question of picking and choosing one hundred men out of the population of this commonwealth deserves all the care and consideration that anyone has ever thought of giving to it. Our former president, Charles Francis Adams, guided the fortunes of this organization for twenty years. He gave much time and great care to its management, often to the detriment or even the neglect of his private affairs. He was chosen president in April, 1895, and at the meeting of the next November he devoted his remarks to the policy that should be followed in choosing new members. Much of what he said forty-two years ago is of great significance today.

The complete text of his statement is preserved in the files of this Society and can be consulted by anyone who is interested; such portions of it as were thought suitable to print in the *Proceedings* will be found on pages 315–327 in the tenth volume of the second series. Mr. Adams not only told of the kind of man who was entitled to be elected, but he took up the delicate and dangerous business of President Winthrop's vain effort to enlarge the Resident Membership in 1877. It is the purpose of the Council to recommend new Resident and Corresponding Members, not only from considerations of scholarly or personal distinction, but from the point of view of ability and readiness to contribute to the general welfare of the Society. "In my judgment," declared Mr. Adams in 1895, "the only thing we should distinctly avoid is degenerating into a mutual admiration society or a mere coterie of antiquarians."

This crucial question of membership cannot be insisted on too often or too strongly. Since the days of the Society's founding, even since the happy day when Mr. Adams took office, the character of the community and habits of life have changed—whether for better or worse is not the question at this moment. In the hustle and bustle of present times the nonprofessional historian seems likely to disappear, and nonprofessional historians, be it remembered, were the founders and have been the chief supporters of this organization. Our major concern must be to find members who will think of the Society as their first interest—not their second, third, or last. If this Society is to continue to be as distinguished as some of us like to think it is, it must have interested men, it must have more manuscripts, it must have more books, and it must have more money.

Although this Society will always be much more than a publishing house, delay in the appearance of publications has been a matter of necessity rather than of policy. The Editor will continue to aspire to comparative perfection rather than relative promptness. During the past year he has read the manuscript of Mr. Shipton's second volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates*; he has checked the larger part of the General Index to Volumes XLI–LX of the *Proceedings*, as prepared by Mr. Matteson, and this is now in the press; he has prepared the texts and provided for the indexes of two *House Journals*; and he has corrected and sent to press copy for a second printing of the *Handbook of the Publications and Photostats* of the Society. He has continued to select and circulate two numbers of the second series of Photostat Americana every month. His success in being able to continue this second series is due largely to the constant and cordial assistance of the library staff. Whoever is sleeplessly eager to see the Society reappear in print at the earliest possible moment has only to provide the Treasurer with the means of sending to press the manuscripts of two volumes of *Collections*—LXXVIII and LXXIX—which have been on the Editor's desk ready for publication for more than two years.

A little less than a year ago a committee of the Society sent out a special appeal for funds with which to publish *Proceedings*, LXV. It is a pleasure to announce that the whole sum of $2,500 is now in sight. Yet this kind of makeshift cannot be resorted to year after year. The only feasible way of adding to the income of the Society is to increase its endowment. Annual assessments never can amount to much from a membership so limited as ours. Receipts from dues pile up to respectable proportions only when members are numbered by the thousands. Ten dollars a year from every Resident Member of this Society, for instance, would not pay one half the cost of printing one volume of our *Proceedings*.

When this Society was founded, one hundred and forty-six years ago, gentlemen in the professions and business could earn their living in the morning and devote their afternoons to social or intellectual pursuits. Since those days the art of saving time has been developed to the practical extinction of leisure. The more time we save, the less we seem to have. This change in habits of life is bound to have its effect on this Society. Boston was only a town when the ten charter members met for the first time in January, 1791. Because it is seemingly more difficult now to get to a meeting from Cambridge than it used to be to come in, a hundred years ago, from Salem or Worcester, less than one-third of our members are active participants in the business of the Society today. Regular publication of the *Proceedings* and careful consideration in the election of new members may help to remedy this situation.

Now that it seems likely that the Society can settle down, so far as its organization is concerned, to at least ten years of quiet, the Editor hopes to be able to give an ever-increasing amount of his time to his most important duties. By its very nature such work must be anonymous, and the best recommendation of it is that it should go unnoticed. The Council knows that the Editor can count on the coöperation of the members of the Society as well as on their patience.

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE Society's net income was $34,943.03, an increase of $482.05 over the previous twelve-month period. The actual return on investments was even better than that, but it seemed only prudent to write off an amount that was $552.97 greater than the year before for the amortization of premiums on noncallable bonds. The advantage of this method will appear in increased income return in future. The yield from investments was at the rate of 4.08%; but because the investment reserve, now amounting to $48,884.46, and a large share of accumulated income are both invested but do not participate in the investment return, the income credited to the several capital funds was at the rate of 4.335%. The increase in capital amounted to $10,972.76; and of this increase in capital the net profits on the changes in securities were $3,761.45; the sum of $234 represented royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal; $2,655.88 was added to the Building Annex Fund, now $63,913.32; and there were increases of $812.85 to the Anonymous Centenary Fund, $48.34 to the Lodge Fund, and $2,690.24 to the J. L. Sibley Fund, each under the terms of gift.

Net charges to expense were $31,486.26, an amount $982.76 less than for the 1935–36 fiscal year, and this satisfactory outcome can be attributed largely to what might be called the watchful generosity of the Librarian and the commendable thrift exercised by the members of the House Committee. Through the diligence of the Editor there is a surplus of $151.79 in the Photostat Account after liquidating a debit of $482.96 carried over from the previous year. For Publication Account the outgo was $3,331.61, largely for work on *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, the fifth and succeeding volumes, and it is very much desired that during the coming year the Society shall resume printing its *Proceedings*. Toward the cost of Volume LXV the sum of $2,500 sought by a special committee of which Mr. Endicott was chairman is now assured, and the Treasurer would like to express his personal thanks to the members who responded so liberally. There is no disposition to starve the Publication Account, but the Society is so largely in the grip of restricted gifts and legacies that it would be impossible to operate the Society's building and provide retirement allowances without considerable overdrafts on funds income that is not restricted. Happily there are legacies in view—the generous sum of $50,000 provided by our very devoted associate, Mr. Norcross, and the legacies of two interested members, Mr. George R. Nutter and Mr. Clarence B. Moore, of $2,500 each, that are unrestricted and will help solve our financial perplexities.

During the year, at Mr. Francis R. Hart's suggestion, there has been set up a "General Account," intended to show the annual and accumulating deficit, rather than carry overdrafts in individual funds income. When all these overdrafts shall have been matched by income, the General Account will reflect accurately each year the amount of expenditures in excess of unrestricted income.

The Librarian has continued selling duplicate titles, and the money from that source, for the year just ended, $2,120.40, has been set up as a Library Duplicate Fund with a view to filling gaps in the

Society's collection. Generous sums have continued to come from one of the Society's members to defray most of the expense of rebinding, cleaning, and repairing rare pieces of Americana.

Of the Society's investments, $382,665.44 are in bonds and $485,059.17 are in stocks, both preferred and common, expressed in book value. Preferred stocks amount to $166,212.35, with a market value of $156,853.00, and common stocks represent $318,846.82 book value with a market value of $349,867.86, approximately 36% of the investments. On March 31, 1937, the market value of the Society's bonds was 95.47% of book value, and the bid prices of its stocks, both common and preferred, were 104.46% of book value. The index market value of bonds and stocks combined is 100.38%, and this compares with 65.10% in 1932.

In common with other members of the Society the Treasurer feels very deeply the loss of Mr. Endicott, for so long the honored President of the Society. On its financial policy, as in other matters, he was direct and positive, and never vague or indecisive. Mr. Adams and other members of the Finance Committee have given freely of time and talent, and to them and to the Editor and the Librarian the Treasurer is indebted for the kindly consideration that is one of the satisfactions of holding office in this Society.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET

March 31, 1937

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$965.70	
Petty Cash, on hand at 1154 Boylston Street	200.00	$1,165.70
Investments:		
Bonds	$382,665.44	
Stocks	485,059.17	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,623.83	869,348.44
Real Estate		97,990.32
Deferred Debits:		
Prepaid insurance	$554.44	
Prepaid publications	5,541.19	6,095.63
Accounts Receivable		2,123.76
Publications Account		64.80
Five Year Income Fund		39.59
General Account		13,168.68
		$989,996.92

LIABILITIES:

Funds	
Principal (Ellis House Fund not included)	$813,578.00
Income	20,703.95
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street	25,000.00
Building Account	72,990.32
Capital Reserve[1]	45,123.01
Gain and Loss	3,761.45
Notes Payable, State Street Trust Co.	5,000.00
Photostat Account	151.79
Proceedings, 65: Special Fund	1,975.00
Library Duplicate Fund	1,713.40
	$989,996.92

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

AS OF MARCH 31, 1937

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL:	*Book Value*	*Income 1936–37*
City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 1951	$7,000.00	$220.00
City of Baltimore, Md., Paving Loan, reg. 4's, 1951	4,800.00	80.00
Boston Metropolitan District, 4¾'s, 1941		414.31
Boston Metropolitan District, 4¾'s, 1962		455.74
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1955	3,100.00	105.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1956	7,225.00	245.00
City of Detroit, Mich., Water Supply, 4¼'s, 1952		159.38
City of Detroit, Mich., Street Railway, 4¼'s, 1957	11,150.00	212.50
New York City Corporation Stock, 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan, 4's, 1954	11,350.00	400.00
	$53,725.00	$2,741.93
RAILROAD:		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948	$10,840.00	$450.00
Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5's, 1938	10,000.00	500.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4½'s, 1944	6,000.00	270.00
Canadian National Railway Co. 5's, 1970	12,000.00	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,250.00	450.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. 4½'s, 1946		186.25
Chesapeake Corporation 5's, 1947		424.08
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949	10,110.00	
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	375.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$118,725.00	$4,855.33
Carried forward	$172,450.00	$7,597.26

[1] Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

Brought forward	$172,450.00	$7,597.26
Utility:		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 4½'s, 1939	$11,000.00	$225.00
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1960		500.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1939	9,975.00	500.00
Central Georgia Power Co. 5's, 1938		377.78
Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 4½'s, 1951	10,050.00	450.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,150.00	300.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1937		500.00
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	16,400.00	125.00
Western Massachusetts Co's 4's, 1939		172.22
	$71,625.00	$4,050.00
Industrial:		
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940	$9,919.44	$500.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1944	6,680.00	300.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1947	15,675.00	700.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1949	5,650.00	250.00
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. 4's, 1946	10,237.50	400.00
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	11,160.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California, "A" 6's, 1942	11,575.00	600.00
United Stock Yards Corporation "A" 4¼'s, 1951	9,800.00	
Warren Bros. Co. 5½'s, 1937	9,975.00	287.60
	$90,671.94	$3,537.60
Foreign:		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942	$9,502.50	$600.00
Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969	12,100.00	
Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	10,925.00	450.00
Toronto Harbour Commissioners 4½'s, 1953		450.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	15,391.00	900.00
	$47,918.50	$2,400.00
Totals, Bonds	$382,665.44[1]	$17,584.86

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

Preferred Stocks

Railroad:	*Book Value*	*Income 1936–37*
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	$15,800.00	$790.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	
	$27,570.10	$790.00
Utility:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	$880.00	$50.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	450.00
Carried forward	$6,930.00	$500.00

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[1] The market value on March 31, 1937, was $365,358.75.

Brought forward	$6,930.00	$500.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	1,000.00
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co. $5	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.50
	$71,215.00	$4,262.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
75 American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	$7,800.00	$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
200 Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards	21,800.00	1,125.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
60 United States Steel Corp'n	8,490.00	840.00
	$67,427.25	$4,350.00
Totals, Preferred Stocks	$166,212.35[1]	$9,402.50

COMMON STOCKS

	Book Value	Income 1936–37
RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$7,315.00	$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	340.00
228 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	10,481.19	385.90
25 Old Colony Railroad Co. Certificates of Deposit	4,200.00	
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
	$73,630.57	$1,032.15
UTILITY:		
255 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$31,265.62	$2,295.00
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	200.00
18 Detroit Edison Co.	1,525.50	108.00
60 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	405.00
197 Western Massachusetts Co's	12,483.75	394.00
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	30.00
	$61,974.87	$3,432.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
940 General Electric Co.	$16,156.88	$1,410.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	300.00
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	75.00
263 United Fruit Co.	10,858.25	1,117.75
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	
	$69,683.88	$2,902.75
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$11,775.00	$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	120.00
125 Boston Wharf Co.	13,800.00	250.00
5 State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
	$51,075.00	$970.00
Carried forward	$256,364.32	$8,336.90

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[1] The market value on March 31, 1937, was $156,853.00.

Brought forward	$256,364.32	$8,336.90
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
20 Boston Insurance Co.	$6,600.00	$420.00
5 First National Bank of the City of New York	11,050.00	
20 Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	7,000.00	
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	765.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	$62,482.50	$1,985.00
Total Common Stocks	$318,846.82[1]	$10,321.90
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	$485,059.17[2]	$19,724.40
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		$37,309.26

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1937

RECEIPTS:			
Income from securities:			
Bonds		$16,731.03	
Stocks, preferred	$9,402.50		
common	10,321.90	19,724.40	$36,455.43
Subscriptions to *Proceedings*, 65: Special Fund			1,775.00
Sale of duplicates, credited to Library Duplicate Fund			2,120.40
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			234.00
Frederic Bancroft gift			1,000.00
Securities sold, called, or matured:			
Bonds		$41,650.00	
Stocks			41,650.00
Broker's Account: adjustments			4,201.14
Proceeds of loans from State Street Trust Co.			20,500.00
Receivables collected			2,072.70
			$110,008.67
Cash on hand, March 31, 1936			419.53
			$110,428.20
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Net Operating Expenses:			
Other than Photostat and Publications		$31,486.26	
Photostat, in part offset by "Accounts Receivable"		579.55	
Publications, in part offset by "Accounts Receivable"		3,428.91	$35,494.72
Securities bought:			
Bonds		$49,170.23	
Stocks		6,436.29	55,606.52
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Co.			15,500.00
Interest accrued on bonds bought		$329.70	
Interest on money borrowed		156.31	
Discount on bonds maturing or called		28.42	514.43
Carried forward			$107,115.67

[1] The market value on March 31, 1937, was $349,867.86.

[2] The market value on March 31, 1937, was $506,720.86.

Brought forward	$107,115.67
Brokers Account: adjustments	2,346.33
Accounts Receivable: adjustment	.50
	$109,462.50
Cash on hand, March 31, 1937	965.70
	$110,428.20

NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1937

Bindery	$1,432.68
Building	5,953.60
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant	7,980.00
Engrossing	1.50
Fares	1.40
Legal expense, Whitin will case	64.40
Library	14,435.74
Meetings	257.60
Postage	239.76
Stationery	151.57
Subscriptions	52.00
Treasurer	916.01
Net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"	$31,486.26

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

MARCH 31, 1937

Credit balance, April 1, 1936	$259.70
For account of sundry issues in process	3,591.31
Subtracting credit balance, April 1, 1936, leaving	$3,331.61
Less transfers to Funds Income accounts, restricted to cost of publications	3,266.81
Credit balance, March 31, 1937	$64.80

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

MARCH 31, 1937

Cash outlay		$4,654.40
Cash sales		4,074.85
Net cash outlay		$579.55
Transfers to sundry operating accounts		1,214.30
Net credits		$634.75
Net debits, March 31, 1936	$270.96	
Liquidating deferred debits	212.00	482.96
Surplus in Photostat Account, March 31, 1937		$151.79

GENERAL ACCOUNT

DEBITS

March 31, 1937,	To sundry charges and payments, not chargeable to restricted funds income	$27,361.32

CREDITS

March 31, 1937,	By sundry funds income, unrestricted	$14,192.64
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, April 1, 1936, to March 31, 1937	13,168.68
		$27,361.32

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

March 31, 1937

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1936	*Funds Income*	*Charges to Income*	*Income Balances Mar. 31, 1937*	*Funds Principal*
Adams		$1,904.19	$1,904.19		$44,153.76
Amory		130.07	130.07		3,000.00
Appleton	—$150.71	529.07		$378.36	12,203.00
F. Bancroft					1,000.00
Bigelow		86.72	86.72		2,000.00
Billings		433.56	433.79	—.23	10,000.00
Boit	4,094.47	216.78		4,311.25	5,000.00
Brattle Street	127.19	5.72		132.91	100.00
Chamberlain		53.43	53.43		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham	495.61	2,167.80	2,663.41		50,000.00
Dowse		433.56	433.56		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	4,589.67	1,083.90	1.60	5,671.97	25,000.00
Ellis		1,372.94	1,407.48	—34.54	31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		216.78	216.78		5,000.00
Five Year Income	—39.59				
Frothingham		130.07	130.07		3,000.00
General	—5,018.21	2,515.24		—2,502.97	58,013.66
Hunnewell	—1,173.42	433.56	1,382.94	—2,122.80	10,000.00
Lawrence		130.07		130.07	3,000.00
Lodge		193.32	193.32		5,622.09
Lowell		130.07	130.07		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		86.72	86.72		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		433.56		433.56	10,000.00
G. H. Norcross	—439.83	433.56	1,208.99	—1,215.26	10,000.00
Parker	356.81	34.11		390.92	1,000.00
Peabody	1,396.96	959.16	389.35	1,966.77	22,123.00
Proceedings, 65: Special	200.00				
Salisbury		216.78	216.78		5,000.00
Savage	—446.64	260.14	345.25	—531.75	6,000.00
Schouler		123.56		123.56	2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		216.78	216.78		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		975.92	975.92		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	957.97	8,070.69	11,902.02	—2,873.36	250,889.69
Slafter	32.34	43.36	8.60	67.10	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		650.34	650.34		15,000.00
Malcolm Storer		86.72		86.72	2,000.00
Warren		43.36	43.36		1,000.00
Washburn	6.83	108.39	115.22		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,794.82	216.78		4,011.60	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	2,706.89	433.56		3,140.45	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,168.87	433.56		3,602.43	10,000.00
Waterston Library	—1,814.60	168.01		—1,646.59	3,875.14
Frederic Winthrop	3,387.29	1,083.90		4,471.19	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	1,745.45	650.34	2.50	2,393.29	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		520.27	520.27		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		102.52		102.52	2,364.66
William Winthrop		216.78		216.78	5,000.00
	$17,978.17	$28,735.72	$25,849.53	$20,703.95	$755,103.47
Anonymous Centenary		812.85[1]			19,561.21
Building Annex		2,655.88[1]			63,913.32
Lodge		48.34[1]			
J. L. Sibley		2,690.24[1]			
Total Funds Income		$34,943.03			
Total Funds Principal					$838,578.00

[1] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE Committee under appointment to examine the accounts of the Treasurer employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr.
Hermann F. Clarke
Committee

April 8, 1937

Auditor's Statement

April 8, 1937

Messrs. Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., and Hermann F. Clarke, Examining Committee

Gentlemen: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1937.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

Ernest E. Jobling, *Auditor*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THE library is still moving ahead. If there are moments when the advance seems discouragingly slow, there come others when the ground on which we were standing yesterday seems suddenly to have already receded far into the background.

Ours is an intensely busy staff. There is not a single department where two people could not be kept just as fully occupied with the tasks already under way—not to mention new projects—as are the people who still continue to tackle them singlehanded. I only wish that such a bare recital of facts as follows could fully picture what has been accomplished.

During the past twelve months eighteen hundred workers have come to the library, people from all parts and of all descriptions, with problems of varying degrees of complexity, and with equally varying talents for solving them. The bulk of the task of attending to their needs falls upon the shoulders of one person, who must at the same time keep us up to date in our cataloguing. There is no way of measuring our service to correspondents, whose concerns range from the name of Paul Revere's horse to the assembling of source material relating to the history of the Federal Convention. Each year, too, brings its new calls for coöperation in important bibliographical enterprises, such, for instance, as the Union List of Newspapers. This year, I am happy to report, we have begun, although belatedly, to take our place in the Union Catalogue at the Library of Congress, that indispensable gathering place of information as to the locations of rare books throughout the country. The work of breaking up bound volumes of miscellaneous pamphlets and assembling duplicates is still in process. To date over three thousand pamphlets hitherto scattered throughout the building, mainly in the most inaccessible parts, without regard to alphabetical or chronological order, have been brought together in one place, each appropriately bound. What this means in terms of increased efficiency goes without saying. In addition to providing new bindings, steps have been taken to preserve the bindings that we already have. Meanwhile the duplicates continue, as during the past three years, to be the chief means of financing important new acquisitions. Progress in the work on the manuscripts has been equally encouraging. Particularly important has been the reshelving of them in a strictly alphabetical order. The repair department, at the mercy of everyone who finds something requiring immediate steps for its preservation, has still been able to make good progress with its own special project: the mounting and rebinding of the Pickering papers.

Every step in advance, however, has a way of reëmphasizing old problems or of introducing new ones. There is still a pressing need for a chronological manuscript catalogue, as well as for one of recipients of letters. The catalogue of printed material still needs the kind of overhauling that can be done only if there is someone available whose job is that exclusively. We should like to add certain specialized catalogues: a chronological one of all our early American imprints, and another which would make it possible to see at a glance what we have of the output of each of the early American presses. We must, in short, equip ourselves more adequately to make the scholarly contributions which are expected from a library of our rank.

Our acquisitions for the past year have been as follows:

Books	517
Pamphlets and Periodicals	1266
Broadsides	95
Maps	4

Newspapers	304
Sheet Music	119
Manuscripts	2500
	4805

Of the printed titles, three are Boston imprints of the seventeenth century; sixty-one carry Boston dates in the eighteenth century; eighteen have imprints of other Massachusetts towns in the eighteenth century; and forty are Boston items of the period 1800–1825.

To be perfectly frank, none of the newly acquired Americana, with one exception to be noted subsequently, is of truly outstanding importance. But what these lack in interest is more than made up for by the belated discovery of certain acquisitions of an earlier day, hitherto uncatalogued. Two of these are broadsides that were brought to light in the course of cataloguing the Heath papers.

Late in August, 1778, the French fleet under the command of the Count d'Estaing, badly shattered by a storm at sea, came into Boston to refit. The *Languedoc* had on board a printing press, one of the earliest sea presses known. From it there appeared, under the date of October 28, 1778, d'Estaing's *Déclaration Addressée au Nom du Roi à Tous les Anciens François de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, containing promises of protection and support to all North American British subjects of French origin desirous of renouncing British sovereignty. General Heath, the American commander in Boston at the time, received a copy of this three-page document, and, thanks to the care with which he preserved his papers, we now have, in its original uncut condition, one of the three known surviving copies of the *Déclaration*, one of which is in Paris.

In September, 1780, at the time of Arnold's treason, Heath was in command of the posts on the lower Hudson. On October 7 Arnold issued his address *To the Inhabitants of America* in an attempt to justify his action. He followed this on October 20 with *A Proclamation. To the Officers and Soldiers of the Continental Army Who Have the Real Interest of Their Country at Heart, and Who Are Determined To Be No Longer the Tools and Dupes of Congress, or of France*. In this he sets forth the inducements offered to those who would join him in deserting and assures them of his "most affectionate welcome and attention." A copy of this now excessively rare broadside, located elsewhere only in the Library of Congress, was sent to General Heath by Lieutenant Colonel John Jameson on October 31 with the comment that it contained "more Vanity Impudence and Rascallity then I really expected any Man on the Continent possess'd." It is now one of our most prized Revolutionary pieces.

A third item, even more worthy of special mention, has been in our catalogue for perhaps a century, but if all the facts about it were ever known here, their significance has escaped the attention of bibliographers and other scholars. In *Poor Richard's Almanack* for 1758 (Philadelphia, 1757) were brought together in one piece the many proverbs contained in the earlier numbers of the series. This was reprinted the following year under the title *Father Abraham's Speech to a Great Number of People, at a Vendue of Merchant-Goods; Introduced to the Publick by Poor Richard, (A Famous Pennsylvania Conjurer, and Almanack-Maker) in Answer to the Following Questions. Pray, Father Abraham, What Think You of the Times? Won't These Heavy Taxes Quite Ruin the Country? How Shall We Be Ever Able to Pay Them? What Would You Advise Us to?* The pamphlet became the best seller of the eighteenth century and even enjoyed a great vogue in the following century. Paul Leicester Ford, in his bibliography of Franklin's writings, was able to list as many as 146 separate editions of it, under various titles and in various languages—and there are other editions which escaped his eye. As recently as 1928 it was believed that what was actually the second edition (Boston, 1760) was the first. It was Wilberforce Eames who first pointed out that the supposed first edition did not answer the description of the pamphlet given in the advertisements that began to appear in the Boston newspapers in March, 1758. He furthermore found in the two known copies of this second edition evidence which established its date as 1760. As for the first edition, however, he was forced to say: "No copy . . . has been located." That gap in the Franklin canon has now been filled, for our copy, which recently was reëxamined in the routine course of breaking up our pamphlet volumes, proves to be the long-missing first edition. Quite by accident we have been able to make a truly outstanding contribution to American bibliography.

One of the new accessions calls for particular comment: *An Eulogium Sacred to the Memory of Major General Warren*, "by Benjamin Francklin, L.L.D. F.R.S." (n.p., n.d.). The first thing to be said is that our copy is, apparently, unique. Its existence has been known generally only since 1933. The text of the eulogy has, however, long been known. Its first appearance was in the *Pennsylvania*

Magazine for June, 1775 (287–289), where it was introduced as follows: "A Gentleman of this city has favoured us with the following." The *Boston Gazette* reprinted it in its issue of October 16, 1775, and Almon included it in the second volume of the *Remembrancer* (308–310). In none of these three cases is the author's name given. In Volume II of the rare periodical *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (Antwerp [Paris], 1776, 26–29) there are printed, under the date April 11, extracts of the eulogy translated into French, with the authorship definitely attributed to Franklin. Mr. Ford states in his Franklin bibliography that, while he could find no evidence to support the statement that Franklin was the editor of this periodical, "internal evidence shows that some one who received private information from America, was either editing or assisting the editors with private letters." There are, moreover, at least nine other Franklin items scattered through the first nine volumes of this publication.

Further investigation will be necessary to determine the date and place of publication of the broadside. With regard to the former, an approximate earliest date can be set from the fact that at the foot of the broadside a quotation is given from the first volume of Almon's *Remembrancer*. This volume is known to have appeared originally in parts, and the part including the quotation in question could not have appeared before the end of August, 1775. It is hoped that an expert examination of the typography will throw some light on the place of publication. One thing that would immediately catch the eye of even a layman is the curious misspelling of Franklin's name—"Francklin." This makes one think of other than an American or an English origin for the broadside, and yet as soon as one turns to the Continent, one is puzzled by the fact that the text is given in English. These are questions which, it is to be hoped, will in time be answered.

This report would be incomplete without a reference to Mr. Norcross. His generosity to the Society in his will is sufficient guarantee of his being remembered through the years to come. It is hardly less important that his generosity during his lifetime be recalled. His name will seldom be found in the Librarian's monthly reports, yet for years not a week passed that did not bring its evidence of Mr. Norcross' affectionate interest in this Society. Someone else will be elected to take his place as a Resident Member. Another will succeed him as Cabinet-Keeper. Others will add their legacies to his. What there is occasion to be genuinely solicitous about today is this: who will succeed Mr. Norcross in making this library his hobby?

Allyn B. Forbes
Librarian

REPORT OF THE ASSISTANT CABINET-KEEPER

THE gifts during the past year, several of them of considerable personal interest, have all been announced at the stated monthly meetings of the Society.

For the past ten years the duties of the Cabinet-Keeper have devolved upon the Librarian, who has regularly received, acknowledged, and announced gifts on behalf of the late Mr. Norcross. The most inviting opportunity and pressing duty for the future, so far as the successor of Mr. Norcross is concerned, is the preparation and publication of a new, corrected, and complete catalogue of the Society's portraits and paintings. The latest catalogue of this kind was published by the Society in 1888, almost half a century ago. It was a creditable piece of work for the time, but it has long been inadequate because of the great number of accessions and the great increase in our knowledge of early New England portraiture. Portraits are historical documents, the importance of which has too often been overlooked in the past. Many of those owned by the Society represent persons of distinction; others are valuable as works of art or as examples of the work of early artists here. They should be studied, described, and adequately catalogued. Two excellent models for such a catalogue have recently been published: one by the Essex Institute, the other by Harvard University.

To compile and publish such a catalogue of portraits owned by the Society will require time, labor, and money, but it is hoped that work upon it may be soon begun. There are few tasks which the Society could undertake at this time which are better worth doing.

Henry W. Foote
Assistant Cabinet-Keeper

The special committee appointed in December to nominate a candidate for President of the Society submitted the nomination of Francis Russell Hart.

The committee to nominate the other officers made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
Francis Russell Hart

Vice-Presidents
Henry Lefavour
Roger Bigelow Merriman

Recording Secretary
Frank Washburn Grinnell

Corresponding Secretary
Matt Bushnell Jones

Treasurer
George Gregerson Wolkins

Cabinet-Keeper
Henry Wilder Foote

Members-at-Large of the Council
Bliss Perry
Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr.
George Edward Cabot
Joseph Warren
Stephen Willard Phillips

Mr. Charles Warren read a paper entitled "Bypaths of American History," in which he gave an entertaining account of his research to discover what kind of weather prevailed in New York City at the time of Washington's first inauguration. He next commented on the absurd and involved consequences of the donation to Presidents Jackson and Van Buren by the Emperor of Morocco and an Arabian potentate of certain gifts, including Arabian horses and Numidian lions. Mr. Warren also spoke of the political quarrel resulting from a Congressional appropriation to refurnish the White House during the presidency of John Quincy Adams, and showed how the listing of a billiard table as an item in the expense account which his son and secretary, John Adams, filed had affected the political fortunes of the sixth president.

May Meeting, 1937

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 13, 1937, at 3 P.M., President HART in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Elizabeth J. Woodward of Boston, two manuscripts, "A Memory of Emerson," by Catherine Paine Sutton, and a copy of the list of poems chosen by Ralph Waldo Emerson for a small girl of Civil War days to learn.

By purchase: William Hooke, *New Englands Teares, for Old Englands Feares* (London, 1641); George Keith, *A Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of North-America* (London, 1706); Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England* (London, 1642); Thomas Savage, *An Account of the Late Action of the New-Englanders, under the Command of Sir William Phips, against the French at Canada* (London, 1691); Henry Whitefield, *The Light Appearing More and More towards the Perfect Day* (London, 1651); a copy of the map that belongs in the first edition of William Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634); and Francis Howgil, *The Dawnings of the Gospel-Day* (London, 1676), a collected edition of his works containing "The Popish Inquisition Newly Erected in New England," "The Heart of New England Hardened Through Wickedness," and his letter "To the Friends and Brethren who have been called of the Lord into that place in New England."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Walter Weston of London, photographs of Derby School, the school of John Cotton.

From the Hon. Marcus Morton, the seal of Charles Sumner.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN accepting his election to Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., of Boston and Robert William Glenroie Vail of Worcester to Resident Membership; and Dixon Ryan Fox of Schenectady to Corresponding Membership.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: Charles F. Adams, *Chairman*; Allan Forbes and Francis R. Hart.

House: George E. Cabot, *Chairman*; John Woodbury and Hermann F. Clarke.

Library: Matt B. Jones, *Chairman*; Stephen W. Phillips and James M. Hunnewell.

Meetings: M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Allen French and Joseph Warren.

Photostat: George G. Wolkins, *Chairman*; Clarence S. Brigham, Stewart Mitchell, and Allyn B. Forbes.

Publication: Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Chairman*; Lawrence S. Mayo, George G. Wolkins, Clarence S. Brigham, and Stewart Mitchell.

Mr. George G. Wolkins read a paper on "Writs of Assistance in England."[1]

Mr. Henry Adams read a paper entitled "Why Did Not England Recognize the Confederacy?"[2]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 357–364.

[2] Printed in this volume, 204–222.

October Meeting, 1937

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 14, 1937, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Ingersoll Bowditch of Jamaica Plain, letters to her father, the late Horace E. Scudder, in connection with his work in editing the Commonwealth Series.

From H. Monmouth Smith of Brookline, the account book of Peter Verstilles, Boston merchant, 1754–1760.

From the estate of Grenville H. Norcross, Mr. Norcross' extensive autograph collection.

From the estate of the late Major E. Willard Sexton, through his daughter, Mrs. Harry L. Clapp, five volumes of *The Harbinger* on which he worked as a printer when they were published at Brook Farm.

From Edward Brooks of Brookline, copies of material relating to Fort William Henry collected by him from the Massachusetts Archives and other sources.

By purchase: Benjamin Franklin, *Advice to a Young Tradesman* [Boston, 1762?], one of four known copies; the anonymous pamphlet, *Debtor and Creditor* (Boston, 1762), found with all the known copies of the Franklin piece (although in this case not bound with it), but not yet proved to have been written by Franklin; Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America, Or, Probabilities That the Americans Are of That Race* (London, 1650), and *Jews in America, or Probabilities, That Those Indians Are Judaical Made More Probable by Some Additionals to the Former Conjectures* (London, 1660).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Edwin R. Farrar and Samuel Farrar, "Houses of Lincoln, Massachusetts, A Hundred Years Old or Over," an album of photographs with many facts relating to the history of the houses.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., and ROBERT WILLIAM GLENROIE VAIL accepting Resident Membership in the Society; and from the DUQUE DE BERWICK Y ALBA and DIXON RYAN FOX accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, a Resident Member, on May 14, 1937; that of EDWIN DOAK MEAD, a Resident Member, on August 17, 1937; that of JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW, a Resident Member, on September 23, 1937; that of CARROLL PERRY, a Resident Member, on October 2, 1937; and that of

John Franklin Jameson, a Corresponding Member, on September 28, 1937.

The Society elected William Augustus Jeffries of Milton a Resident Member.

Mr. Hermann F. Clarke read a paper entitled "John Hull: Mintmaster."[1]

Mr. Morison gave an account of a cruise that he had made during the summer along the Northwest Coast, in the course of which he succeeded in identifying the site of Adventure Cove, the winter quarters of the ship *Columbia* during the winter of 1791–1792.[2]

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[1] Printed in the *New England Quarterly*, x (December, 1937), 668–684.

[2] For a fuller account, see Samuel E. Morison, "The Columbia's Winter Quarters of 1791–1792 Located," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, xxxix (March, 1938), 3–7.

November Meeting, 1937

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Friday, November 12, 1937, at 3 P.M., President HART in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa, O. E. Klingaman, Curator, two manuscripts: a return of men recruited for the Continental Army by Captain Lieutenant Thomas Thompson, 1777; and the muster roll of the Seventh Company, Second Massachusetts Regiment, by Captain James Means, July 31, 1783.

By purchase: William Hooke, *New-Englands Sence, of Old-England and Irelands Sorrowes* (London, 1645), one of the earliest Massachusetts Fast Day Sermons, probably preached on April 14, 1642; and Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England* (London, 1676).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from WILLIAM AUGUSTUS JEFFRIES accepting election to Resident Membership.

Mr. ROBERT L. O'BRIEN read a paper entitled "Two Presidential Fishing Trips Contrasted."

December Meeting, 1937

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 9, 1937, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair. The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From T. Jefferson Coolidge, three volumes of the Acts of the Virginia Assembly, 1764–1765, 1770–1772, at least two of which were Thomas Jefferson's copies; and a collection of Jefferson manuscripts, part of which relate to his business affairs, the remainder consisting mainly of his letters to and from his daughter, Martha Jefferson Randolph, and her husband; and a collection of over two hundred of Jefferson's architectural drawings.

From George v. L. Meyer of Hamilton, on deposit, the papers of his father, the late Honorable George v. L. Meyer, Ambassador successively to Italy and Russia, Postmaster General in the Theodore Roosevelt administration, and Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration.

From Matt B. Jones, two War of 1812 broadsides: one containing a report, June 11, 1812, of a committee appointed by the town of Boston "to take into consideration the present alarming state of our public affairs and report what measures in their opinion it is proper for the town to adopt at this momentous crisis"; the other containing resolutions against the war adopted by the town of Newbury, Massachusetts, June 29, 1812.

By purchase: forty-one issues of the *Boston Gazette* for the years 1731–1732, including twenty-four that are unique; Joseph Bartlett, *Narrative of his Captivity among the French and Indians* (1807); *An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg in June and July, 1758* (London, 1758); and Sir William Pepperrell, *An Accurate and Authentic Account of the Taking of Cape Breton in 1745* (2nd ed., London, 1758).

The chair announced the death of WILBERFORCE EAMES, a Corresponding Member, on December 6, 1937.

The Reverend SAMUEL A. ELIOT read a paper entitled "From Scalping Knife to Can Opener."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 107–125.

January Meeting, 1938

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 13, 1938, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Winthrop Sargent, Jr., of Philadelphia, a letter from Colonel Winthrop Sargent to Dudley Woodbridge of Marietta, January 3, 1792.

From Matt B. Jones, a signed statement by Enoch Bartlet, merchant of Haverhill, September 9, 1774, professing his loyalty to the American cause; and an Increase Mather manuscript, the first page containing a statement of the "matters objected against Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Joseph Dudley . . . [*et al*] as occasions of their imprisonment in New England," the third page containing a memorandum in Mather's hand giving an account of the hearing on these charges before the Lords of the Committee on Trade and Plantations, April 17, 1690. Along with the latter manuscript there is another, written in a contemporary hand, containing the records of the proceedings of the King in Council in this case.

From Mary C. Wheelwright, copies of extracts from the letter books of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, the diary of Samuel Cabot, and reminiscences of Sarah Cabot Wheelwright.

By purchase: Thomas Parker, *The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel Expounded* (London, 1646).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Artemas Ward, Jr., a copy by Albert Rosenthal of the Charles Willson Peale portrait of General Artemas Ward.

The Society elected Leverett Saltonstall of Newton and Thomas Jefferson Coolidge of Brookline to Resident Membership; and John Stewart Bryan of Richmond, Virginia, and Julian Parks Boyd of Philadelphia to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. FRANK W. GRINNELL read a paper entitled "'Hell' and the Law—With Some Account of the 'Bloody Jeffreys,' the 'Scottish Jeffreys,' and Their Influence on Legal History."[1]

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[1] Printed in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXXI (September–October, 1940), 259–269.

February Meeting, 1938

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 10, 1938, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair. The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

By purchase: a broadside proclamation of Colonels Nicholson and Vetch, Boston, May 9, 1709, offering encouragements to those enlisting in the expedition against Port Royal; and *Considerations Humbly Offered to the Parliament* (London, 1689 or 1690), one of the so-called Andros tracts, containing an argument against the restoration of the Massachusetts charter.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from LEVERETT SALTONSTALL accepting Resident Membership; and letters from JOHN STEWART BRYAN and JULIAN PARKS BOYD accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of FRANCIS RUSSELL HART, a Resident Member and thirteenth president of the Society, on January 18, 1938.

The chair read the following resolutions submitted by the Council on the death of President HART:

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART

RESOLVED: That this Society herewith express its sense of sorrow at the loss it has sustained in the death of its late President, Francis Russell Hart. Elected a Resident Member in 1920, he served three terms as Member-at-Large of the Council beginning in 1922, became Recording Secretary in 1930, Corresponding Secretary in 1932, and President on April 8, 1937—the thirteenth man to hold that office, and the next in succession to William Crowninshield Endicott. His industry and enterprise during the unfortunately brief period of his presidency by no means represent his continual contributions to the advancement of the Society, for he carried over from commerce to scholarship both the good judgment and the even temper which rendered his services here invaluable.

Born in New Bedford, the home of generations of his ancestors, he was graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with the Class of 1889, and immediately began his career in the West Indies and South America. Returning to Boston, he soon won that reputation for sagacious success which made him for many years one of the leading financial executives of New England. In the meantime, three volumes of historical studies dealing with the region of the Caribbean gained further recognition for him not only at home, but abroad.

His colleagues will long remember the tact, the courtesy, and the charm which made him the kindest of companions, the wisest of associates, and the best of friends.

Resolved: That a copy of this minute be sent to Mrs. Hart.

The Society unanimously adopted these resolutions.

The chair reported a vote of the Council authorizing Vice-President LEFAVOUR to appoint a committee of seven to present to the Council a nomination for the office of president.

The Society elected William Allan Neilson of Northampton a Resident Member and Reginald Coupland of Oxford, England, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. JOSEPH WARREN read a paper entitled "Trusts for Accumulation of Income: The Wills of Benjamin Franklin and Peter Thellusson."[1]

Mr. WOLKINS read a letter from Professor John W. Webster to the latter's sister written on the day following Webster's conviction of the murder of Dr. George Parkman.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD read a tribute to FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.[2]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 346–356.

[2] Printed in this volume, 427–433.

March Meeting, 1938

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 10, 1938, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Matt B. Jones, *Report of the Lords Committees Appointed by the House of Lords to Enquire into the Several Proceedings in the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay* (London, 1774).

From Mrs. William W. Francis and John I. Coddington, a manuscript containing articles communicated to Jeremy Belknap for his *History of New Hampshire.*

From John I. Coddington, a leaf of manuscript in the handwriting of Michael Wigglesworth.

From Winthrop Sargent, Jr., a letter from Judith Sargent Murray to her brother Winthrop Sargent, August 30, 1802.

From the estate of Francis Russell Hart, Mr. Hart's collection of books relating to the Caribbean and South America.

By purchase: a broadside, *Epitaphs to the Memory of Thomas Hutchinson and Alexander Wedderburne* (Philadelphia, 1774).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE and WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON accepting Resident Membership; and a letter from REGINALD COUPLAND accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of JOHN OSBORNE SUMNER, a Resident Member, on February 20, 1938, and that of CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, a Resident Member, on February 27, 1938.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: BLISS PERRY, *Chairman*; FITZ-HENRY SMITH, Jr., and MILTON E. LORD.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman*, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

The chair reported that the Council had elected HENRY LEFAVOUR President of the Society.

Mr. WILLIAM L. LANGER spoke on "Current History in Europe."

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1938

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 14, 1938, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Horace H. Morse, a broadside advertisement of the Proprietors of the Kennebeck Purchase, May 9, 1759.

The Society elected Albert Francis Bigelow of Brookline, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Cambridge, and Charles Milton Davenport of Boston to Resident Membership; and Charles Seymour of New Haven to Corresponding Membership.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. PERRY read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

SINCE the Annual Meeting in 1937 the Society has lost by death seven Resident Members: Dr. John Woodford Farlow, Chester Noyes Greenough, Francis Russell Hart, Charles Homer Haskins, Edwin Doak Mead, the Reverend Carroll Perry, and John Osborne Sumner; and two Corresponding Members: Wilberforce Eames and John Franklin Jameson. Six Resident Members and four Corresponding Members have been added to the Society, and the election of today will add three Resident Members and one Corresponding Member more. Within the past year the Society elected its thirteenth president, who unfortunately was destined to hold that office for only nine months; and had to proceed to the election of the fourteenth president, Henry Lefavour, to whom the members offer their good wishes today.

Any detailed report of the activities of the Society during the last year would involve a repetition of matters of routine: the constant calls on the time and attention of the staff by visitors from near and far; the business of making the collections in the library and cabinet of the Society available and valuable to those desiring to use them. Much of the work of both the Librarian and the Editor it would be tedious to describe in detail.

The general interest of the members in the monthly meetings remains about constant. The average attendance for the last eight meetings was just under thirty, which is not bad and not good. The smallest attendance was that of the January meeting, twenty-one, and the largest that of the February meeting, thirty-seven.

The Council feels that it is time to warn the members that the building the Society has occupied for the past thirty-nine years is going to grow old. During the past year the Council has had to appropriate money to repair the iron balconies at the windows of the second floor and only recently contracted for the painting of the trim and shutters. Before long the stonework of the building must be pointed. Although all this work will probably have cost less than one thousand dollars by the time it is completed, it is not easy to take even that small sum from the limited income of the Society. The making over of the system by which the building is now heated and ventilated is inevitable but impossible at present.

At the request of the late President Hart, the Treasurer and the Editor have undertaken a thorough study of the Society's endowments. No complete description of them has been published since May, 1910. The purpose of the study now under way is to prepare a report to be sent to members, listing the endowment funds under three groups: money restricted both as to capital and income; money restricted only as to income; gifts restricted as to neither capital nor income.

During the past year the Society has published the second volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates*, prepared by Mr. Clifford K. Shipton. The sixteenth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives* has been issued. The Editor had hoped to have the General Index of *Proceedings*, XLI–LX, prepared by David M. Matteson, in the hands of members by this time, but work on the index has been slowed up for reasons reported fully to the Committee of Publication. The index is still in galleys and cannot go into pages so promptly as might be desired. All the time expended on this index has had to be taken from other work. The seventeenth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives* will not appear until January, 1939.

At its meeting on April 5 the Committee of Publication recommended to the Council that the Editor be authorized to publish two volumes of *Collections*: the papers of John D. Long, edited by

Dr. Gardner W. Allen, and the narratives and other documents relating to the voyages of the *Columbia*.

The Council, and in particular the Editor, wishes to thank those members who have taken care of the programs for the monthly meetings. It is hoped that all the active members will keep in mind the fact that offers to read papers are always welcome and that they who volunteer their services diminish by so much the anxieties of the Committee on Meetings. The whole responsibility of the Society rests, it must be recalled, on one third of its Resident Membership.

Bliss Perry
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE Society's fiscal year had a few features that were encouraging. Royalties added to the Adams Fund amounting to $257.30, the legacy of Clarence Bloomfield Moore, $2,500, a payment of $2,500 on account of the Albert H. Whitin bequest, and the handsome bequest of our late associate Grenville H. Norcross, $50,000 unrestricted and $1,000 to accompany the gift of his collection of autographs, are of material help, and, together with income that is added to principal in the Lodge Fund, the Anonymous Centenary Fund, the Building Annex Fund, and the John L. Sibley Fund, make the additions to capital amount to $62,654.73. The funds principal balance is now $901,232.73.

Owing largely to these accretions, the Society's income from investments amounted to $40,101.46, comparing with $35,127.76 the year previous. The yield from investments was 4.12%, but because the investment reserve, now amounting to $48,884.46, and a large share of accumulated income do not participate in the income return, the income credited to the several capital funds was at the rate of 4.43%, a rate that compares with 4.33% a year ago.

Net charges to expense were $33,688.31, an amount $2,202.05 greater than for 1936–1937. The Society's General Account now shows a deficit of $29,278.48, the amount of $16,109.80 having been added during the year recently ended. The Photostat Account is $920.13 in arrears, but this will be overcome when money is received for orders in process and for work completed but not paid for. Through the sale of volumes of *Proceedings* and *Collections* the Publications Account shows a surplus of $444.22.

There is pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of special gifts of $100 from T. Hovey Gage for general purposes, $100 from Stephen W. Phillips for rare books and manuscripts, and $10 from the John Barnard Associates for the reconditioning and care of the John Barnard Journal. Allyn B. Forbes, Stewart Mitchell, and Matt B. Jones contributed sums toward the much-needed binding of books. The Library Duplicate Fund now amounts to $2,510.40. Generous sums have continued to come from one of the Society's devoted members to defray most of the cost of rebinding, cleaning, and repairing rare pieces of printed Americana.

Of the Society's investments $405,641.47 are in bonds, $171,471.15 in preferred stocks, and $351,620.27 in common stocks, expressed in book value, or, respectively, 44.9% in bonds, 19% in preferred stocks, and 36.1% in common stocks. On March 31, 1938, a day of low quotations, the market value of the Society's bonds was estimated at 86.4% of book value, the bid value of the preferred shares it owns was 69.8% of book value, and its common stocks had sunk in value to 60.1%. Taken together, the index on March 31, 1938, was 72.5, comparing with 100.38 on March 31, 1937, and with 65.1 in 1932.

The Treasurer desires to express his appreciation of the consideration shown by members of the Society, its officers, and by the committees that are immediately concerned with the activities of the Society.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET

March 31, 1938

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$248.62	
Petty Cash	200.00	$448.62
Investments:		
Bonds	$405,641.47	
Stocks	523,091.42	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,664.05	930,396.94
Real Estate		97,990.32
Gain and Loss		237.56
Photostat		920.13
Accounts Receivable		1,138.11
General Account		29,278.48
Five Year Income Fund		39.59
		$1,060,499.75

LIABILITIES:

Funds:	
Principal (Ellis House Fund not included)	$876,232.73
Income	20,897.62
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street	25,000.00
Building Account	72,990.32
Capital Reserve	48,884.46
Notes Payable, State Street Trust Co.	11,000.00
Publications Account	444.22
T. Hovey Gage Gift	100.00
Stephen W. Phillips Gift	100.00
John Barnard Associates Gift	10.00
Proceedings, 65: Special Fund	2,280.00
Library Duplicate Fund	2,510.40
	$1,060,449.75

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

As of March 31, 1938

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

	Book Value	*Income 1937–38*
MUNICIPAL:		
City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 1951	$6,928.46	$240.00
City of Baltimore, Md., Paving Loan, reg. 4's, 1951	4,742.87	160.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1955	3,094.75	105.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1956	7,213.16	245.00
City of Detroit, Mich., Street Railway, 4¼'s, 1957	11,092.50	425.00
New York City Corporation Stock, 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan, 4's, 1954	11,270.00	400.00
	$53,441.74	$2,025.00
RAILROAD:		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948	$10,763.64	$450.00
Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5's, 1938	10,000.00	500.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4½'s, 1944	6,000.00	270.00
Canadian National Railway Co. 5's, 1970	11,939.40	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,214.29	450.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949	10,100.00	
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$118,542.33	$3,870.00
UTILITY:		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 4½'s, 1939		$452.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1939	$9,975.00	500.00
Brooklyn Union Gas Co. 5's, 1945	11,115.00	250.00
Carried forward	$21,090.00	$1,202.50

Brought forward	$21,090.00	$1,202.50
Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 4½'s, 1951	10,045.00	450.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,140.00	300.00
Utica Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1957	12,270.00	
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	16,243.75	650.00
	$83,838.75	$3,502.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940	$9,919.44	$500.00
Pierre Lorillard Co. 5's, 1951	11,950.00	500.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1944	6,583.00	300.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1947	15,489.00	700.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1949	5,595.84	250.00
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. 4's, 1946	10,211.12	400.00
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	11,080.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California, "A" 6's, 1942	11,481.25	600.00
United Stock Yards Corporation "A" 4¼'s, 1951	9,800.00	425.00
Warren Bros. Co. 5½'s, 1937	9,975.00	
	$102,084.65	$4,175.00
FOREIGN:		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942	$9,502.50	$600.00
Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969	12,005.00	500.00
Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	10,892.00	450.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	15,334.50	900.00
	$47,734.00	$2,450.00
Totals, Bonds	$405,641.47[1]	$16,022.50

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

RAILROAD:	*Book Value*	*Income 1937–38*
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	$15,800.00	$790.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	20.00
	$27,570.10	$810.00
UTILITY:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	$880.00	$50.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	450.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	1,250.00
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co. $5	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.50
	$71,215.00	$4,512.50
Carried forward	$98,785.10	$5,322.50

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[1] The market value was $350,087.50.

Brought forward	$98,785.10	$5,322.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
75 American Smelting & Refining Co.	$7,800.00	$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
200 Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards	21,800.00	1,200.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
100 United States Steel Corp'n	13,748.80	1,235.00
	$72,686.05	$4,820.00
Totals, Preferred Stocks	$171,471.15[1]	$10,142.50

COMMON STOCKS

RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$7,315.00	$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	255.00
300 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	14,520.77	1,054.20
25 Old Colony Railroad Co. Certificates of Deposit	4,200.00	
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
	$77,670.15	$1,615.45
UTILITY:		
300 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$38,869.25	$2,497.50
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	200.00
50 Detroit Edison Co.	5,156.58	204.00
60 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	360.00
197 Western Massachusetts Co's	12,483.75	394.00
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	60.00
	$73,209.58	$3,715.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
1,000 General Electric Co.	$19,480.48	$2,152.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	200.00
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	137.50
300 United Fruit Co.	13,833.81	1,144.50
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	200.00
	$75,983.04	$3,834.00
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$11,775.00	$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	120.00
125 Boston Wharf Co.	13,800.00	250.00
5 State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	475.00
	$51,075.00	$1,045.00
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
20 Boston Insurance Co.	$6,600.00	$420.00
10 First National Bank of the City of New York	22,250.00	750.00
Carried forward	$28,850.00	$1,170.00

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[1] The market value was $111,867.75.

Brought forward	$28,850.00	$1,170.00
20 Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	7,000.00	240.00
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,275.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	$73,682.50	$3,485.00
Total Common Stocks	$351,620.27[1]	$13,694.95
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	$523,091.42[2]	$23,837.45
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		$39,859.95

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended March 31, 1938

RECEIPTS:

Income from securities:			
Bonds		$16,022.50	
Stocks, preferred	$10,142.50		
common	13,694.95	23,837.45	$39,859.95
Subscriptions to *Proceedings*, 65: Special Fund			305.00
Sale of duplicates, credited to Library Duplicate Fund			390.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			257.30
Clarence B. Moore legacy			2,500.00
Income of Clarence B. Moore legacy, prior to receipt			30.41
Grenville H. Norcross legacy, No. 2 Fund			50,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross legacy, clause 4, MSS Fund			1,000.00
Albert H. Whitin legacy, part			2,500.00
Interest on Albert H. Whitin legacy "from the date when the other preferred claims were paid"			150.00
T. Hovey Gage gift for "general expenses"			100.00
Stephen W. Phillips gift for "rare books and MSS"			100.00
John Barnard Associates gift for care of John Barnard Journal			10.00
American Telephone and Telegraph Co. 4½'s, 7.1.'39, called			10,000.00
Proceeds of c.o.d. for $2,000 Grand Rapids, Grand Haven & Muskegon Railway Co. 5's, 7.1.'26, principal having been written off as of Mar. 23, 1929			762.44
Proceeds of loans from State Street Trust Co.			8,500.00
Receivables collected			985.65
			$117,450.75
Cash on hand, March 31, 1937			965.70
			$118,416.45

DISBURSEMENTS:

Net Operating Expenses:		
Other than "Photostat" and "Publications"	$31,221.94	
Photostat	1,705.92	
Publications	8,281.54	$41,209.40
Carried forward		$41,209.40

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[1] The market value was $211,146.00.

[2] The market value was $323,013.75.

Brought forward		$41,209.40
Securities bought:		
Bonds	35,772.50	
Stocks	38,032.25	73,804.75
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Co.		2,500.00
Interest accrued on bonds bought		364.57
Interest on money borrowed		289.11
		$118,167.83
Cash on hand, March 31, 1938		248.62
		$118,416.45

NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

For the Year Ended March 31, 1938

Bindery	$1,296.68
Building	5,589.99
Cabinet	12.50
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant	7,980.00
Engrossing	89.50
Fares	5.25
Library	14,956.25
Meetings	139.39
Postage	205.76
Subscriptions	2.00
Treasurer	952.62
Net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"	$31,221.94

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

March 31, 1938

Cash sales, sundry volumes	$579.33	
Less debit balance, March 31, 1937	64.80	$514.53
Publications, sundry, for resale	$57.81	
Sundry items	12.50	
Subtract sundry debits		70.31
		$444.22

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

March 31, 1938

Cash outlay	$4,360.52
Cash sales	2,654.60
Net cash outlay	$1,705.92
Transfers to sundry operating accounts	634.00
	$1,071.92
Subtract surplus, March 31, 1937	151.79
Deficit in Photostat Account, March 31, 1938	$920.13

GENERAL ACCOUNT

DEBITS

March 31, 1938,	To sundry charges and payments, not chargeable to restricted funds income	$27,261.93

CREDITS

March 31, 1938,	By sundry funds income, unrestricted		11,152.13
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, Apr. 1, 1937 to Mar. 31, 1938		$16,109.80
	Balance from previous year		13,168.68
	Deficit in General Account		$29,278.48

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

March 31, 1938

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1937	*Funds Income*	*Charges to Income*	*Income Balances Mar. 31, 1938*	*Funds Principal*
Adams		$1,956.40	$1,956.40		$44,411.06
Amory		132.92	132.92		3,000.00
Appleton	$378.36	540.70	824.50	$94.56	12,203.00
F. Bancroft		44.31	44.31		1,000.00
Bigelow		88.62	88.62		2,000.00
Billings	−.23	443.09	689.66	−246.80	10,000.00
Boit	4,311.25	221.54	5.25	4,527.54	5,000.00
Brattle Street	132.91	5.25		138.16	100.00
Chamberlain		54.60	54.60		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		2,215.45	2,215.45		50,000.00
Dowse		443.09	443.09		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	5,671.97	1,107.77	1,872.01	4,907.73	25,000.00
Ellis	−34.54	1,403.11	1,547.57	−179.00	31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		221.54	221.54		5,000.00
Frothingham		132.92	132.92		3,000.00
General	−2,502.97	2,570.51	67.54		58,013.66
Hunnewell	−2,122.80	443.09	1,649.00	−3,328.71	10,000.00
Lawrence	130.07	132.92		262.99	3,000.00
Lodge		199.28	199.28		5,671.92
Lowell		132.92	132.92		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		88.62		88.62	2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	433.56	443.09	876.65		10,000.00
Clarence B. Moore		30.41	30.41		2,500.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 1)	−1,215.26	443.09	787.94	−1,560.11	10,000.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 2)		1,409.80	1,409.80		50,000.00
Norcross MSS.					869.82
Parker	390.92	34.97		425.89	1,000.00
Peabody	1,966.77	980.25		2,947.02	22,123.00
Salisbury		221.54	221.54		5,000.00
Savage	−531.75	265.85	258.66	−524.56	6,000.00
Schouler	123.56	126.28		249.84	2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		221.54	221.54		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		997.37	997.37		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	−2,873.36	8,337.48	10,005.82	−4,541.70	253,668.85
Slafter	67.10	44.31	5.00	106.41	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		664.63	664.63		15,000.00
Malcolm Storer	86.72	88.62		175.34	2,000.00
Warren		44.31	44.31		1,000.00
Washburn		110.78	110.78		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	4,011.60	221.54	33.80	4,199.34	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	3,140.45	443.09	616.41	2,967.13	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,602.43	443.09	1,261.05	2,784.47	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−1,646.59	171.70		−1,474.89	3,875.14
Albert H. Whitin		150.00	150.00		2,500.00
Frederic Winthrop	4,471.19	1,107.77		5,578.96	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	2,393.29	664.63		3,057.92	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		531.71	531.71		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	102.52	104.78	207.30		2,364.66
William Winthrop	216.78	221.54	196.85	241.47	5,000.00
	$20,703.95	$31,102.82	$30,909.15	$20,897.62	$814,059.58
Anonymous Centenary		866.74[1]			20,427.95
Building Annex		2,831.88[1]			66,745.20
Lodge		49.83[1]			
J. L. Sibley		2,779.16[1]			
Total Funds Income		$37,630.43			
Total Funds Principal					$901,232.73

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[1] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE Committee under appointment to examine the accounts of the Treasurer employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

HERMANN F. CLARKE
AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.
Committee

April 14, 1938

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 14, 1938

Messrs. Hermann F. Clarke and Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Examining Committee

GENTLEMEN: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1938.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING, *Auditor*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

IT would be as much of a pleasure to me as it would be a shock to the Society if I were able to announce at this Annual Meeting that the library had ended a year in which there had been available more of anything than could be used. There have been no traceable superfluities, but I shall for a change refrain from groaning in public and hope instead that I can give the impression that we do well with what we have.

The library has been used more extensively than in any recent year, the total number of visitors amounting to twenty-one hundred. Their quests, as always, have ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous, but it can be said without hesitation that no one leaves the building without the feeling that every attempt has been made to find the answers for his problems.

Two changes in the staff are noted with regret. Mrs. A. C. Koch, Jr., Secretary to the Librarian for three and a half years, has found it necessary to resign as has Mrs. G. P. Baker, who for three years has been engaged in sorting out the library's duplicate books and pamphlets. The temporary interruption in this latter work has resulted in a dwindling of new funds for the purchase of rare books. It has also delayed the breaking up of the hundreds of miscellaneous tract volumes still awaiting attention.

A year ago, as an efficiency measure, the manuscripts were reshelved. This year something similar has been done with our early Americana. Now, for the first time, our most valuable printed material is behind glass—the best protection we can afford it until such time as we can pay for a proper air-conditioning system. For the first time, too, it is possible to get at a glance some notion of the impressive extent of our collections in this field. Two valuable beginnings have been made in connection with the cataloguing of printed material: catalogues of our Americana by imprint and by date, indispensable tools for the kind of bibliographical work that is expected of a library like this. The manuscript catalogue continues to expand, some twenty thousand pieces having been catalogued during the past year. In such ways is the library doing its best to perform the services for which it exists.

Accessions for the past year, other than manuscripts, are as follows:

Books	1224
Periodicals	653
Pamphlets	502
Broadsides	186
Maps	113
Newspapers	264
Miscellaneous	21
	2963

Of these items, 116 fall within the categories of Boston printing before 1825 and Massachusetts printing before 1801, our two special fields of collection. In three years we have acquired 1,137 such titles.

Included among these acquisitions are some of more than passing interest. Two are among the earliest Massachusetts Fast Day Sermons whose text has survived: *New Englands Teares, for Old Englands Feares*, preached in Taunton, July 23, 1640, and published in London in 1641; and *New-Englands Sence, of Old-England and Irelands Sorrowes*, preached on April 14, 1642, "a day of generall Humiliation . . . in the behalfe of *Old-England* and *Irelands* Sad condition," and published in London in 1645. Both are by William Hooke, cousin of Cromwell and brother-in-law of Whalley, the regicide, first minister of Taunton, and subsequently successor to Samuel Eaton in the church at New Haven.

For the early history of Massachusetts the most important acquisition has been the first edition of Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England* (London, 1642). This book by the first professional lawyer in the colony can still be profitably consulted for information concerning ecclesiastical and civil institutions and customs at the end of the first decade.

Lechford, like anyone else who might have been writing on the New England of his day, also threw in a chapter on the Indians. Interest in that subject remained, quite naturally, enormous in both Old and New England long after Lechford's time, and the literature to which it gave rise is considerable in extent. It was in the main written from two sharply contrasting points of view, one side stressing the need for converting the natives, the other, by strong implication at least, urging the desirability of getting rid of them. We have added to our examples of the literature of Indian missions the fifth of the so-called Eliot Indian tracts, *The Light Appearing More and More towards the Perfect Day* (London, 1651), edited and published by Henry Whitfield, one-time minister of Guilford, Connecticut. It contains Thomas Mayhew's account of his work on Martha's Vineyard and five letters from John Eliot.

It should not cause surprise that it is among these missionary enthusiasts that one finds proponents of the curious theory that the American Indians are descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel. Eliot's early speculations along this line are contained in one of the letters in the pamphlet just mentioned. His friend in England, Thomas Thorowgood, was at the same time going into the matter more exhaustively, and in 1650 published the first of his two works on the subject, *Jewes in America, Or, Probabilities That the Americans Are of That Race*. Critics of his position were answered ten years later in *Jews in America, or Probabilities That Those Indians Are Judaical Made More Probable*. Included in the second pamphlet are "the learned Conjectures" of John Eliot on the subject. Both titles have been acquired during the past year. To keep something of a balance between idealism and realism in this matter, we have also secured a copy of the London, 1676, edition of Increase Mather's history of

King Philip's War, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England.*

There are other topics in the early history of Massachusetts which are of perennial interest to both student and collector. One of these is the Andros régime. The library has recently acquired one of the less known so-called Andros tracts, *Considerations Humbly Offered to the Parliament* (London, 1689?). The authorship of this anti-Massachusetts piece has not been determined. The occasion for it was the inclusion in the proposed Corporation Bill, securing a general restoration of charters, of a provision for the restoration of the old Massachusetts charter. The argument, briefly stated, was that the plantation charters were "seized for the abuse of their Power, in destroying not only the Woollen and other Manufactures, but also the very Laws and Navigation of England, and making themselves as it were Independant to this Crown." Ours is one of two copies located in this country.

Those who find the political and constitutional chapters of Massachusetts history uninteresting must surely warm up to the epic of Anglo-French rivalry for the control of this continent. We have secured a copy of one of the earliest and rarest pieces which tell the story of this province's part in that prolonged contest: Major Thomas Savage's *Account of the Late Action of the New-Englanders under the Command of Sir William Phips, against the French at Canada* (London, 1691).

All the items just described have been procured through funds made available by the sale of duplicates, a policy pursued with great advantage to the library for the past four years. Since my last report the library has been further enriched by two notable bequests from former members. The first of these is the autograph collection of the late Grenville H. Norcross, containing upwards of four thousand pieces. Mr. Norcross' pleasant custom over a period of years of communicating at our meetings the text of many of his manuscripts makes it unnecessary to insert illustrative quotations in this report. The greater part of the collection relates to American figures, and it is especially fine in certain categories in which Mr. Norcross was particularly interested: presidents and chief justices of the United States, governors, chief justices, and senators of Massachusetts, presidents of Harvard College. But there is hardly a name of importance in American history, particularly in the national period, that is not represented. The collection also includes a sturdy delegation of English sovereigns, prime ministers, statesmen, and literary figures, while France is similarly represented on a smaller scale. I cannot refrain, in passing, from commenting on what happens to the scale of values of such a collection as this when it takes its place as part of a manuscript collection as large as ours is. A Washington document, for instance, may pale noticeably when placed alongside two hundred or more of his letters previously in the library; while a letter from one of far humbler station may, because of its comment on people and events, bloom with an unexpected radiance.

The second bequest, numbering upwards of one thousand items, including books, manuscripts, maps, and prints, is the collection assembled by our former president, Mr. Hart, relating to the history and settlement of the West Indies and Central and South America. A considerable portion of his library is composed of secondary works, some of which—as is also true of some of the rarer items—deal with regions in which colonial New England had little or no interest. There is much, however, relating to the West Indies, with which New England's connections, from an early period in its history, were close and vital to its prosperity. With these important accessions I am sure that a thorough history of the relations between Massachusetts and the West Indies can be written right here in this library.

I have saved until the last what is to me the happiest augury of all: a check from a member for one hundred dollars appearing without warning some months ago in the morning's mail with the stipulation that it should be used for the purchase of some rarity suitable for our collections. Perhaps it would be putting things too strongly to cite this as a case of conversion, but I should like to think it highly contagious. When new friends are added to old friends, and to both is added the loyalty of our staff, there can be no serious doubts as to the future.

Allyn B. Forbes
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

THE additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings* and call for no additional comment at this time.

Henry W. Foote
Cabinet-Keeper

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
Henry Lefavour

Vice-Presidents
Roger Bigelow Merriman
Joseph Warren

Recording Secretary
Frank Washburn Grinnell

Corresponding Secretary
Matt Bushnell Jones

Treasurer
George Gregerson Wolkins

Cabinet-Keeper
Henry Wilder Foote

Members-at-Large of the Council
George Edward Cabot
Roger Wolcott
Stephen Willard Phillips
James Melville Hunnewell
Clarence Saunders Brigham

Mr. James D. Phillips read a paper entitled "Deacon Stephen Phillips and Marblehead before the Revolution."[1]

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[1] Printed as "The Stephen Phillipses," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIV (October, 1938), 305–336.

May Meeting, 1938

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 12, 1938, at 3 p.m., President Lefavour in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Heyliger de Windt of Winnetka, Illinois, a group of manuscripts including the following: Washington's certificate as to the length and quality of Lieutenant Colonel William Stephens Smith's war record, June 24, 1782; a letter of recommendation of Smith, July 18, 1782, from Robert R. Livingston, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs; letters to Smith from Jefferson, 1786–1787; letters to Smith from Lafayette, 1785–1787; letters from John Adams to William Steuben Smith (1815) and J. P. de Wint (1820); letters from John Quincy Adams to his brother, Thomas B. Adams, to his son, George Washington Adams, to William Stephens Smith, and others, 1803–1841; letters from Abigail Adams to William Stephens Smith, Abigail Adams Smith, and William Steuben Smith, 1786–1816.

From Alice Kane of Boston, a letter of John W. Dempsey written on board the U.S.S. *Kearsarge* while in the port of Brest, December 14, 1863.

From Mrs. Robert G. Mead of New York, pamphlets relating to various of the early Boston fire societies, including the Franklin Fire Society, the Alert Eagle Fire Society, and the New Century Fire Society.

From Mrs. Francis R. Hart, a group of manuscripts relating to the South Sea Bubble.

By purchase: Cotton Mather, *Light in Darkness* (Boston, 1724); and a group of Harvard broadsides, 1730–1801.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Bausch & Lomb Optical Company of Rochester, New York, their medal commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Franklin's invention of the bifocal lens in 1784; and the Honorary Science Award Medal presented in leading high schools to graduating students with highest scholastic standing in scientific subjects.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Albert Francis Bigelow, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and Charles Milton Davenport accepting Resident Membership; and one from Charles Seymour accepting Corresponding Membership.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: Charles F. Adams, *Chairman*; Allan Forbes and George E. Cabot.

House: George E. Cabot, *Chairman*; John Woodbury and Hermann F. Clarke.

Library: Matt B. Jones, *Chairman*; Stephen W. Phillips and James M. Hunnewell.

Meetings: M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Allen French and Joseph Warren.

Photostat: George G. Wolkins, *Chairman*; Clarence S. Brigham, Stewart Mitchell, and Allyn B. Forbes.

Publication: Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Chairman*; Clarence S. Brigham, Lawrence S. Mayo, George G. Wolkins, and Stewart Mitchell.

Mr. Allyn B. Forbes read excerpts from the Abigail Adams letters presented to the Society by Mr. Heyliger de Windt.[1]

Mr. Grinnell read a memoir of George Read Nutter.[2]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 126–153.

[2] Printed as "George Read Nutter: An Appreciation," *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*, Preliminary Supplement to xxiv (January–March, 1939), ix–xiii.

October Meeting, 1938

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 13, 1938, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Agnes and Gertrude Brooks, diaries of William Gray Brooks of Boston, father of Phillips Brooks.

From Mrs. S. M. Codman, the militia commission of William Munroe, 1784, signed by John Hancock.

From Mrs. William C. Endicott, a collection of Endecott manuscripts, including three letters of Governor John Endecott, three documents with his signature, one of them having also a fragment of the colony seal, and a deed from Zerubbabel Endecott to Jonathan Wolcott.

By exchange of duplicates with the Henry E. Huntington Library, Philip Durell, *A Particular Account of the Taking Cape Breton from the French, by Admiral Warren, and Sir William Pepperell, the 17th of June, 1745* (London, 1745).

From Matt B. Jones, a broadside Resolve of the Massachusetts General Court, February 5, 1777, relating to the procuring of certain supplies for the army; Daniel C. Saunders, *History of the Indian Wars, Particularly in New England* (Montpelier, 1812); a group of letters from Chauncey Smith, who in 1863 held a confidential position in the War Department at Washington, to his wife, touching on various aspects of the politics of that period.

From Stephen W. Phillips, the diary of Josiah Cotton of Plymouth, 1726–1756.

From the San Diego Historical Society, letters written to Dr. A. Judson Grey, Pierce Academy, Middleboro, Massachusetts, 1851–1882.

From Chauncey Stillman, letters from James Savage to Sylvester Judd, 1846–1858.

From Grenville L. Winthrop, a letter of John Wilkes Booth, March 26, 1864, and four Lincoln items, including a program of Ford's Theater, Washington, April 14, 1865, and a War Department broadside, April 20, 1865, offering a reward for the capture of Booth, Suratt, and Harold.

By purchase: Samuel Brakenbury, *Almanack* (Cambridge, 1667), Samuel Sewall's copy, and one of three known to be in existence; *Tydings from Rome* (Cambridge, 1668); John Davenport, *Gods Call to His People* (Cambridge, 1669); Cotton Mather, *Late Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions* (London, 1691); Joseph Sewall, autograph manuscript notes on four sermons by Ebenezer Pemberton and three by Samuel Willard, 1705; *A Verse, Occasioned by Seeing the North-Spinning, in Bo[s]ton* (Boston, 1769),[1] an unrecorded broadside, part of the propaganda of the nonimportation movement.

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[1] See below, 524–525.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Committee on Medals of the New Haven Tercentenary, a medal struck in celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of New Haven, 1938.

The chair announced the death of ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, a Resident Member, on June 12, 1938; that of THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, a Resident Member, on July 17, 1938; that of GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, a Corresponding Member, on June 27, 1938; and that of HENRY PERCEVAL BIGGAR, a Corresponding Member, on July 26, 1938.

Mr. CLAUDE M. FUESS read a paper entitled "An American's Impressions of English Public Schools."

November Meeting, 1938

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 10, 1938, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Robert F. Seybolt, five manuscripts (1731–1758) relating to Hugh Vans of Boston.

From Robert E. Spiller of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, *Esther*, by Henry Adams, published in 1884 in the American Novel Series under the name of Frances Snow Compton.

By purchase: William Carter, *A Genuine Detail of the Several Engagements, Positions, and Movements of the Royal and American Armies, during the Years 1775 and 1776; with an Accurate Account of the Blockade of Boston, and a Plan of the Works on Bunker's Hill* (London, 1784).

The Society elected to Resident Membership the Honorable Fred Tarbell Field of Newton and Keyes DeWitt Metcalf of Cambridge.

Mr. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER read a paper entitled "The Evolution of the American."

December Meeting, 1938

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 8, 1938, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Arthur Fairbanks, a group of seventeenth-century documents relating to the Fairbanks family of Dedham.

From Mrs. Arthur Fairbanks, manuscripts of two eighteenth-century sermons preached at Byfield.

By purchase: a group of letters relating to Shays's Rebellion, including, in addition to a letter from Shays to General Lincoln, January 25, 1787, suggesting terms of settlement, letters to Governor Bowdoin from Rufus Putnam, Moses Gill, Jonathan Warner, Artemas Ward, John Brooks, John Sullivan, David Cobb, Rufus King, and Benjamin Lincoln.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Honorable FRED TARBELL FIELD and KEYES DEWITT METCALF accepting their election to Resident Membership.

The Society elected Charles Eliot Goodspeed of Shirley and Roscoe Pound of Watertown to Resident Membership; and Thomas Winthrop Streeter of Morristown, New Jersey, and Winthrop Sargent, Jr., of Philadelphia to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. GASPAR G. BACON read a paper entitled "The Conduct of Elections in England."

January Meeting, 1939

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 12, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Matt B. Jones, a copy made by Edmund Randolph, aide-de-camp to Washington, of the minutes of Washington's conference at Cambridge, October 18–22, 1775, with a committee of the Continental Congress and representatives of the New England states to consider "the most effectual method of continuing supporting and regulating a continental army."

By purchase: John Clarke, "First Lieutenant of Marines," *An Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775* (2nd ed., London, 1775).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED and ROSCOE POUND accepting Resident Membership; and from THOMAS WINTHROP STREETER and WINTHROP SARGENT, Jr., accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of WILLIAM MACDONALD, a Corresponding Member, on December 15, 1938.

Mr. M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE presented a paper entitled "Oliver Wendell Holmes: Father and Son in Wartime."[1]

The President, in the absence of Mr. Morison, read a tribute which Mr. Morison had prepared, at the request of the Council, in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the election to Resident Membership of Albert Bushnell Hart.[2] Mr. Hart responded informally to this tribute with remarks about those historians, both within and outside this Society, with whom he had been associated as a student and later as a professor of history.

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[1] Incorporated in *Holmes of the Breakfast Table* (New York and London, 1939).

[2] Printed in this volume, 434–438.

February Meeting, 1939

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 9, 1939, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Adams Memorial Society, copies of the 1895 and 1896 editions of Brooks Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay*, with extensive manuscript corrections and annotations by Henry Adams made in preparation for new editions. These volumes are to be added to the Henry Adams Library in our possession.

By purchase: John Clarke, *Ill Newes from New-England: Or a Narative of New-Englands Persecution* (London, 1652); Cotton Mather, *Frontiers Well Defended, An Essay to Direct the Frontiers of a Country Exposed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy* (Boston, 1707), one of three copies; Increase Mather, *A Sermon Concerning Obedience and Resignation to the Will of God* (Boston, 1714), one of four known copies of Mather's sermon on the death of his wife; John Rous, *New-England, A Degenerate Plant* (London, 1659), the Brinley copy.

The Society elected Donald McKay Frost of Dover to Resident Membership.

The Reverend SAMUEL A. ELIOT read a paper entitled "Being Mayor of Boston a Hundred Years Ago."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 154–173.

March Meeting, 1939

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 9, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mary R. Bangs, a collection of children's books.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, seven volumes of pamphlets relating to the Boston water supply.

By purchase: *A Poem, in Memory of the (Never To Be Forgotten) Fifth of March, 1770* (Boston, 1770), one of two known copies of a broadside not listed in any bibliography; an autograph letter from Edward Randolph to the Earl of Clarendon with regard to the writ of *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts charter, May 2, 1684; J. W., *A Letter from New-England Concerning Their Customs, Manners, and Religion* (London, 1682).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from DONALD MCKAY FROST accepting Resident Membership.

The Society elected Sir William Searle Holdsworth of Oxford, England, an Honorary Member; and St. George Leakin Sioussat of Washington, D. C., a Corresponding Member.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman*; JOSEPH WARREN and ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: HERMANN F. CLARKE, *Chairman*, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., read a paper entitled "Weathering the Panic of 1873: An Episode in Rhode Island Business History."[1]

Mr. HART described his meeting with Kate Chase Sprague at the time James Ford Rhodes and he were assembling the papers of Chief Justice Chase now in the possession of the Library of Congress.

Captain FROTHINGHAM commented briefly on the objection to making March 17 a legal holiday because it would be celebrated as St. Patrick's Day as well as Evacuation Day. He called attention to the fact that General Washington himself had linked the two together on the day the last British troops left Boston, by heading the order of the day as follows: "Head Quarters, Cambridge, March 17, 1776. Parole Boston. Countersign St. Patrick."

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[1] Printed in this volume, 270–293.

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1939

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 13, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a collection of material, chiefly manuscripts, relating to the Higginson family.

From Elizabeth G. Norton and Margaret Norton, letters from Peter Augustus Jay to Essex S. Ridley; letters from Jay and his sister to their aunt, Mrs. Matthew Ridley; and letters from Mrs. John C. Symmes to her niece, Susan Ridley.

From Winthrop Sargent, Jr., a letter from Judith Sargent Murray to Epes Sargent, Boston, February 1, 1799.

By purchase: a hitherto unrecorded broadside proclamation by Jonathan Belcher, August 25, 1739, "for preventing disorders on the Lord's Day"; Charles H. Wharton, *A Poetical Epistle, to His Excellency George Washington, Esquire, . . . to Which Is Annexed a Short Sketch* [by John Bell] *of General Washington's Life and Character* (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1782). Bell is regarded as the first to have attempted a biographical sketch of Washington.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Sir WILLIAM SEARLE HOLDSWORTH accepting Honorary Membership, and one from ST. GEORGE LEAKIN SIOUSSAT accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON, a Resident Member, on April 5, 1939.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Mr. CABOT, Mr. WOLCOTT read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

SINCE the Annual Meeting in 1938 the Society has lost by death three Resident Members: Arthur Prentice Rugg, Francis Henry Appleton, and Thomas Hovey Gage; and three Corresponding Members: William MacDonald, George Lincoln Burr, and Henry Perceval Biggar. Five Resident Members have been elected during that time, and three Corresponding Members.

The attendance at meetings continues at the fairly satisfactory average of about twenty-nine. The Committee on Meetings has been of great assistance to the Editor in providing papers and speakers, especially during the past year.

The Council has been able to increase the salary of two of the younger members of the staff, and has added to that of both the Librarian and the Editor, voting, also, that the latter should be provided with means with which to pay for indexing, in order to speed up the work on certain volumes he now has in press.

The Council has also appropriated money for pointing the stonework on the outside of the building and painting the trim. In addition, the House Committee, by order of the Council, has undertaken a complete survey of the system of heating and ventilation in the Society's building, in order to provide for the overhauling of it whenever the condition of the Society's finances might permit.

The Editor will issue the eightieth volume of the second series of Photostat Americana on April 15. This second series is now well into its fourth year. Although he has prepared his calendar for the next six months by means of inquiries circulated among the subscribers to the series, he will welcome any suggestion that the members may have in regard to rare volumes which might be made use of. Several members of the Society have been of the greatest assistance to him in this phase of the work.

The Committee of Publication met on April 11 and ratified certain changes which the Editor had had to make in his program as a consequence of his enforced absence from his office during the spring and summer. By consulting the members of the committee individually he had previously obtained permission to publish the *Papers of John D. Long*, which was distributed in March. At present he is occupied with the General Index to *Proceedings*, XLI–LX, which is long overdue and which will be widely used when it is made available. It has been edited both as to style and subject matter since it left the hands of the compiler. This work has involved the expenditure of much precious time but will pay for itself in the long run. The committee has given the Editor authority to print 550 copies of this volume and sell them at five dollars each.

Although the death of the late President Hart slowed up somewhat the proposed revision of the volume containing the By-laws and the roll of the Society's membership since its foundation, no edition of which has appeared since 1918, the Council has given the Editor authority to go forward with this work.

Mr. Shipton reports that he is progressing satisfactorily with the preparation of the sixth volume of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates* (1713–1725) which will be the third to be published by this Society under the terms of the Sibley bequest.

On the whole the Society has had a reasonably satisfactory year. For the future, as always, the Librarian and the Editor, on behalf of the Council, welcome the coöperation and also the criticism of each and every member. All assistance given spares them by just so much for the work that should and must be done first.

George E. Cabot
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

DURING the Society's fiscal year $2,500 was received under the will of our highly regarded associate, George R. Nutter, and from the estate of Albert H. Whitin came an additional payment of $2,050, the Whitin Fund Principal having been thereby increased to $4,550. Under the terms of the respective bequests, one-fifth of the income of the Lodge Fund was added to principal, and the John L. Sibley Fund was increased by one-fourth of its income, the Sibley Fund Principal now standing at $256,216.80, or $95,047.47 more than the sum received in 1903 and 1904. From George Kuehn of Cambridge came a special gift of $100.

To the Anonymous Centenary Fund, of which both income and principal are not to be used until the Annual Meeting in 1991, has been added its apportionment of income this year, $820.74, the principal now amounting to $21,248.69, based on a gift of $1,000 in April, 1877, and a further gift of $250 in April, 1888. Income to the amount of $2,681.66 was added to the Building Annex Fund, so called to distinguish it from the amount carried to represent the present edifice, and the Building Annex Fund now amounts to $69,426.86, an increase of $31,501.72 in eleven years. Receipts of royalties applicable to the Adams Fund were $217.05, almost entirely from *The Education of Henry Adams*. The aggregate funds principal is now $907,055.71. The vote of the Council, March 12, 1936, increasing the Hunnewell Fund principal by the transfer of $5,000 of accumulated income, was rescinded on March 9, 1939, thereby reducing the principal to the original gift of $5,000.

Net income from investments was $35,159.14, an amount materially less than the $37,630.43 which represented net income in 1937–1938. The net yield from investments, based on book value, other than in savings banks, was 3.822%, but because income credits are not apportioned to certain special accounts the income carried to the credit of income accounts was at the rate of 4.017%. Amortization of bond premiums was built up to $2,030.83, a figure quite large for a fund of this size but attributable to the purchase of non-callables over a period of several years, a policy that was not without its advantages. This year amortization has been charged to the investment reserve, the strength of which has now been cut down to $46,616.07, with net capital losses of $1,177.84 hanging over it.

The net outlay for expenses other than Publications and Photostat was $33,435.59, an amount that exceeded the corresponding items for the previous year by $2,213.65, although it ought to be said parenthetically that this figure includes sums paid for rare books and for small salary increases that have been charged to income account restricted to certain uses. For the twelve months the sum added to the deficit in General Account was $14,680.70, comparing with $16,109.80 the previous year. The deficit in General Account is now $43,959.18. The arrears in Photostat Account are $766.12, comparing with $920.13 a year ago. To put it in another way, the operation of the Photostat showed a surplus for the year amounting to $154.01, a result that can be attributed largely to the skill and attentiveness of the Editor in managing issues of the present Americana Series at regular intervals. The Publications Account, through sales, shows a favorable balance of $723.25, the sum of $279.03 having been added to the surplus of a year ago.

The Library Duplicate Fund now amounts to $2,995.90, it having been increased during the year by $485.50. The Librarian continued giving substantial amounts covering practically the entire cost of rebinding, cleaning, and repairing selected pieces of rare printed Americana in the Society's collection.

Investments are $396,646.07 in bonds, while preferred stocks continue to be carried at $171,471.15 and common stocks at $351,620.27. The percentages are 43.13 in bonds, 18.64 in preferreds, and 38.23 in equities. The end of the Society's fiscal year (March 31, 1939) coincided, for the second time in succession, with a low point in the market value of securities. Custom dictates our taking the closing bid for that day as the measure of value, and from ten o'clock to three o'clock of that day there was a sinking spell that meant a reduced market value in the Society's securities of many thousands of dollars.

An estimate of the Society's bonds showed a market value of 90.29% of book value; the bid value of the preferred stocks the Society owns was 77.18% of book value; and for common stocks the corresponding index was 77.44%. The consolidated percentage, bonds and stocks, on March 31, was 80.64%, a level that compared with 72.5% on March 31, 1938, and with 65.1% in 1932. Notes payable are now $2,000, in place of the $11,000 owed a year ago.

There is a spirit of devotion to the interests of the Society that is highly gratifying, and I cannot forbear mentioning my personal appreciation of the kind consideration shown me by officers and committees, a quality that must often have been not unmixed with patience.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET
March 31, 1939

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$1,823.77	
Petty Cash	200.00	$2,023.77
Investments:		
Bonds	$396,646.07	
Stocks	523,091.42	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,242.94	920,980.43
Real Estate		97,990.32
Gain and Loss		1,177.84
Photostat		766.12
Accounts Receivable		2,146.06
General Account		43,959.18
Five Year Income Fund		39.59
		$1,069,083.31
Liabilities:		
Funds:		
Principal (Ellis House Fund not included)		$882,055.71
Income		34,212.06
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve		46,616.07
Notes Payable, State Street Trust Co.		2,000.00
Carried forward		$1,062,874.16

Brought forward	$1,062,874.16
Publications Account	723.25
T. Hovey Gage Gift	100.00
John Barnard Associates Gift	10.00
George Kuehn Special Gift	100.00
Proceedings, 65: Special Fund	2,280.00
Library Duplicate Fund	2,995.90
	$1,069,083.31

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

As of March 31, 1939

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

MUNICIPAL:	*Book Value*	*Income 1938–39*
City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 1951	$6,856.92	$240.00
City of Baltimore, Md., Paving Loan, reg. 4's, 1951	4,685.74	160.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1955	3,089.50	105.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1956	7,201.32	245.00
City of Detroit, Mich., Street Railway, 4¼'s, 1957	11,035.00	425.00
New York City Corporation Stock, 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City and County of San Francisco, Cal., 4½'s, 1968	12,828.00	225.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan, 4's, 1954	11,190.00	400.00
	$65,986.48	$2,250.00
RAILROAD:		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948	$10,687.28	$450.00
Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5's, 1938		250.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4½'s, 1944	6,000.00	270.00
Canadian National Railway Co. 5's, 1970	11,878.80	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,178.58	450.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949	10,090.00	
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven and Hartford R.R. Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	
Oregon Short Line Railway Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$108,359.66	$3,620.00
UTILITY:		
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1939		$500.00
Brooklyn Union Gas Co. 5's, 1945	$10,955.00	500.00
Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 4½'s, 1951		225.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,130.00	300.00
San Joaquin Light & Power Co. 6's, 1952	15,528.00	660.00
Utica Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1957	12,142.50	500.00
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	18,520.25	700.00
	$81,325.75	$4,285.00
Carried forward	$255,671.89	$10,155.00

Brought forward	$255,671.89	$10,155.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
Bethlehem Steel Corp'n 3½'s, 1952	$9,900.00	
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940	9,919.44	500.00
Pierre Lorillard Co. 5's, 1951	11,800.00	500.00
Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Co. 6's, 1949	9,458.00	
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1944		292.64
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1947		682.59
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1949		243.74
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. 4's, 1946	10,184.74	400.00
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	11,000.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California, "A" 6's, 1942	11,387.50	600.00
United Stock Yards Corp'n "A" 4¼'s, 1951	9,800.00	425.00
Warren Bros. Co. 5½'s, 1937	9,975.00	
	$93,424.68	$4,143.97
FOREIGN:		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942	$9,502.50	$600.00
Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969	11,910.00	500.00
Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	10,859.00	450.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	15,278.00	900.00
	$47,549.50	$2,450.00
Totals, Bonds	$396,646.07[1]	$16,748.97

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

	Book Value	Income 1938–39
RAILROAD:		
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	$15,800.00	$158.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	20.00
	$27,570.10	$178.00
UTILITY:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	$880.00	$50.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	225.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	500.00
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co.	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.50
	$71,215.00	$3,537.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
75 American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	$7,800.00	$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
200 Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards	21,800.00	1,200.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
100 United States Steel Corp'n	13,748.80	700.00
	$72,686.05	$4,285.00
Totals, Preferred Stocks	$171,471.15[2]	$8,000.50

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[1] The market value was $358,143.00.

[2] The market value was $132,377.00.

COMMON STOCKS

	Book Value	*Income 1938–39*
RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$7,315.00	$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	
300 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	14,520.77	525.00
25 Old Colony Railroad Co. Certificates of Deposit	4,200.00	
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
	$77,670.15	$831.25
UTILITY:		
300 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$38,869.25	$2,700.00
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	200.00
50 Detroit Edison Co.	5,156.58	300.00
60 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	360.00
197 Western Massachusetts Co.'s	12,483.75	394.00
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	
	$73,209.58	$3,954.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
1,000 General Electric Co.	$19,480.48	$900.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	62.50
300 United Fruit Co.	13,833.81	975.00
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	
	$75,983.04	$1,937.50
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$11,775.00	$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	120.00
125 Boston Wharf Co.	13,800.00	187.50
5 State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	475.00
	$51,075.00	$982.50
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
20 Boston Insurance Co.	$6,600.00	$420.00
10 First National Bank of the City of New York	22,250.00	1,000.00
20 Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	7,000.00	240.00
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,020.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	$73,682.50	$3,480.00
Total Common Stocks	$351,620.27[1]	$11,185.25
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	$523,091.42[2]	$19,185.75
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		$35,934.72

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[1] The market value was $251,225.50.

[2] The market value was $383,602.50.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended March 31, 1939

Receipts:			
Income from securities:			
Bonds		$16,748.97	
Stocks, preferred	$8,000.50		
common	11,185.25	19,185.75	$35,934.72
Sale of duplicates, credited to Library Duplicate Fund			373.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			217.05
George R. Nutter Legacy			2,500.00
Albert H. Whitin Legacy, second installment			2,050.00
George Kuehn special gift			100.00
Proceeds of bonds called, matured, or sold			56,510.00
Loans, State Street Trust Co.			5,000.00
Withdrawn from account in Provident Institutions for Savings			454.54
Receivables collected			230.55
			$103,369.86
Cash on hand, March 31, 1938			248.62
			$103,618.48

Disbursements:		
Net Operating Expenses:		
Other than "Photostat" and "Publications"	$33,435.59	
Photostat, net cost before journal entries	1,164.84	
Publications, net cost before journal entries	1,662.00	$36,262.43
Bonds bought		50,723.27
Interest accrued on bonds bought		748.31
Repayments, account of loans, State Street Trust Co.		14,000.00
Interest on money borrowed		60.70
		$101,794.71
Cash on hand, March 31, 1939		1,823.77
		$103,618.48

NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

For the Year Ended March 31, 1939

Bindery	$1,337.01
Building	5,789.91
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant	7,980.00
Engrossing	10.00
Fares	5.20
Library	16,663.57
Meetings	273.18
Postage	271.76
Subscriptions	52.00
Treasurer	1,052.96
Net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"	$33,435.59

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

March 31, 1939

Cash sales, sundry volumes	$310.70
Publications, sundry	31.67
Surplus, for 1938–39	$279.03
Credit balance, March 31, 1938	444.22
Credit balance, March 31, 1939	$723.25

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

March 31, 1939

Cash outlay	$3,892.75
Cash sales	2,727.91
Net cash outlay	$1,164.84
Transfers to sundry operating accounts	1,318.85
Surplus for year	$154.01
Subtract deficit for year ended March 31, 1938	920.13
Deficit in Photostat Account, March 31, 1939	$766.12

GENERAL ACCOUNT

DEBITS

March 31, 1939,	To sundry charges and payments, not chargeable to restricted funds income	$26,935.75

CREDITS

March 31, 1939,	By sundry funds income, unrestricted	12,255.05
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, Apr. 1, 1938 to Mar. 31, 1939	$14,680.70
	Balance from previous year	29,278.48
	Deficit in General Account	$43,959.18

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

MARCH 31, 1939

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1938	*Funds Income*	*Charges to Income*	*Income Balances Mar. 31, 1939*	*Funds Principal*
Adams		$1,784.33	$1,784.33		$44,628.11
Amory		120.53	120.53		3,000.00
Appleton	$94.56	490.48	191.33	$393.71	12,203.00
F. Bancroft		40.17	40.17		1,000.00
Bigelow		80.35	80.35		2,000.00
Billings	−246.80	401.77	260.18	141.59	10,000.00
Boit	4,527.54	200.88	6.69	4,721.73	5,000.00
Brattle Street	138.16	4.78		142.94	100.00
Chamberlain		49.51	49.51		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		2,008.88	2,008.88		50,000.00
Dowse		401.77	401.77		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	4,907.73	1,004.44	65.04	6,615.13	25,000.00
Ellis	−179.00	1,272.29	1,060.50	32.79	31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		200.88	200.88		5,000.00
Frothingham		120.53	120.53		3,000.00
General		2,330.84	2,330.84		58,013.66
Hunnewell	−3,328.71	401.77	2,655.46	−582.40	5,000.00
Lawrence	262.99	120.53	29.01	354.51	3,000.00
Lodge		182.30	182.30		5,717.50
Lowell		120.53	120.53		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs	88.62	80.35	52.65	116.32	2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		401.77	401.77		10,000.00
Clarence B. Moore		100.45	100.45		2,500.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 1)	−1,560.11	401.77	13.37	−1,171.71	10,000.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 2)		2,008.88	2,008.88		50,000.00
Norcross MSS.					829.82
George R. Nutter					2,500.00
Parker	425.89	28.65	449.07	5.47	1,000.00
Peabody	2,947.02	888.85	54.60	3,781.27	22,123.00
Salisbury		200.88	200.88		5,000.00
Savage	−524.56	241.05	8.02	−291.53	6,000.00
Schouler	249.84	114.50	3.81	360.53	2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		200.88	200.88		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		904.37	904.37		22,509.40
J. L. Sibley	−4,541.70	7,643.83	3,112.32	−10.19	256,216.88
Slafter	106.41	40.17	133.36	13.22	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		602.65	602.65		15,000.00
Malcolm Storer	175.34	80.35	2.67	253.02	2,000.00
Warren		40.17	40.17		1,000.00
Washburn		100.45	100.45		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	4,199.34	200.88	552.54	3,847.68	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	2,967.13	401.77	38.38	3,330.52	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	2,784.47	401.77	38.38	3,147.86	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−1,474.89	155.69	5.18	−1,324.38	3,875.14
Albert H. Whitin		100.45	100.45		4,550.00
Frederic Winthrop	5,578.96	1,004.40	35.80	6,547.56	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	3,057.92	602.65	20.07	3,640.50	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		482.13	482.13		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		95.00	95.00		2,364.66
William Winthrop	241.47	200.89	296.44	145.92	5,000.00
	$20,897.62	$29,063.21	$21,763.57	$34,212.06	$816,380.16
Anonymous Centenary		820.74[1]			21,248.69
Building Annex		2,681.66[1]			69,426.86
Lodge		45.58[1]			
J. L. Sibley		2,547.95[1]			
Total Funds Income		$35,159.14			
Total Funds Principal					$907,055.71

[1] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE Committee under appointment to examine the accounts of the Treasurer employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

Hermann F. Clarke
Augustus P. Loring, Jr.
Committee

April 13, 1939

Auditor's Statement

April 13, 1939

Messrs. Hermann F. Clarke and Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Examining Committee

Gentlemen: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1939.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

Ernest E. Jobling, *Auditor*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THERE are times when it seems as though this library were not so well known as it deserves to be. There are others, such as when someone telephones for information about town flags used in Massachusetts before 1607, when it appears that this institution must be famous—perhaps even as historical conjurors—in every nook and cranny throughout the country.

It has been many a year since our working space has been so frequently taxed to the limit. During the past twelve months thirty-five hundred researchers have visited the library. To be sure, these figures include workers on two government projects who have been almost daily visitors, but those enterprises are of great value both for ourselves and for the public at large. One, conducted by the Historical Records Survey, aims at assembling all available information about portraits of Americans painted before the year 1825. Our associate Charles K. Bolton was largely responsible for its initiation and for some time actively supervised the work on the New England section. This library, with its facilities for research, has served during the past year as headquarters for the group who are responsible for the Massachusetts portion of the subject.

The other project, the American Imprints Survey, aims at assembling a complete record of American printing: down to 1876 in the older sections of the country where printing had a comparatively early start, and to later dates in other sections whose settlement is a matter of more recent history. The director of the survey is Douglas C. McMurtrie, an outstanding American authority on the history of printing in this country. Preliminary results of portions of this work have already appeared in mimeograph form covering Chicago and the states of Arizona, Kentucky, and Missouri. Eventually, it is hoped, the results of the entire undertaking will be made similarly available. In the meantime it is proposed to assemble in the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress all the facts about locations of American imprints. In this way, full knowledge of the extent and nature of our notable collection of Americana will for the first time become available with the ease which only that notable bibliographical tool can make possible. Our failure to take part in the Union Catalogue at its inception has long been a source of regret, and we welcome the present opportunity to get in—through the back door, as it were.

This work is being done by outsiders, with such assistance from our staff as might be called for by any investigator. In the meantime we have ourselves been collaborating on two bibliographical projects of great potential value. One is a bibliography of the Cambridge press, the first recorded output of which appeared three hundred years ago. This work, whose eventual publication has been undertaken by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, aims to bring together for the first time complete information, both technical and historical, about all the items that appeared from that press during its life of slightly more than half a century. "Definitive" is the word that authors delight to apply to an enterprise of this character. It is the one word, however, which in this case will be studiously avoided. For Cambridge imprints have the habit, both pleasant and disturbing, of emerging from long sleeps at the most unexpected moments, and such is the pride that students of Americana take in this particular species that it would require only the discovery of one trifling but hitherto unrecorded Cambridge broadside after the publication of the "definitive" bibliography to give the compiler an unhappy complex from which he probably would never recover. Through the courtesy of the Council your Librarian is acting as general editor of this undertaking, and this Society will be the headquarters for it.

The other project is of far greater scope, for it aims at the preparation of a catalogue of everything, within certain categories, printed in the eighteenth century relating to the American world. Nothing now available can be said to approach that goal. It was obvious from the outset that this library could make a significant contribution to such an enterprise, but there were grave obstacles in the way of our doing it; for we have never had that vitally important tool of all collections of rare books: a chronological catalogue. Without this, our only alternative, if we were to find out just what we have that was printed in the eighteenth century, was to go through our alphabetical catalogue, hundreds of thousands of cards in all, and pick out the pertinent titles. And what hope was there of our accomplishing that, with our already inadequate staff, within the lifetime of anyone now here! In this emergency the chairman of the Library Committee offered his services, and he has already devoted many hours to this search. Unfortunately that is not all the work that is required, because for every eighteenth-century title that is found three new cards must be typed, for we are seizing this opportunity to kill with the same stone other desirable birds that have been flying around hereabouts much too long. And for this purpose we have available one person whom we can afford to employ but sixteen hours a week and another who is primarily the Editor's secretary. A slight addition to the funds available for this work would produce extraordinary results. In the meantime we are doing the best we can, grateful for the pressure that has suddenly been put upon us to effect a long-overdue reform.

The other major reform which has been inaugurated during the past year is in accordance with a vote of the Council instructing the Librarian to dispose of certain books owned by the Society that are clearly inappropriate for our purposes. Between two hundred and three hundred feet of shelves in the basement, on which there had been a particularly high proportion of items of this character, have been emptied, and the books and pamphlets thus discarded have been sent to the Harvard College Library in accordance with an exchange agreement adopted by that library and this one. Gains achieved in this way have already proved to be of the greatest value for this library, and the measure will be further prosecuted as rapidly as the staff finds time for it.

It should be added that such progress as has already been made in this respect would not have been possible had it not been for the part played by the chairman of the Library Committee, who, clad in once spotless but soon dust-laden dungarees, made a preliminary survey of certain portions of the shelves during the heat of the past summer.

For lack of funds two other badly needed reforms which I have been able to mention in earlier reports are in abeyance for a second year: the breaking up of the miscellaneous tract volumes, and the assembling in one place, under glass, of all the Americana printed before 1800.

The task of cataloguing our magnificent manuscript collection continues to make headway. Many small collections and the extensive George Bancroft collection, indispensable for the history of American politics, diplomacy, and historiography in the nineteenth century, have been thoroughly examined during the past year for the first time. This progress is, however, only the bright lining to a disturbingly black cloud. No manuscript is fully catalogued until the card for it is typed and filed. Since the first of this year, due to the urgency of the business of preparing our material for the catalogue of eighteenth-century Americana already described, we have been able to devote to the making of manuscript cards but four hours a week of one person's time, and the funds for this have been supplied through a source outside the regular budget. At this rate it is clear that we cannot consider ourselves properly meeting our obligations to the cause of scholarly research.

When it comes to the matter of the past year's accessions, I find myself really surprised at myself for being such an untypical librarian as to be unconcerned at reporting a number of new items more than 50 per cent less than that reported a year ago. The figures are as follows:

Books	354
Pamphlets	219
Periodicals	641
Broadsides	125
Newspapers	60
Maps	1
	1400

Of this total, 135, a much higher proportion than a year ago, fall within the categories of Boston printing before 1825 and Massachusetts printing before 1801. Included in this number, moreover, there is a group of items possessing such unusual interest and importance as to make the year's gain in this direction one of marked distinction.

One swallow may not make a summer, but one new Cambridge imprint can dispel a librarian's winter. We have acquired three new Cambridge imprints: Samuel Brakenbury's *Almanack* (1667); *Tydings from Rome* (1668), a reprint of an English pamphlet first seen in modern times in its American dress in 1917; and John Davenport's *Gods Call to His People* (1669). In addition, it has been our good fortune to secure fragments of two others which materially improve imperfect copies that we already had: John Davenport's *Another Essay* (1663), and John Norton's *Three Choice and Profitable Sermons* (1664).

Our collection of Massachusetts anti-powers-that-be literature has been strengthened by the acquisition of three titles of prime importance. All, quite naturally, are from London presses. Two of them reflect in characteristic language the temper of the writers. The earlier is *Ill Newes from New-England* (1652) by John Clarke, whose superior abilities made him none the more welcome to the Massachusetts authorities when he ventured to hang out the Baptist banner while on a visit to Lynn from the more congenial Newport in 1651. *New-England A Degenerate Plant* (and some twenty-three lines more of title) strikes a more withering note. Published in 1659, with the first of the several names on its title page that of John Rous, redoubtable protagonist of the Friends, it was designed mainly to present documentary evidence, in addition to the visual evidence of Rous's own cropped ear, of the harsh treatment meted out to that unhappy sect in Puritan Massachusetts. Less immediately revealing from its title page is *A Letter from New-England Concerning Their Customs, Manners, and Religion Written upon Occasion of a Report about a Quo Warranto Brought Against That Government* (1682). But these words at the close of the first paragraph show which way the wind blows through what follows: "but if they [the English Dissenters] knew, or upon knowledge considered, what a sort of People the Inhabitants of this Colony are, I believe the very worst of your Enthusiasts and Hypocrites would not claim any Kindred with them."

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

St—p!   ſt—p!   ſt—p! No:

Tueſday-Morning, December 17, 1765.

THE True-born Sons of Liberty, are deſired to meet under LIBERTY-TREE, at XII o'Clock, THIS DAY, to hear the the public Reſignation, under Oath, of ANDREW OLIVER, Eſq; Diſtributor of Stamps for the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay.*

A Reſignation? YES.

From that point on, the attack becomes increasingly Rabelaisian, and by the end, the supporter of the imperiled régime—if, indeed, any such read that far—must have known that the "J. W." who attached his signature dwelt in the Randolphian Moscow.

For the Revolutionary period there are rarities to report that are almost curiosities. Much has been written about mobs in Boston and other port towns. We know that they were "organized" and that they "gathered." We hear that the radical leaders "fermented riots." But it was only a short while ago, when I started rummaging about in an old trunk in the manuscript room, that I first came across a trace of the specific machinery that was used in creating that formidable weapon that "stopped short of war." This particular piece of the machinery is in the form of the handbill reproduced on the opposite page.

The episode referred to is familiar to every schoolboy. The significance of this slight scrap of paper lies in the fact that not even in those haloed days of patriotism-plus was it safe to count on the mob's materializing at the proper moment merely in response to some psychic impulse. How many of these fliers were peddled about town will never be known. Anyone, however, can easily figure how long all but this one survived. One person, though, perhaps unconsciously sensing how he might win the posthumous gratitude of some twentieth-century collector or librarian, did save this one. Just who he was cannot, of course, be said with certainty. There is room for pleasant speculation, however, in the fact that it has finally come to light among the papers of a cousin and close friend of Abigail Adams.

There was certainly a close link in those days between rioting and respectability, but it was not a connection of which all the respectable parties of the combination could or would publicly boast. It was not so when it came to another form of resistance to British oppression: nonimportation and the concomitant attempts to make the colonies self-supporting. A device aimed in the latter direction that became popular because it combined economic and political pressure with social diversion was the spinning bee. Boston newspapers give many accounts of such gatherings in 1769. In Dorchester on one June day, for instance,

> . . . several of the fair Sex . . . to the Number of about 60, assembled at the House of the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Bowman, with Wheels, and the greater Part of them by far, with Flax, and spent the Day there in the much to be recom-

mended and encouraged Business of Spinning. The Order in which they were ranged on the Green before the House at which they met, the decent Behaviour, pleasantry and Industry, visible among them in the Work of the Day, gave sincere and singular Pleasure to the numerous surrounding Spectators of this and other Towns. About Sun-set the Wheels ceas'd going, and the Reels and Combs made use of by others, were laid aside: And the many Skeins, all well spun, at the aforesaid House, together with those sent in on that Day, are enough, as it is judged, to make 80 Yards of Cloth, more than three quarters wide. Provision for the Repast or Entertainment of the Ladies was freely sent in and gratefully accepted, as was the Work of their Hands. It must be confess'd that many Daughters in several other Parts of the Province, have exerted themselves and done worthily on similar Occasions: But have not those before spoken of equall'd, if not excell'd—[1]

On another occasion a similar scene could have been observed in the North End of Boston. Here too, apparently, there were "numerous surrounding spectators." One of them felt an irresistible urge to be poetic about what happened and published his topical lines as a broadside with the title, *A Verse, Occasioned by Seeing the North-Spinning in Bo[s]ton*. Our copy in course of time got itself attached to the inside cover of a contemporary binding of a dilapidated copy of one of the Boston Massacre orations, and still clinging to this protection, recently found its way to us. Here is the "verse."

Boston, behold the pretty Spinners here,
And see how gay the pretty Sparks appear:
See Rich and Poor all turn the Spinning Wheel,
All who Compassion for their Country feel,
All who do love to see Industry live,
And see Frugality in Boston *thrive.*

Britain, behold thy Trade stole from thy Hand,
And carried on in Boston's *distant Land:*
See now thy Trade and Trades men, all expire,
And see them all cut short of their Desire,
Th'Desire they had that Boston's *Trade should spoil,*
That they might reap the Fruit of all our Toil;
T[hat] they might take what we'he [sic] *been slaving for,*
And rule us by the Parlimental Law:
But thanks to God, their ill Designs are cropt,
And their Tirannical Designs are stopt.

Now they have run their Chain's extended Length,
And exhausted all their once encourag'd Strength:
Now have their ill Designs all found an end,

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, June 12, 1769.

Now they have made a Foe of ev'ry Friend:
Now let them starve and die the Death of those
Who do the Interest of their King oppose.

The stock literature of the Boston Massacre—the *Short Narrative*, the account of the trial of the British soldiers, and the series of commemorative orations—while not common (if you're trying to collect it!), is none the less thoroughly familiar to everyone. There is just enough left of another sort of Massacre literature to suggest the possibility that there may have been more that is now completely lost. Not long ago we were able to secure a sample of this truly rare variety, one of the two known of this particular piece and the only one available in a public collection. That, again, it is verse need surprise no one, for in days of stress the self-consciousness that in normal times suffices to choke off in embryo most threatened poetical effusions is apt to be less effective. *A Poem, in Memory of the (Never To Be Forgotten) Fifth of March*, 1770, it is called.

I.
The rising sun bespeaks the mournful day,
When youth's, (though innocent) in blood did lay,
When bloody men shot forth the darts of death,
FIVE of our fellow-creatures drop'd their breath.

II.
Look into king-street! there with weeping eyes
Repair O Boston's sons—there hear the cries!
There see the men lie in their wallow'd gore!
There see their bodies, which fierce bullets tore!

III.
There hear their dying shrieks! their dying cries,
(Though but a few) before they clos'd their eyes!
Before the living took the dead away,
Those barb'rous monsters pierc'd them as they lay.

IV.
Down in the dark and silent graves they lye,
Their bodies rests, but vengeance is the cry.
O! may this day then never be forgot;
Remember well the place;—the bloody spot,

V.
Where, like a current, christians blood did flow,
No one can tell what they did undergo.

Step to the burying-ground, and there behold
The bones of FIVE, which now in dust are roll'd,

VI.

Who fell a prey to wicked treach'rous men,
But all the Murd'rers will be judg'd again.
Is it consistent with the laws of GOD,
To see such guilty Murd'rers go abroad?

VII.

Young SEIDER's fate we ought now to bemoan,
And drop a tear on his unhappy tomb;
He was the first that fell in a just cause;
His Murd'rer now must dye by Heaven's laws.

VIII.

Justice demands, and vengeance loud doth cry,
Come forth, O! RICHARDSON, for thou must die.
You acted then against the laws of GOD,
And now must feel the scourges of his rod.

IX.

Ho! all ye Murd'rers, hear what GOD doth say,
"Vengeance belongs to me, I will repay."
Though you are clear'd on earth, you are not free,
The GOD of glory soon will summons thee.

X.

Young MONK, whose wounds afflict his body sore,
He feels great pain, and soon will be no more.
O! may he find some gen'rous friends to give,
So that he may not want while he does live.

XI.

If bloody men intrudes upon our land,
Where shall we go? or whither shall we stand?
Then may I wander to some distant shoar,
Where man nor beast had never trod before.

It is things like these just described which make a library anything but a dry and musty spot. It is such things which make all who work here forget that what gives a touch of urgency to whatever they may be doing is the pressure of six other things waiting to be done—things which in that mythical institution, an overstaffed, overendowed library, they would never be expected to do.

Allyn B. Forbes
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

THE additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings* and call for no additional comment at this time.

Henry W. Foote
Cabinet-Keeper

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
Henry Lefavour

Vice-Presidents
Roger Bigelow Merriman
Joseph Warren

Recording Secretary
Frank Washburn Grinnell

Corresponding Secretary
Matt Bushnell Jones

Treasurer
George Gregerson Wolkins

Cabinet-Keeper
Henry Wilder Foote

Members-at-Large of the Council
Stephen Willard Phillips
James Melville Hunnewell
Clarence Saunders Brigham
Roger Wolcott
Gaspar Griswold Bacon

Mr. Milton E. Lord read a paper entitled "Pope Pius XI and the Vatican Library."

May Meeting, 1939

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 11, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *The Proceedings of the General Assembly, and of the Council, of the State of Massachusetts-Bay, Relating to the Penobscot Expedition* (Boston, 1780); J[ohn] C[alef], *The Siege of Penobscot by the Rebels* (London, 1781); the manuscript diary of Nathan Webb (1788–1791); a collection of manuscripts of General Solomon Lovell relating to the Penobscot Expedition, of which he was the chief military officer, including official correspondence between him and the Council of Massachusetts, many other letters relating to the raising of troops and the course of events following the failure of the Expedition, and two manuscripts from the British side: the journal of the siege kept by Sergeant William Lawrence, and Lawrence's orderly book of the British regiment stationed at Castine.

From Franklin Dexter, manuscripts (1842–1861) of Franklin Gordon Dexter which throw light on American trade in India in the 1840's and in China, Japan, and the Philippines in the 1860's.

From Robert F. Seybolt, a broadside Resolve of the Massachusetts General Court, December 2, 1780, relating to the raising of soldiers "to serve for three years or during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain."

By purchase: the receipt book (1767–1770) of Mrs. Jane Cazneau, widow of Peace Cazneau and proprietress of a tavern in her house in Dock Square, Boston.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Lawrence W. Jenkins, a wash drawing of John Randolph of Roanoke, in the peculiar cap and cloak which he affected.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: CHARLES F. ADAMS, *Chairman*; ALLAN FORBES and GEORGE E. CABOT.

House: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman*; JOHN WOODBURY and HERMANN F. CLARKE.

Library: Matt B. Jones, *Chairman*; Stephen W. Phillips and James M. Hunnewell.

Meetings: M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Allen French and Joseph Warren.

Photostat: George G. Wolkins, *Chairman*; Clarence S. Brigham, Stewart Mitchell, and Allyn B. Forbes.

Publication: Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Chairman*; Lawrence S. Mayo, George G. Wolkins, Clarence S. Brigham, and Stewart Mitchell.

The President read the following tribute of the Council to Horace C. Fuller:

ON March 1, 1899, Horace Charles Fuller entered the service of the Massachusetts Historical Society as superintendent of its building, then in process of completion, at 1154 Boylston Street. A little more than a week later the Society held its first meeting in its new home. Since that time Mr. Fuller has been immediately responsible for the care of the building and its contents and for the comfort of members, staff, and visitors. In honor of his having completed forty years of employment, we, the members of the Council of the Society, offer him this testimonial of our sincere appreciation of his loyal and genial devotion to duty.

Mr. Roscoe Pound presented a paper entitled "The Military Telegraph in the Civil War."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 185–203.

October Meeting, 1939

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Friday, October 13, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From William Ellery Sedgwick, papers of Judge Theodore Sedgwick (1746–1813) to be added to other Sedgwick material previously given to the Society by Alexander Sedgwick.

From Robert F. Seybolt, two unrecorded broadsides: one, dated May 7, 1761, containing a notification to the freeholders of Boston of a town meeting; the other, dated in manuscript by W. Molineux, March 3, 1772, containing the financial statement (1769–1772) of the manufacturing enterprise organized in Boston for employing the poor, together with Molineux's observations on the existing status of that enterprise.

From Thomas R. White of Philadelphia, a letter from Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., to William W. White, dated October 7, 1875, with regard to his poem, "The Boys."

By exchange with the Harvard College Library, Walter Cradock, *Mount Sion: or, the Priviledge and Practice of the Saints Opened and Applied* (Cambridge, 1673), a hitherto unrecorded Cambridge imprint.

By purchase: the papers of William Cushing, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and subsequently Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, including also the papers of his grandfather, John Cushing (1662–1737), and of his father, John Cushing (1695–1778).[1]

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Benjamin Joy, by deposit, a portrait of Daniel Webster by Joseph Ames.

The chair announced the death of JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT, a Corresponding Member, on June 19, 1939; that of HAROLD WILLIAM VAZEILLE TEMPERLEY, a Corresponding Member, on July 11, 1939; that of WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE, a Corresponding Member, on September 24, 1939; and that of HARVEY CUSHING, a Corresponding Member, on October 7, 1939.

Mr. GEORGE G. WOLKINS read a paper entitled "The Prince Society."[2]

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[1] It is an interesting fact, worthy of record, that these papers were purchased from a descendant of William Cushing's daughter, who married Thomas Aylwin, a Loyalist who went to Canada; and that the collection has now for the first time been made available for research.

[2] Printed in this volume, 223–269.

November Meeting, 1939

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 9, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair. The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the diary of John Leach (July 3, 1757–November 19, 1758) and the diaries of Peter Edes and John Leach while imprisoned in the Boston jail during the Siege of Boston.

The chair announced the resignation of Mr. STEWART MITCHELL as Editor of the Society's publications.

Mr. JAMES D. PHILLIPS read a paper entitled "Captain Stephen Phillips and the Brilliant Period of Salem Commerce."[1]

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[1] Printed in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXVI (April, 1940), 97–135.

December Meeting, 1939

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 14, 1939, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Fannie B. Oakes of Cambridge, the sea letter of the ship *Pocahontas*, signed by President Adams and Secretary of State Marshall, January 12, 1801.

From Matt B. Jones, a letter from Alexander Shepard to the Selectmen of Cambridge, December 18, 1783, about a meeting of committees from the towns of Middlesex County to consider "public grievances."

From William A. Robinson of Hanover, New Hampshire, four letters of Brooks Adams to James F. Colby, June 25, October 19, and December 3, 1914, and January 16, 1922.

The Society elected Clifford Kenyon Shipton of Shirley to Resident Membership; and Samuel Flagg Bemis of New Haven and William Davis Miller of Wakefield, Rhode Island, to Corresponding Membership.

The President read the following minute adopted by the Council on the resignation of Mr. MITCHELL.

THE Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society wishes to express its deep regret at the resignation of Mr. Stewart Mitchell as Editor of the Society and to attest its warm appreciation of his services.

Appointed in succession to Mr. Worthington C. Ford, he undertook the full duties of the office on October 1, 1929. The list of works issued under his direction is impressive. He prepared the second half of Volume LXII of the *Proceedings* (1930); edited *The Founding of Massachusetts* (1930) as a separate and saw the volume through the press; and published Volume LXIII of the *Proceedings* (1931), as well as Volume II of the *Winthrop Papers* (1931) and Volumes XI (1930) and XII (1931) of the *House Journals*. During a leave of absence granted by the Council from October, 1931, to November, 1932, in order to allow Mr. Mitchell to complete his doctoral dissertation, Volume LXIV of the *Proceedings* and Volume XIII of the *House Journals* were published. Since November, 1932, Mr. Mitchell has compiled the *Handbook of the Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (1933 and 1935) and Volumes XIV, XV, and XVI of the *House Journals*, and since January, 1936, has issued ninety-four numbers of the second series of the Photostat Americana. Early in 1939 the *Papers of John Davis Long*, compiled by Gardner Weld Allen, appeared under his editorship as Volume LXXVIII of the *Collections*. During the past eighteen months he has devoted most of his working hours to revising the General Index to the *Proceedings*, Volumes LXI–LX, which had been separately contracted for in 1929. These publications exemplify not only Mr. Mitchell's exacting scholarship, but also his insistence on high literary standards. During his editorship, also, the Society resumed the long-delayed work on *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates* by means of the employment of Mr. Clifford Kenyon Shipton. The fourth volume of Sibley appeared in 1933, the fifth in 1937, and the sixth, which will carry these biographies through the year 1725, is nearing completion.

The Council further takes pride in the fact that, during his term as Editor, Mr. Mitchell found time out of hours to act as Managing Editor of the *New England Quarterly* until the end of 1937, and to publish a distinguished biography, *Horatio Seymour of New York* (1938). No record of his services would be complete without mention of his unceasing and fruitful interest in all the affairs of the Society, which it is hoped will continue for many years to come.

Mr. CLARENCE H. HARING spoke on "South America and the War."

January Meeting, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 11, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON accepting Resident Membership and letters from SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS and WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of HENRY GREENLEAF PEARSON, a Resident Member, on December 28, 1939, and that of JOHN WOODBURY, a Resident Member, on January 4, 1940.

The Society elected Henry Steele Commager of New York a Corresponding Member.

Mr. PHILIP P. CHASE read a paper entitled "A Yankee's Conversion: Some Letters from Washington Long to John D. Long, 1875–1882."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 313–331.

February Meeting, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 9, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Laura E. Richards of Gardiner, Maine, letters of Horace Mann, part of a correspondence between Mann and her father, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, 1842–1859.

From Winthrop Sargent, Jr., two commissions of Epes Sargent, both signed by William Dummer: one as captain in the Massachusetts militia (1727), and the other as major in the Massachusetts militia (1729).

By purchase: 125 issues of Boston newspapers (1727–1742), including 25 believed to be unique.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from HENRY STEELE COMMAGER accepting election to Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected Paul Herman Buck of Cambridge a Resident Member.

The following proposed amendments to the By-laws were submitted and were unanimously adopted:

Chapter II, Art. 1. Insert the word "June," before the word "July" so that the first sentence shall read as follows: "The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Thursday of April, and there shall be a regular meeting on the second Thursday of every month, except June, July, August, and September, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at its rooms in Boston."

Chapter III. Strike out the third paragraph as amended and insert the following: "Whenever from any cause a vacancy occurs in any office of the Society or membership of the Council, the Council may fill such vacancy until the next Annual Meeting."

Chapter V, Art. 1. Strike out the word "absence" and insert the word "inability" so that the first sentence of said Article shall read as follows: "The Recording Secretary (or, in case of his death or inability, the Corresponding Secretary) shall cause a notice of each meeting, regular or special, to be sent, through the post office, to all Resident Members, not less than three days in advance thereof."

Chapter VI, Art. 1. Strike out the word "absence" and insert the word "inability" so that said Article shall read as follows: "The Corresponding Secretary (or, in case of his death or inability, the Recording Secretary) shall inform all persons of their election as members of the Society, send to each a copy of the By-laws, and, on acceptance of their election, issue the proper diplomas."

Chapter VII, *Art.* 3. Strike out the period and add the following: "but he may pay for books, equipment, or supplies with the approval of the Librarian or the Editor." The said Article shall then read as follows: "He shall pay no moneys, except on vote of the Society, or of the Council, or with the approval of an officer or committee of the Society or Council thereunto duly authorized, but he may pay for books, equipment, or supplies with the approval of the Librarian or the Editor."

Chapter VIII, *Art.* 5. Strike out the words "notifying meetings" and insert the words "giving notice of meetings" so that said Article shall read as follows: "He may have one or more assistants, appointed by the Council, who shall aid him in all or any of his duties; who shall also aid the Recording Secretary in giving notice of meetings, copying reports, or in any other way that may be required, and who shall render such other services to the Society connected with its library or its general proceedings as the Council may direct."

Chapter VIII, *Art.* 6. Strike out the Article and insert the following: "The library shall be open to the public on every weekday except legal holidays and such other days as the Librarian may designate."

Chapter VIII, *Art.* 7. Strike out the period at the end of said Article and add the following: "provided that every such member shall be answerable for the loss of them or for any injury done to them to such amount as the Council may deem just." The said Article shall then read as follows: "Any Member of the Society may take from the library three printed volumes at a time, and keep each of them four weeks, with a right to renew the loan from time to time, unless some other member has asked for the said volumes in writing; provided that every such member shall be answerable for the loss of them or for any injury done to them to such amount as the Council may deem just."

Chapter VIII, *Art's* 8, 9, 10, and 11. Strike out Articles 8, 9, 10, and 11, and renumber Articles 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 as Articles 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, respectively.

Chapter VIII, *Art.* 13. Strike out the Article and insert the following: "Art. 9. Persons engaged in historical pursuits who are not members of the Society may be allowed, in the discretion of the Librarian, to consult the books and manuscripts belonging to the Society, and he shall keep a record of all such persons and of the material so consulted."

Chapter VIII, *Art.* 14. Strike out the Article and insert the following: "Art. 10. The Librarian may grant permission to copy and publish manuscripts belonging to the Society, but in his discretion he may require that a written application for such permission shall be submitted to the Council for its approval. Every such publication shall state that the material was obtained from the Society."

Chapter XI. Strike out the title of Chapter XI and insert the following: "OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS."

Chapter XI, *Art.* 1. Strike out the words "Art. 1." and insert after the word "thereon" the following: "report in writing or in print" so that said Article 1 shall read as follows: "At the monthly meeting in March, annually, a Committee of not less than two members shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the Treasurer's accounts for the year preceding and the state of the funds of the Society, and to report thereon in writing or in print at the Annual Meeting; and, if they shall so desire, they may employ a paid expert to assist them in the performance of any part of this duty."

Chapter XI, *Art's* 2 and 3. Strike out Articles 2 and 3.

Chapter XII, *Art.* 6. Strike out the Article and insert the following: "They shall report every death of a member at the ensuing meeting of the Society, and in their discretion they may appoint a person to prepare a memoir of such member for publication in the *Proceedings*."

Chapter XIV. Strike out the Chapter and insert the following: "These By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any regular meeting of the Society at which at least twenty members are present, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been included in the call for the previous regular meeting, and also in the call for the regular meeting at which such amendment will be proposed."

Mr. DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE read a paper entitled "On the Making of Books."[1]

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[1] Printed with the title "The Essentials of a Well-Made Book" in *Some Aspects of Printing Old and New* (New Haven, 1941), 23–40.

March Meeting, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 14, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported that the Society had received from the widow of our late associate, Henry G. Pearson, volumes of the Society's publications in his library, and made this the basis for a general appeal to the members to remember the Society similarly in connection with such volumes as they may have received as members.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from PAUL HERMAN BUCK accepting his election as a Resident Member.

The Society elected Henry Rouse Viets of Dedham to Resident Membership and Robert William Glenroie Vail of Albany to Corresponding Membership.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS, *Chairman*; JAMES M. HUNNEWELL and ALBERT F. BIGELOW.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: HERMANN F. CLARKE, *Chairman*, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Mr. HENRY LEFAVOUR read a paper entitled "The Proposed College in Hampshire County in 1762."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 53–79.

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 11, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Laura E. Richards of Gardiner, Maine, three volumes of the *Boston Commonwealth* (July, 1851–December, 1852).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from HENRY ROUSE VIETS accepting Resident Membership and ROBERT WILLIAM GLENROIE VAIL accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected Boylston Adams Beal of Boston to Resident Membership.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

AT its meeting in November, 1939, the Council was faced with the unpleasant necessity of accepting the resignation of Mr. Stewart Mitchell as Editor of the Society. The Council thereupon appointed the Librarian as Acting Editor and referred to the Publication Committee the matter of choosing a permanent successor. The Committee, after making a thorough study of the problem, has recommended to the Council that in future the duties of the Librarian and the Editor be combined in the hands of a new officer to be known as the Director. The Council has adopted this suggestion and has taken the necessary first steps toward carrying it into effect.

Two other events connected with the personnel of the library's staff should be mentioned. On January 1, 1940, Miss Elizabeth L. Burnett, after twenty-nine years as Secretary to the Editor, retired from active service. At its meeting on May 11, 1939, the Council adopted a minute in honor of Horace C. Fuller's completion of forty years' service to the Society.

The Society has issued no publications since the last Annual

Meeting. Volume LXV of the *Proceedings*, covering the years 1932–1936, is, however, nearing completion. Volume LXXIX of the *Collections*, containing journals, logs, and other material relating to the voyages of the ship *Columbia* to the Northwest Coast, has also been sent to press, while a new volume of the Society's reprints of the *House Journals* will appear in the fall. Volume III of the *Winthrop Papers* is in active preparation, and the Publication Committee has authorized the publication of Volume LXVI of the *Proceedings* as soon after the appearance of Volume LXV as may be possible. It is hoped that this second volume will bring the Society's *Proceedings* up to date. Mr. Mitchell has kindly agreed to see through the press the General Index to Volumes XLI–LX of the *Proceedings*. The second series of Photostat Americana has been continued, Number 103 having been distributed to the subscribers on April 1, 1940. The Society has also continued to issue, through the photostat department, its reproduction of the *Virginia Gazette*, the latest volume of which includes the years 1772–1774.

The modernization and proper maintenance of the building are still matters of concern. The Council, however, because of inadequate funds, has limited itself to the installation of improved lighting in the pamphlet section of the basement. The need for an up-to-date ventilating and air-conditioning system makes itself increasingly felt with each passing year, but the problem cannot be tackled until our financial horizon is brighter.

Attendance at the meetings during the past year shows a falling off compared with that of the preceding year. The average for the year 1939–1940 was twenty-seven; that for the year 1938–1939 was upwards of twenty-nine. Fifty-two Resident Members attended one or more meetings during the year just ended. The Council feels that while that figure is not a cause for undue pessimism, it should not be regarded as a source of self-congratulation. Even when allowance is made for that proportion of the Resident Membership which for one reason or another is traditionally inactive, it is felt that a larger proportion of the Resident Members can justifiably be expected to show by attendance at the meetings that their original acceptance of election did not exhaust their interest in the Society's affairs.

Since April, 1939, the Society has lost by death two Resident Members and four Corresponding Members. It has elected three Resident Members and four Corresponding Members. The Council, upon whom rests the final responsibility for making nominations for membership, is, as these facts suggest, constantly faced with the problem of replenishing the ranks of the Society. The Society at large should not, however, forget that each member in effect shares that responsibility with the Council, for every member is entitled to enter candidates in the Nomination Book. The Council has felt that in recent years the members of the Society have not fully lived up to this obligation, and it urges that they be more energetic in their search for qualified candidates.

STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

COMPARED with 1938–1939 the year under review presented several favorable aspects. While capital was increased by only $6,621.23, the income from investments was greater by $2,844.54, and $315.45 greater than in 1937–1938. Current expenditures, on the other hand, were $31,795.48, less by $1,963.46 than in the previous twelve months, although $1,333.34 of this sum was saved after November 30 through having no one under appointment in the office of Editor. There were a few gifts, but none that exceeded $100.

The aggregate funds principal is now $913,676.94, but accumulated income in all the funds has been diminished slightly through debiting funds income, both restricted and unrestricted, with an administration charge, as in the year previous, and by charging portions of the salaries of the Editor and the Librarian to the income of publication funds and of funds restricted to the purchase and care of books. The net income from investments was $37,970.25, representing a yield of 4.14%, but because income credits are not apportioned to certain special accounts the income carried to the credit of income accounts was 4.286%. The amortization of bond premiums, amounting to $2,070.19, was debited to the investment reserve, and while it may seem a considerable sum to be marked off, it should be mentioned that it is because the Society bought noncallables at prices well above par that there have been so few of its bonds called in recent years; and the Society's income position is that much better. In 1939–1940 there was but one single $1,000 bond called, and there were no bonds maturing. The investment reserve is now

$43,368.04, with losses of $1,812.47 hanging over it. All this loss was occasioned by the retirement of 200 shares of Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards $6 Preferred which the Society had held since Mr. Adams' day. It was not without keen regret that this source of dependable income was withdrawn from the list.

By wringing every possible penny from the income of restricted funds, the deficit in General Account was increased by only $3,084.44. The deficit now stands at $47,043.62. It may be said parenthetically that $5,246.79 available from the John L. Sibley Fund Income was an important factor in achieving this result. The accumulated arrears in Photostat Account amount now to $1,524.53, an increase during the year of $758.38. There is always photostat work in process, and necessarily a lag between the work itself and the invoicing of the work; and the apparently unfavorable outcome of the operation of the photostat need not be especially disturbing. The negative balance of $2,224.05 in the Publications Account resulted from an advance payment to the Harvard University Press for composition on the Index to *Proceedings*, XLI–LX, a debit not to be charged out of a publication fund income account until the book is completed.

Investments are $405,554.91 in bonds, while preferred stocks are $149,671.15 and common stocks are $361,145.27. The 200 shares of Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards $6 Preferred were replaced by 15 shares of Boston Insurance Company stock at 635, now 625, and $10,000 New England Power Association 5's, 1948, at 95⅞, now 100½. Boston Insurance Company is now paying the Society $735 a year on its 35 shares, or $21 per share. The percentages, book value, are 44.25% in bonds, 16.33% in preferreds, and 39.41% in common stocks.

Current quotations on our prime noncallable bonds are uniformly higher than a year ago, while Canadian issues and Kingdom of Denmark External 6's have slipped materially. An estimate of the Society's bonds showed a market value on March 30 of 90.67% of book value; the bid value of the preferred stocks the Society owns was 80.19% of book value; and for common stocks the corresponding index was 83.17%. A similar index for bonds and stocks, taken together, would be 86.01%. Notes payable are $3,500, occasioned by the use of certain accumulated income, but this income is likely soon to be replaced by new capital, making it seem advisable to borrow money rather than to sell securities.

The Treasurer is grateful for the spirit of coöperation that is continuingly being shown by officers and committees.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET

March 30, 1940

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$611.43	
Petty Cash	200.00	$811.43
Investments:		
Bonds	$405,554.91	
Stocks	510,816.42	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,267.91	917,639.24
Real Estate		97,990.32
Gain and Loss		1,812.47
Photostat		1,524.53
Publications		2,224.05
Accounts Receivable		2,525.16
General Account		47,043.62
		$1,071,570.82

Liabilities:	
Funds:	
Principal (Ellis House Fund not included)	$888,676.94
Income	33,989.10
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street	25,000.00
Building Account	72,990.32
Capital Reserve	43,368.04
Notes Payable	3,500.00
T. Hovey Gage Gift	100.00
John Barnard Associates Gift	10.00
George Kuehn Special Gift	100.00
Proceedings, 65: Special Fund	2,280.00
Library Duplicate Fund	1,556.42
	$1,071,570.82

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

As of March 30, 1940

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

Municipal:	*Book Value*	*Income 1939–40*
City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 1951	$6,785.38	$240.00
City of Baltimore, Md., Paving Loan, reg. 4's, 1951	4,628.61	160.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1955	3,084.25	105.00
Carried forward	$14,498.24	$505.00

Brought forward	$14,498.24	$505.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1956	7,189.48	245.00
City of Detroit, Mich., Street Railway, 4¼'s, 1957	10,977.50	425.00
New York City Corporation Stock, 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City and County of San Francisco, Cal., 4½'s, 1968	12,730.23	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan, 4's, 1954	11,110.00	400.00
	$65,605.45	$2,475.00
RAILROAD:		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948	$10,610.92	$450.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4½'s, 1944	6,000.00	270.00
Canadian National Railway 5's, 1970	11,818.20	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,142.87	450.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949	10,080.00	
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	375.00
Oregon Short Line Railway Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$108,176.99	$3,745.00
UTILITY:		
Brooklyn Union Gas Co. 5's, 1945	$10,795.00	$500.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,120.00	300.00
New England Power Association 5's, 1948	9,587.50	250.00
San Joaquin Light & Power Co. 6's, 1952	15,233.50	720.00
Utica Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1957	12,015.00	500.00
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	18,341.75	750.00
	$90,142.75	$3,920.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
Bethlehem Steel Corp'n 3½'s, 1952	$9,900.00	$350.00
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940	9,919.44	500.00
Pierre Lorillard Co. 5's, 1951	11,650.00	500.00
Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Co. 6's, 1949	11,664.00	540.00
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. 4's, 1946	9,142.53	380.00
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	10,920.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California "A" 6's, 1942	11,293.75	600.00
Union Stock Yards Corp'n "A" 4¼'s, 1951	9,800.00	425.03
Warren Brothers Co. 5½'s, 1937	9,975.00	
	$94,264.72	$3,795.03
FOREIGN:		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942	$9,502.50	$600.00
Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969	11,815.00	500.00
Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	10,826.00	450.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	15,221.50	900.00
	$47,365.00	$2,450.00
Totals, Bonds	$405,554.91[1]	$16,385.03

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[1] The market value was $367,743.00.

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

Preferred Stocks

	Book Value	Income 1939–40
RAILROAD:		
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	$15,800.00	$790.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	20.00
	$27,570.10	$810.00
UTILITY:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	$880.00	$50.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	450.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	500.00
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co. $5	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.50
	$71,215.00	$3,762.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
75 American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	$7,800.00	$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
200 Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards		1,700.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
100 United States Steel Corp'n	13,748.80	700.00
	$50,886.05	$4,785.00
Totals, Preferred Stocks	$149,671.15[1]	$9,357.50

Common Stocks

	Book Value	Income 1939–40
RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$7,315.00	$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	
300 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	14,520.77	787.50
25 Old Colony Railroad Co., Certificates of Deposit	4,200.00	
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
	$77,670.15	$1,093.75
UTILITY:		
300 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$38,869.25	$2,700.00
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	200.00
50 Detroit Edison Co.	5,156.58	300.00
60 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	405.00
197 Western Massachusetts Co's	12,483.75	394.00
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	
	$73,209.58	$3,999.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
1,000 General Electric Co.	$19,480.48	$1,400.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	
Carried forward	$26,882.98	$1,400.00

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[1] The market value was $120,023.38.

Brought forward	$26,882.98	$1,400.00
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	50.00
300 United Fruit Co.	13,833.81	1,200.00
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	
	$75,983.04	$2,650.00
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$11,775.00	$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	60.00
125 Boston Wharf Co.	13,800.00	125.00
5 State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
	$51,075.00	$785.00
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
35 Boston Insurance Co.	$16,125.00	$615.00
10 First National Bank of the City of New York	22,250.00	1,000.00
20 Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	7,000.00	240.00
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,020.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	$83,207.50	$3,675.00
Total Common Stocks	$361,145.27[1]	$12,202.75
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	$510,816.42[2]	$21,560.25
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		$37,945.28

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1940

RECEIPTS:			
Income from securities:			
Bonds		$16,385.02	
Stocks, preferred	$9,357.50		
common	12,202.75	21,560.25	$37,945.28
Sale of duplicates, credited to Library Duplicate Fund			320.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			237.45
Stephen W. Phillips, special gift			100.00
Five Year Income Fund			39.59
Proceeds of bond called			1,020.00
Proceeds of preferred stock called			19,986.00
Loans, State Street Trust Co.			9,000.00
Receivables collected			1,388.50
			$70,036.82
Cash on hand, March 31, 1939			1,823.77
			$71,860.59

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[1] The market value was $300,468.50.

[2] The market value was $420,491.88.

DISBURSEMENTS:			
Net Operating Expenses:			
Other than "Photostat" and "Publications"		$31,523.31	
Photostat	$2,432.66		
Less negatives included in Expense	56.65	2,376.01	
Publications		7,957.31	$41,856.63
Securities bought:			
Bonds			11,997.50
Stocks			9,525.00
Interest accrued on bonds bought			152.55
Repayments, account of loans, State Street Trust Co.			7,500.00
Interest on money borrowed			67.48
Accounts Receivable, outlay item debited			150.00
			$71,249.16
Cash on hand, March 30, 1940			611.43
			$71,860.59

NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1940

Bindery	$1,302.53
Building	5,251.64
Cabinet: listing and restoring portraits	549.00
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant	6,570.00
Engrossing: diplomas	2.50
Fares	3.80
Library	16,356.64
Meetings	265.93
Postage	239.10
Stationery	26.00
Subscriptions	52.00
Treasurer	904.17
Net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"	$31,523.31

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

MARCH 30, 1940

Index to *Proceedings*, 41–60, advance payments	$3,000.00
Publications purchased for stock	27.00
Net outlay	$3,027.00
Less sales	79.70
Debit balance for operations during year ended March 30, 1940	$2,947.30
Less credit balance, March 31, 1939	723.25
Debit balance, March 30, 1940	$2,224.05

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

March 30, 1940

Cash outlay	$4,555.53
Cash sales	2,122.97
Net cash outlay	$2,432.66
Transfers to sundry operating accounts	1,674.25
Deficit for operations during year ended March 30, 1940	$758.41
Add deficit as of March 31, 1939	766.12
Deficit, March 31, 1940	$1,524.53

GENERAL ACCOUNT

DEBITS

March 30, 1940,	To sundry charges and payments	$21,029.34

CREDITS

March 30, 1940,	By sundry charges to funds income accounts	17,944.90
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, Apr. 1, 1939 to Mar. 30, 1940	$3,084.44
	Balance from previous year	43,959.18
	Deficit in General Account	$47,043.62

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

MARCH 30, 1940

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1939	*Funds Income*	*Charges to Income*	*Income Balances Mar. 30, 1940*	*Funds Principal*
Adams		$1,912.92	$1,912.92		$44,865.56
Amory		128.59	128.59		3,000.00
Appleton	$393.71	523.06	513.97	$402.80	12,203.00
F. Bancroft		42.86	42.86		1,000.00
Bigelow		85.73	85.73		2,000.00
Billings	141.59	428.63	11.44	558.78	10,000.00
Boit	4,721.73	214.32	505.72	4,430.33	5,000.00
Brattle Street	142.94	4.87	147.81		100.00
Chamberlain		52.82	52.82		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		2,143.17	2,143.17		50,000.00
Dowse		428.63	428.63		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	6,615.13	1,071.59	528.60	7,158.12	25,000.00
Ellis	32.79	1,357.34	1,390.13		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		214.32	214.32		5,000.00
Frothingham		128.59	128.59		3,000.00
General		2,486.67	2,486.67		58,013.66
Hunnewell	−582.40	214.32	5.72	−373.80	5,000.00
Lawrence	354.51	128.59	325.15	157.95	3,000.00
Lodge		196.06	196.06		5,766.52
Lowell		128.59	128.59		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs	116.32	85.73	202.05		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		428.63	428.63		10,000.00
Clarence B. Moore		107.16	107.16		2,500.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 1)	−1,171.71	428.63	11.44	−754.52	10,000.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 2)		2,143.17	2,143.17		50,000.00
Norcross MSS.			297.50		532.32
George R. Nutter		107.16	107.16		2,500.00
Parker	5.47	20.10	16.15	9.42	1,000.00
Peabody	3,781.27	948.27	3,033.28	1,696.26	22,123.00
Salisbury		214.32	214.32		5,000.00
Savage	−291.53	257.18	6.87	−41.22	6,000.00
Schouler	360.53	122.16	3.26	479.43	2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		214.32	214.32		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		964.83	964.83		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	−10.19	8,236.76	8,226.57		258,962.39
Slafter	13.22	42.86	46.14	9.94	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		642.95	642.95		15,000.00
Malcolm Storer	253.02	85.73	2.29	336.46	2,000.00
Warren		42.86	42.86		1,000.00
Washburn		107.16	107.16		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,847.68	214.32	1,329.47	2,732.53	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	3,330.52	428.63	11.44	3,747.71	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,147.86	428.63	511.44	3,065.05	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−1,324.38	166.10	4.43	−1,162.71	3,875.14
Albert H. Whitin		195.03	195.03		4,550.00
Frederic Winthrop	6,547.56	1,071.59	228.61	7,390.54	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	3,640.50	642.95	217.17	4,066.28	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		514.36	514.36		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		101.36	101.36		2,364.66
William Winthrop	145.92	214.32	280.49	79.75	5,000.00
	$34,212.06	$31,068.94	$31,589.40	$33,989.10	$819,114.72
Anonymous Centenary		910.79[1]			22,159.48
Building Annex		2,975.88[1]			72,402.74
Lodge		49.02[1]			
J. L. Sibley		2,745.59[1]			
Total Funds Income		$37,750.22			
Total Funds Principal					$913,676.94

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[1] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE Committee under appointment to examine the accounts of the Treasurer employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

HERMANN F. CLARKE
AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.
Committee

April 11, 1940

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 11, 1940

Messrs. Hermann F. Clarke and Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Examining Committee

GENTLEMEN: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 30, 1940.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING, *Auditor*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THE library in April, 1940, is a better institution than it was a year ago. This is not mainly to be explained by the significance or the amount of new acquisitions. In number they have been, if anything, below what we normally expect, and in the whole lot, apart from manuscripts, there is but one item of outstanding importance.

Things are better in 1940 than in 1939 because we have been making better use of what we already had. Take, for instance, the basic problem of space. Thanks to the policy of exchange with the Harvard College Library outlined a year ago, it has been possible to make further headway in clearing the shelves of material that was, for our purposes as a historical library, the deadest of dead wood from the very day that it crossed the threshold. This is beginning to relieve the pressure, although there are still enough books in active use, previously crammed away in a most inconvenient manner, to fill this reclaimed space ten times over.

Thanks to the generosity of an interested member, funds have been made available for the purchase of boxes in which are to be stored the huge piles of unbound nineteenth-century pamphlets which for years have been exposed, with scanty protection, to the vicissitudes which, in the absence of any air-cleaning system, must abound in any library located in a dirty city. With the installation of these boxes, the opportunity is being seized to rearrange these pamphlets in a single chronological file, thereby wiping out some twenty-five classifications in the card catalogue. Thanks to the unflagging labors of the chairman of the Library Committee, both the compilation of the imprint and chronological catalogues of material down to 1820 and the breaking up of miscellaneous tract volumes, which involves in addition the sorting out of duplicates, show steady progress. The manuscript catalogue also continues to grow, although the oft-mentioned chronological file, so essential for any first-rate manuscript library, is still only a dream of the future. So, too, is the catalogue of letters according to recipients. Only the afternoon before the reading of this report I received a request from the American Philosophical Society for photostat copies of all the cards in our catalogue showing letters *to* Jefferson. We have not a single such card under the heading "Jefferson," and we are, therefore, not able to perform this elementary service in aid of historical scholarship.

Such improvements as have just been outlined are not of the sort which can only be appreciated by members of the staff, as though they were practitioners of an art whose secrets are not matters of concern to outsiders. I venture to say that the past year's accomplishments in the library enabled many of the 2,618 who worked here during the past twelve months to pursue their investigations further than would have been the case at any earlier time. It is to be neither expected nor hoped that we shall ever become so highly organized that intellectual nourishment will be available here with the same mechanical ease that prevails in an automat. That might deprive us of the pleasure and benefit of learning from some of the eminent scholars who come here the things about our materials that the combined intelligence of the entire staff would not even begin to suspect. We should, however, attempt to set up more signposts throughout our collections than has thus far been done.

The proposed reorganization of the Society's library and publishing activities, the nature of which has been intimated in the Council's report, contains within it, I am sure, the promise of more intensified progress in the days ahead along just these lines. Since, if all goes well, it will be possible to add one person to the library staff, we shall be able to have someone whose primary responsibility it will be to direct and prosecute, with a persistency that has heretofore been impossible, such projects as have already been outlined. Less tangible, perhaps, but no less real, will be the benefits arising from the closer integration of the library and the Editor's office. The Society has had the next best thing during the past few years, a librarian and editor working side by side in sympathetic understanding and with the welfare and prosperity of the Society as their goal. Now that a change must be made, we must try to make it for the better.

The library has continued to strengthen its friendly coöperation with its fellow institutions, both in the Boston area and elsewhere. It is now agreed, for instance, that we and the Boston Public Library shall not be competitors in the auction rooms, a kind of arrangement that is so obviously desirable and yet is frequently overlooked by libraries. On more than one occasion of late, when something has come on the market for which the Greater Boston area was the only fitting repository, it has been possible to come to an agreement as to which of several possible libraries here should assume the responsibility of buying it. This Society has also been asked to coöperate in the interlibrary warehouse project sponsored by the Harvard College Library as a major step toward the solution of that ubiquitous library problem, overcrowding.

Accessions during the past year, excluding manuscripts, can be enumerated as follows:

Books	221
Pamphlets	243
Periodicals	597
Broadsides	102
Newspapers	952
Maps	1
Sheet Music	1
	2117

Of this total, 206 are items printed in Boston and other Massachusetts towns before 1801, and 87 are titles printed in Boston, 1801–1825.

As has been said, only one of these things would be hailed by any collector of Americana as a truly notable find: Walter Cradock, *Mount Sion: or, the Priviledge and Practice of the Saints Opened and Applied* (Cambridge, "Printed by M[armaduke] J[ohnson]," 1673), a product of the local press not hitherto recorded. I can think of no better way in which the Society could have celebrated the tercentenary of that pioneer institution. The book itself doubtless has little intrinsic importance for the present day. It is a reprint of a portion of Cradock's *Gospel-Holinesse* (London, 1651) and consists of ten sermons preached while he was the "faithful Dispenser of the Mysteries of Christ" at Allhallows-the-Great, London, on Romans VIII: 4, 5. No collection of Americana, however, loses prestige through the acquisition of a Cambridge imprint.

Of more immediate practical significance as a means of strengthening our research facilities is the acquisition of some 150 Boston newspapers ranging in date from 1727 to 1742. Of these, thirty-nine are believed to be unique. We had to dip into our slender reserves to get them, but there is some gratification in the realization that it was our already existing preëminence in this field that enabled us thus to extend our holdings.

Two acquisitions of manuscripts are noteworthy. One is an addition to the already sizable collection of Theodore Sedgwick papers. These, together with the Pickering and Otis collections, make this library a natural center for any study of the politics of the early national period, a field which, as our register of visitors shows, has by no means lost its fascination.

Last summer saw the end of protracted negotiations for the purchase of a large collection of papers, 1664–1814, of the Cushing family of Hingham and Scituate. Four generations are represented, culminating in letters and other documents of William Cushing, prominent Revolutionary figure, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Three out of the four things that I have just mentioned were purchases. We were indeed fortunate to have funds available for them, but it should be added at once that in considerable measure they came from nonrecurring sources. Increased endowments are urgently needed for financing the expansion of our research materials that will always be necessary. I trust that such acquisitions as these will be a reassurance to any who might be disposed to increase our means for this purpose that there are things still available, if one has the money, that will prove to be tools of vital importance to the furthering of our chief purpose, which is to make this the unchallengeable center for the study of Massachusetts history.

Allyn B. Forbes
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

CURRENT accessions to the Cabinet have been announced to the Society by monthly reports and need not be enumerated here. Due to the fact that, in accordance with the policy endorsed by the Council, we are limiting our acceptance of such gifts to objects of genuine historical interest, their number has tended to decrease. This, however, it is felt, should be considered a good sign rather than otherwise.

During the past year two beginnings have been made in important directions. The Society owns a small but distinguished collection of portraits, many of which have for a long time been in urgent need of repair. Unfortunately there is but one of the Society's special funds which is available for this purpose, and even in that case the care of the portraits is but one of several purposes for which the income of the fund was designated by the donor. During the past year it has been possible to use some of the money deriving from this source for the cleaning and repairing of five of the portraits most in need of such treatment: Smibert's portraits of the Reverend Joshua Gee, Mrs. Anna Gee, and Mrs. Mary Ann (Faneuil) Jones, Sully's portrait of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Copley's portrait of the Reverend William Welsteed.

During the winter the Council also authorized an appropriation which made it possible to have work done preliminary to the compiling and publication of an adequate catalogue of the Society's portraits and paintings. Such a catalogue should be considered by the Society as one of its obligations to the public as well as a great convenience to itself, and it is to be hoped that the completion of this undertaking will not have to be greatly delayed.

Henry W. Foote
Cabinet-Keeper

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
HENRY LEFAVOUR

Vice-Presidents
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN
JOSEPH WARREN

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
MATT BUSHNELL JONES

Treasurer
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

Cabinet-Keeper
HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Members-at-Large of the Council
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM
ROGER WOLCOTT
GASPAR GRISWOLD BACON
LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS
KEYES DEWITT METCALF

Dr. HENRY R. VIETS read a paper entitled "A Journal of a Young Man of Massachusetts, Boston, 1816, and a Note on its Author."[1]

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[1] Printed in the *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, XII (July, 1940), 605–622.

May Meeting, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 9, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. George H. Lyman, letters to her husband from Theodore Roosevelt.

From Howard Corning, Edward Everett's draft of his tribute to Washington Irving delivered at the June, 1858, meeting of this Society.

From Mrs. Daniel Sargent, a collection of Scollay family papers.

From Mrs. William C. Endicott, correspondence of William C. Endicott, Sr., and other material relating to his career to be added to the Endicott papers given shortly before his death by our former President.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from BOYLSTON ADAMS BEAL accepting election to Resident Membership.

The chair announced the death of HERBERT ALBERT LAURENS FISHER, an Honorary Member, on April 17, 1940.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The Society having voted unanimously for a temporary suspension of Chapter XIV of the By-laws, unanimously adopted the following amendments to the By-laws:

1. Make the present Chapter XIV Chapter XV.
2. Insert a new Chapter XIV as follows:

Chapter XIV

THE DIRECTOR

The Council may at its discretion establish or discontinue the office of Director, the holder of which shall perform all the duties hereinbefore assigned to the Editor and to the Librarian.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: CHARLES F. ADAMS, *Chairman*; ALLAN FORBES and GEORGE E. CABOT.

House: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman*; HERMANN F. CLARKE and GASPAR G. BACON.

Library: Matt B. Jones, *Chairman*; Lawrence W. Jenkins and Donald McKay Frost.

Meetings: M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Chairman*; Allen French and Joseph Warren.

Photostat: George G. Wolkins, *Chairman*; Keyes D. Metcalf and Allyn B. Forbes.

Publication: Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Chairman*; George G. Wolkins, Stewart Mitchell, Samuel E. Morison, Lawrence S. Mayo, and Allyn B. Forbes.

Mr. W. Cameron Forbes read a paper entitled "Extracts from the Correspondence of John Murray Forbes with His Partner and Cousin, Paul Sieman Forbes, Head of Russell & Company in China."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 174–184.

October Meeting, 1940

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 10, 1940, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair. The record of the May meeting was read and approved. The Director reported accessions:

From John B. Paine, Helen P. Kimball, Georgina P. Fisher, Mary A. Winsor, and Frank C. Paine, papers of Robert Treat Paine, signer of the Declaration of Independence, which also include papers of William Cushing, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

From Donald McKay Frost, an emigrant certificate of the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory.

From Sarah C. Scott, letters of Richard Cranch and William Cranch, 1783–1832.

By purchase: John Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth* (London, [1659]); the *Boston News-Letter* of November 6, 1710, one of two known copies and the only one in this country, containing what is in effect the first edition of General Francis Nicholson's journal of the expedition to Port Royal in that year; and a Boston broadside of 1774 disclosing what are said to be the plans for the quartering of British troops in Boston.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Francis P. Brennan, in memory of Frank M. Ferrin, a collection of views of Boston.

The chair announced the death of ROBERT GRANT, a Resident Member, on May 19, 1940; that of ARTHUR LYON CROSS, a Corresponding Member, on June 21, 1940; and that of MATT BUSHNELL JONES, a Resident Member, and Corresponding Secretary of the Society since 1937, on July 1, 1940.

The chair reported that the Council had filled the vacancy in the office of Corresponding Secretary caused by the death of Mr. Jones by the election of CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM; and that the Council had elected MILTON E. LORD to complete Mr. Brigham's unexpired term as Member-at-Large of the Council.

The chair reported that, in accordance with the terms of Article XIV of the By-laws adopted at the May meeting, the Council had appointed ALLYN B. FORBES to the post of Director.

Mr. JAMES B. CONANT read a paper entitled "The Advancement of Learning during the Puritan Commonwealth."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 3–31.

November Meeting, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 14, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Philip Walker of Washington, Connecticut, manuscripts of his great-grandfather, Amasa Walker (1799–1875).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Stanley W. Smith of Boston, a copy of Thomas Clarke's engraving "Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious G. Washington," printed in Boston in 1801, and listed by Stauffer as Number 408.

The chair announced the death of BEEKMAN WINTHROP, a Corresponding Member, on November 10, 1940.

The chair announced that, by vote of the Council, Horace C. Fuller, for forty-one years superintendent of the Society's building, was, owing to the state of his health, retired on a pension as of November 1, 1940.

The chair read a resolution adopted by the Council on the death of MATT BUSHNELL JONES.

MATT BUSHNELL JONES

ANY institution which can command such ardent loyalty as Matt Bushnell Jones gave to the Massachusetts Historical Society is fortunate indeed. Actively interested in historical matters for many years, he quickly realized the importance of this Society as a center of research, and long before his election as a Resident Member he had become one of the library's most frequent donors. During the years of his membership there grew from these roots of respect a feeling for the Society which was nothing short of deep affection. Its genuineness was attested by the self-effacing service through which it was displayed. Whatever demand was made upon him, whether from the Editor for a paper or from the Society to serve as one of its officers, met with a ready response which was invariably accompanied by a characteristic disclaimer of any preëminent qualifications for the particular task in hand. Unfailing attendance at the Society's meetings was to him merely the discharging of the most elementary obligation of one's membership.

These things alone would have been enough to establish him in our memory as a good member. But the stamp that he has left upon us goes deeper than that. Always quick to see and instinctively impatient with the shams, the irrelevancies, and the dead traditions that are forever hindering growth, he was eager to have the Society constantly self-critical, unceasingly on its guard against anything that might sap at its energies and obscure the path of its progress. Convinced of the possibility of a greatness for us in the future worthy of our past, he was not content with the mere contemplation of what lay ahead. Once a wise course of action had been agreed on, he would be the first to volunteer to share in the drudgery involved in its execution. The vitality that this Society has today springs in no small measure from his mind and hand, and to the affection for it that he so constantly and variously showed we have responded with an affection which will cast a cheering glow upon our memory of him during the years to come.

Resolved: That a copy of this minute be sent to Mrs. Jones.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., read a paper entitled "Reapportioning the House of Representatives under the 1940 Census."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 365–408.

December Meeting, 1940

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 12, 1940, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Harry A. Cushing of New York, two editions of the *New-England Primer* (New York, 1805, and "Massachusetts, Printed for the Purchaser, 1811").

The President paid a tribute to Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Lowell's election as a Resident Member of the Society on December 11, 1890.

Mr. HENRY S. COMMAGER read a paper entitled "John Fiske: An Interpretation."[1]

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON spoke on "Spreading the News of Columbus' Discovery."

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[1] Printed in this volume, 332–345.

January Meeting, 1941

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 9, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Benjamin Joy of Harvard, a group of letters to and from Benjamin Joy (*d* 1829).

From Lawrence W. Jenkins, Benjamin Waterhouse, *Journal of A Young Man of Massachusetts* (1st ed., Boston, 1816, with the engraving of Dartmoor Prison); David Humphreys, *Life of the Honorable Major-General Israel Putnam* (New York, 1810).

From Elizabeth B. Bliss of Washington and William J. A. Bliss of New York, letters (1816–1819) from William Davis of Plymouth to his daughter Elizabeth, who became successively the wife of Alexander Bliss and the second wife of George Bancroft.

From Harry A. Cushing, a bond (printed form) given by Samuel Shattuck, December 7, 1736, to the committee of the Massachusetts General Court in charge of the "line of towns" between the Merrimac and the Connecticut for complying with the terms laid down for settlers in those towns; a muster roll, April 13, 1780, of Captain Richard Dorsey's Company of Artillery, a Maryland company attached to the First Continental Artillery; and a letter by Daniel Dulany on legal matters, February 20, 1769.

From Henry L. Mason of Boston, in memory of his wife, Estelle Kimball Mason, programs of Boston theatrical and operatic performances collected by Mrs. Mason's mother, Mrs. Otis Kimball.

The chair announced the death of CHARLES BORGEAUD, a Corresponding Member, on October 6, 1940.

The Society elected Dr. David Cheever of Boston and Franklin Delano Putnam of Boston to Resident Membership; and Bernhard Knollenberg of New Haven to Corresponding Membership.

President LEFAVOUR called the Society's attention to the fact that January 24, 1941, would mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society and made a few informal remarks about its organization and first meeting.

Mr. CLAUDE M. FUESS read a paper entitled "Yankees and 'Aliens.'"[1]

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[1] Printed with the title "The Vanishing Yankee" in the *One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Year Book*, New England Society in the City of New York, [New York, 1941], 23–33.

February Meeting, 1941

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 13, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Benjamin S. Frost and Emma B. Frost, a group of family papers, including an order of Theophilus Simpson, one of the crew of John Paul Jones's *Ranger*, for payment of his share of the prize money earned in 1778.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a diploma of the Cape Cod Association of the City of New York.

From Thomas W. Streeter, in recognition of the Society's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, George Fox and George Burnyeat, *A New-England Fire-Brand Quenched, Being an Answer unto a Slanderous Book, Entituled; George Fox Digged out of His Burrows* (2nd issue, [London], 1679).

From George E. Cabot, the copy of the Apocrypha that belonged to Governor Simon Bradstreet.

From President Lefavour, a manuscript petition to the Massachusetts General Court from the officers of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, seeking remuneration for their services in recruiting, organizing, and drilling the regiment.

By purchase: the commission (printed form filled out in manuscript) of Ephraim Sale as lieutenant of a Boston company of foot, signed by Governor Simon Bradstreet, February 6, 1689/90; a broadside dated Boston, September 18, 1797, containing the recommendations to the public by George Claghorn, constructor of the frigate *Constitution*, as to the precautions to be taken by those attempting to witness the launching of the frigate.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Thomas Barbour, a photograph of Louis Agassiz and Benjamin Peirce.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Dr. DAVID CHEEVER and FRANKLIN DELANO PUTNAM accepting Resident Membership; and one from BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected to Corresponding Membership Archibald MacLeish of Washington, D. C., and Sir Herbert Brown Ames of Brookline.

The Reverend ROBERT H. LORD read a paper entitled "The Broad Street Riot of 1837."

March Meeting, 1941

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 13, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the Amherst College Library, a file of the *Boston Courier*, semi-weekly, December 3, 1829–December 30, 1830.

From M. A. DeWolfe Howe, in recognition of the Society's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, a volume of early seventeenth-century English tracts with the printed bookplate of Judge Samuel Sewall.

From Lawrence W. Jenkins, in recognition of the Society's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, a volume of manuscripts of Brigadier General Joseph Palmer of Germantown (Quincy, Massachusetts) containing material on the pre-Revolutionary agitation in Braintree, the activities of the Massachusetts militia, 1775–1776, and the problems facing the state of Massachusetts in the war as viewed by a member of the Council and of the Massachusetts Board of War.

By purchase: a broadside, *Good News for America*, printed in Salem, April 16, 1776, containing a reprint from the *Boston Gazette* of April 15 of the news of Commander Hopkins' New Providence expedition of March, 1776, and his encounter (April 6) with British forces off Block Island on the return voyage.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the estate of Joseph H. Dickerman of Jamaica Plain, through Frank R. Pentlarge of New York, the field sword of Amasa Davis, Quartermaster General in the Continental Army during the maneuvers around Boston, and his sign labeled "Quartermaster General's Office."

From Dr. Henry R. Viets, a white satin ribbon, decorated with a picture of Lafayette, a souvenir worn by women at the balls given in Lafayette's honor during his visit to Boston in 1824. This ribbon belonged to the donor's grandmother, Elizabeth (Staniford) Harris of Salem.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from ARCHIBALD MACLEISH and Sir HERBERT BROWN AMES accepting their election to Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, a Resident Member, and Editor of the Society from 1909 to 1929, on March 7, 1941.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: ROGER WOLCOTT, *Chairman*; GASPAR G. BACON and M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: HERMANN F. CLARKE, *Chairman*, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

The Reverend SAMUEL A. ELIOT read a paper entitled "Jeremy Belknap."[1]

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[1] Printed in this volume, 96–106.

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1941

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 10, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Boylston A. Beal, a poem written by Mrs. James T. Fields in honor of the seventieth birthday of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

From Ruth Richards of Cambridge, a certificate for receipt of a subscription to the Hungarian Fund, February 12, 1852.

From Harry A. Wright of Springfield, the deposition of Rebecca Waller, May 8, 1656, in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Boylston A. Beal, a daguerreotype of Mrs. James T. Fields taken about 1855.

The Society elected Charles Moorfield Storey of Jamaica Plain to Resident Membership.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. GASPAR G. BACON read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THERE are many lines which this report, written in the year of the Society's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, might take. It might reflect the pride which venerableness of itself often engenders; but such pride is too frequently undistinguishable from mere self-satisfaction. It might survey the Society's past, calling to mind the distinguished roll of members who have preceded us and the eminent contributions which they, through the Society, have made to the furtherance of historical study. One is apt, however, to come back from such an excursion with the notion of a golden age that cannot be recaptured in the present, of an achievement that is a matter of history rather than a possibility of the future.

It is such considerations as these which lead the Council, at this time of commemorating a distinguished past, to direct the Society's attention toward some of the problems of the present. The questions which it raises today do not spring from any of the formal decisions made at its meetings during the past year. The purpose is rather to bring before the Society as a whole certain significant queries which have been voiced on one occasion or another by various of the individual members. What our successors will have to celebrate in 1991 depends in no small measure upon the answers that may be given to these questions in the days ahead.

The first of these questions has to do with membership. From the beginning we have been committed to a policy of limitation of numbers. The exact limitation has been changed from time to time—by legislative enactment in the case of the Resident Membership, by amendment of the By-laws in the case of the Corresponding Membership—but there has never been any deviation from the principle. For many years that system was the general rule among historical societies. More recently, however, the trend has been markedly in the opposite direction until now we stand in a very small, and still diminishing, minority. Shall we continue to cling to our old tradition? Or shall we become a frankly "popular" society, welcoming to our membership any and all who are sufficiently interested in it to pay an annual fee?

If, after careful consideration, we decide that continued vitality and limitation of membership are not mutually contradictory, and we go on as before, should we none the less increase our numbers? Again, wherever we fix the limit, should we seek to change the proportions in our membership between the various groups in the community from whom we have always drawn? The professional historians, for instance, have, in recent years, comprised approximately one-fifth of the Resident Membership. Is that a reasonably good index of their potential contribution to the activities and welfare of the Society? Should the Society continue to ignore the younger men? Not since 1914, for instance, has a man under thirty been elected, and since 1900 only twenty have been under forty at the time of their election. The obvious implication is that membership in the Society is suitable only for those who have unquestionably "arrived," whether it be in the academic world or in the community at large. Perhaps, however, we should ask ourselves whether we are not running the risk of having membership in the Society come merely as another loyalty which must in some way or other be tucked in as best it may amongst a host of others, many of which have had a longer time in which to take root.

Such questions as these are closely tied up with the problem of finances. If we continue as a limited group, we must face the necessity of relying almost entirely, as we always have done, upon ourselves for our support. An occasional gift or bequest may come from families of former members to whom the Society meant much, but our expectations from this source, even were it to be systematically canvassed, cannot be high. Nor could we, particularly in times like these, feel optimistic about the success of an appeal to the general public, great as is our service to the public.

Frankly, the Society needs increased revenue. The need exists even if it be only a question of continuing our activities at their present level. The two channels through which we most directly make our impression on the community at large are our publications and our collections of books and manuscripts. For both we are seriously underfinanced. No less grave is the problem of overhead—the staff and the building. The latter, regarded by some as a monument of inadequacy, will, in the years immediately ahead, prove to be an increasing drain on our unrestricted endowments. Year in and year out, the Council has stressed the urgent need for drastic measures. We must not fall into the delusion of supposing the situation to have improved during these years when action has been postponed because of deficits in the treasury. Some one of these days the physical realities will overtake us.

What this all clearly means is that the Society's needs require a more generous response from its members. Introduction of a system of annual dues would not be even a halfway measure. Ten dollars a year, for instance, from each of one hundred Resident Members would not meet half the cost of a single volume of *Proceedings* or *Collections*. Periodical appeals for financial aid can soon become only an annoyance. The really lasting solution of this problem is to be found in enlarged unrestricted endowments, whether through gifts during the members' lifetime or bequests in their wills, or through interesting historically minded benefactors.

The Society has the same opportunity that it has always had to perform certain services which it is uniquely qualified to discharge. It is for us to meet our obligations as members as generously as our predecessors did in their day.

The Society has completed its century and a half with a year which, judged by the ready test of attendance at meetings, has been gratifying. Sixty-two members have attended at least one meeting, and the average rose four points over that reported last year. Indeed, if we choose to measure our vitality by such averages, it can be said that only once in the past twenty-five years has the record for the year just ended been bettered. It has been a source of particular satisfaction to note an increasing readiness on the part of the members to promote informal discussions after the formal part of the meeting, and it is a pleasure to record that meeting day is now certain to be an exception to the regular five o'clock closing hour. The social side of our monthly gatherings cannot be stressed too much.

One familiar face has been missed this year, that of Horace C. Fuller, superintendent of the Society's building since its erection in 1899. His retirement on pension last fall because of ill-health severed an old association which the Society had, with good cause, valued highly.

Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has amended its By-laws to create the post of Director, a position combining the duties previously discharged by the Librarian and the Editor. Upon electing the Librarian to this new office, the Council made additional new appointments to the staff to complete the reorganization of the Society's affairs: that of Mr. Stephen T. Riley as Assistant Librarian, that of Miss Eleanor Bates as Editorial Assistant to the Director, that of Miss Shirley E. Wood as Secretary to the Director, and that of Miss Dorothy Fox as Cataloguer.

The appearance of Volume LXV of the *Proceedings*, covering the period from October, 1932, through May, 1936, was a source of satisfaction. The Council has now authorized the immediate publication of the *Proceedings* for the period October, 1936, through May, 1941. With this it is hoped that the old custom of an annual volume of *Proceedings* will be permanently revived. Last fall saw the publication of Volume XVII of the *House Journals*, which will be followed next year by Volume XVIII. The long-announced Volume LXXIX of the *Collections*, containing documents relating to the voyages of the *Columbia* to the Northwest Coast, is nearing completion, and Volume III of the new series of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates*, the work of Mr. Shipton, will soon be ready for the press. Mr. Mitchell, whose work for the Society has, happily, not ceased with his resignation as Editor, reports that his work on the third General Index is nearing completion. He then proposes to embark upon the previously authorized new edition of the By-laws, which will include a new historical sketch of the Society which Mr. Morison has undertaken to prepare. The photostating of the *Virginia Gazette* has been continued, the last volume to be sent to the subscribers having been that for the year 1775 of the Purdie edition. Twenty-four additional numbers of the Photostat Americana series have been issued, bringing the total up to 126.

During the past year the Society has lost by death seven members.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, first elected a Resident Member in 1900, died March 7, 1941. Member of a brilliant family, descended from Noah Webster, he won distinction as an accurate and comprehensive scholar. While he was still a young man his edition of the *Writings of George Washington* gave promise of unusual talent, and an impressive list of publications marked his industry as Editor of this Society from 1909 to 1929. He originated the series of Photostat Americana, and he was diligent in promoting the Society's objectives. An expert in the whole field of American history, he was generous in encouraging others and was resolute in defense of historical truth.

Beekman Winthrop, a Corresponding Member since 1906, died November 10, 1940. Capable of the highest offices of state and commerce, he became successively Assistant Executive Secretary, Acting Executive Secretary, and Judge of the First Instance in the Philippine Islands, Governor of Puerto Rico, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Assistant Secretary of State—all before he was thirty-five. Upon his retirement from public life he became for the next twenty-five years one of the most trusted financial advisers in New York. He possessed great personal charm, a keen analytical mind—and wisdom.

Charles Borgeaud, a Corresponding Member since 1908, died October 6, 1940. A professor in the University of Geneva since 1896, his *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England* has been the starting point for many fruitful pieces of research in seventeenth-century history and has been a potent factor in bringing England and the United States to a better understanding of each other.

Robert Grant, a Resident Member since 1915, died May 19, 1940. In all his ways of looking at things and doing things he incarnated the common sense, the public spirit, and the practical idealism of our old Commonwealth. The community looked to him for sane counsel, penetrating speech, and self-denying industry, and learned that he did not shrink from hard or even dangerous duties. His literary gifts, both in prose and in verse, interpreted for us the life of his generation. His shrewd humor, with its genuine New England flavor, refreshed us. Three generations of his fellow-citizens trusted his sagacity and honored his character and achievements.

HERBERT ALBERT LAURENS FISHER, a Corresponding Member from 1919 to 1937 and an Honorary Member since 1937, died April 17, 1940. He was prominent as a teacher, educational administrator, Cabinet minister, and historian, and his three-volume *History of Europe*, covering the period from the earliest times to the present, is one of the outstanding achievements of British scholarship in the twentieth century.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS, a Corresponding Member since 1925, died June 21, 1940. A devoted teacher and student of English constitutional history, and author of one of the best single-volume histories of England, he was for forty years a notable figure in the University of Michigan.

MATT BUSHNELL JONES, a Resident Member since 1933 and Corresponding Secretary since 1937, died July 1, 1940. His notable talents as an executive, his expert knowledge of the sources of American history, and, above all, the inexhaustible resources of his character were placed without reserve at the Society's disposal. It will ever be a source of distinction to the Society that it used his gifts as freely as he gave them.

GASPAR G. BACON
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

BOTH capital and income were increased during the twelve months. The sum carried to income accounts was $38,798.93, an average rate of 4.289%, comparing with 4.286% for 1939–1940. Funds principal now amounts to $947,391.89, a gain of $58,714.95. The largest share of this provision for the future came to the Society in the bequest of Mrs. Georgine Holmes Thomas, who shared as generous and as understanding a knowledge of its aims as if she had herself been an active member of the guild. The fund of $50,000 is to accumulate until "it shall have a value of One hundred thousand dollars," the income thereafter to be used "for the purposes of the Society." Appropriately it is to be known as the Stewart Mitchell Fund, a tribute that down through the years will attest the earnest and devoted labors of our warmly regarded associate in an era that had its difficulties. An appreciative letter accompanied a second gift of $1,000 by Frederic Bancroft, a Corresponding Member since 1901. The Frederic Bancroft Fund is now $2,000, all without restrictions.

The investment reserve is being depleted both through the sale of securities of doubtful promise and the amortization of premiums on high-grade noncallable bonds. The Finance Committee met in January with every member present, and the list of investments was combed through with the care and attentiveness that we associate with the men who compose that committee. There is to be a similar meeting in each quarter. The net losses written off, including amortization, have reached the figure of $21,275.46, after gains had been entered in the amount of $3,832.81. Market value of bonds in the Society's list is now 93.48% of book value, preferred stocks rate at 79.03%, and common stocks at 75.67%. The composite percentage, representing all the investments, would be 84.44%. Bonds represent 46.24% of the total investments, while preferred stocks are 15.89%, and common stocks are 37.87%. It is an aim of the Finance Committee to increase the proportion of high-grade noncallable bonds, when such can be found. To achieve a yield of 3.8% to 3.9% there is resort to such issues as Bethlehem Steel Company purchase money 6's, 1988, at 151½, and Public Service Corporation of New Jersey perpetual 6's, at 154¼. Earnings of certain stocks like United States Steel Corporation, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, General Electric Company, and Detroit Edison Company were productive to greater degree than in any recent year.

While income increased and expenditures were less, the restrictions on certain of the bequests remain inflexible and for ordinary operating needs the deficit in unrestricted funds is still an abiding fact. In the Waterston No. 2 Fund there is, for instance, accumulated income of $4,164.68, available for printing "interesting autograph, original Manuscripts, Letters or Documents which may be in possession of" the Society, but not to be used for heat, light, or cleaning. The donor of the Brattle Street Model Fund was more discerning: the income of $4.97 can be used for the "care and preservation of the model." "General Account," representing accumulated deficit in unrestricted income, is now $50,087.40, a total that was raised from $47,043.62 a year ago. The difference, $3,043.78, measures the deficit for the past year. In 1939–1940 the deficit was $3,084.44.

The deficit in Photostat Account is increasing each year, the sum of $1,322.11 having been added during the period covered by this review. The accumulated deficit is $2,846.64. It is to be hoped that some new issue of colonial newspaper can be used to recapture some of this loss, although the experts are dwelling upon the more general use of microfilm for the photo-duplication of such material. Publications Account shows a surplus of $1,102.90, after charging drafts from publication income for *Proceedings*, LXV, *House Journals*, XVII, and part of the composition cost of the General Index to Volumes XLI–LX of the *Proceedings*.

It is gratifying to find from month to month fresh evidence that the Society has a staff that is informed and industrious.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET
March 31, 1941

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$1,489.07	
Petty Cash	200.00	$1,689.07
Investments:		
Bonds	$435,464.43	
Stocks	506,206.42	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,293.38	942,964.23
Real Estate		97,990.32
Gain and Loss		21,275.46
Photostat		2,846.64
Accounts Receivable		1,965.24
General Account		50,087.40
		$1,118,818.36
Liabilities:		
Funds:		
Principal (Ellis House Fund not included)		$947,391.89
Income		31,818.05
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Carried forward		$1,077,200.26

Brought forward	$1,077,200.26
Capital Reserve[1]	38,663.78
Publications	1,102.90
T. Hovey Gage Gift	100.00
John Barnard Associates Gift	10.00
George Kuehn Special Gift	100.00
Library Duplicate Fund	1,641.42
	$1,118,818.36

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

As of March 31, 1941

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

Government and Municipal:	*Book Value*	*Income 1940–41*
City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 1951		$228.67
City of Baltimore, Md., Paving Loan, reg. 4's, 1951		152.44
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1955		88.96
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1956		207.57
City of Detroit, Mich., Street Railway, 4¼'s, 1957	$10,920.00	425.00
New York City Corporation Stock 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City and County of San Francisco, Cal., 4½'s, 1968	12,632.46	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan, 4's, 1954	11,030.00	400.00
	$43,682.46	$2,402.64
Railroad:		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948	$10,534.56	$450.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4½'s, 1944		121.50
Boston & Maine Railroad 4's, 1960	2,077.50	66.00
Boston & Maine Railroad income 4½'s, 1970	622.50	
Canadian National Railway guaranteed 5's, 1970	11,757.60	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,107.16	450.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949		
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	562.50
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$94,624.32	$3,850.00
Utility:		
Boston Edison Co. 2¾'s, 1970	$20,966.66	
Brooklyn Union Gas Co. 5's, 1945	10,635.00	$500.00
Burlington (Vt.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1955	6,178.33	125.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of New York 5's, 1995	3,045.81	
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,110.00	300.00
Carried forward	$64,985.80	$1,825.00

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[1] Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

Brought forward	$64,985.80	$1,825.00
New Amsterdam Gas Co. 5's, 1948	11,979.68	250.00
New England Power Association 5's, 1948	9,587.50	500.00
Public Service Corp'n of New Jersey perpetual 6's	31,581.15	150.00
San Joaquin Light & Power Co. 6's, 1952	14,939.00	720.00
Utica Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1957	25,299.26	550.00
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	18,163.25	750.00
	$176,535.64	$4,745.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
Bethlehem Steel Co. p. m. coupon 6's, 1998		$16.67
Bethlehem Steel Co. p. m. 6's, 1998	$22,820.68	375.00
Bethlehem Steel Corp'n 3¼'s, 1952		315.93
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940		250.00
Pierre Lorillard Co. 5's, 1951	11,500.00	500.00
Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Co. 6's, 1949	11,460.00	600.00
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. 4's, 1946		183.55
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	10,840.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California "A" 6's, 1942	11,200.00	600.00
United Stock Yards Corporation "A" 4¼'s, 1951	9,800.00	425.00
Warren Brothers Co. 5½'s, 1937	9,975.00	
	$87,595.68	$13,766.15
FOREIGN:		
Canadian National—West Indies Steamships 5's, 1955	$10,513.33	$500.00
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942		565.00
Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969	11,720.00	500.00
Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	10,793.00	450.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946		1,207.33
	$33,026.33	$3,222.33
Total Bonds	$435,464.43[1]	$17,986.12

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

	Book Value	*Income 1940–41*
RAILROAD:		
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	$15,800.00	$790.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	20.00
	$27,570.10	$810.00
UTILITY:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	$880.00	$50.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	675.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	500.00
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co. 6%	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.50
	$71,215.00	$3,987.50
Carried forward	$98,785.10	$4,797.50

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[1] The market value on March 31, 1941, was $407,077.50.

Brought forward	$98,785.10	$4,797.50
INDUSTRIAL:		
75 American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	$7,800.00	$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
100 United States Steel Corp'n 7%	13,748.80	700.00
	$50,886.05	$3,085.00
Totals, Preferred Stocks	$149,671.15[1]	$7,882.50

COMMON STOCKS

	Book Value	Income 1940–41
RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$7,315.00	$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	
300 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	14,520.77	1,012.50
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
	$73,470.15	$1,318.75
UTILITY:		
300 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$38,869.25	$2,700.00
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	200.00
50 Detroit Edison Co.	5,156.58	300.00
60 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	420.00
197 Western Massachusetts Co's	12,483.75	394.00
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	40.00
	$73,209.58	$4,054.00
INDUSTRIAL:		
1,000 General Electric Co.	$19,480.48	$1,850.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	75.00
300 United Fruit Co.	13,833.81	1,200.00
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	800.00
	$75,983.04	$3,925.00
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$11,775.00	$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	60.00
125 Boston Wharf Co.	13,800.00	125.00
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
	$50,665.00	$785.00
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
35 Boston Insurance Co.	$16,125.00	$735.00
10 First National Bank of the City of New York	22,250.00	1,000.00
20 Guaranty Trust Company of New York	7,000.00	240.00
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,020.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	$83,207.50	$3,795.00
Total Common Stocks	$356,535.27[2]	$13,877.75
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	$506,206.42	$21,760.25
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		$39,746.37

[1] The market value on March 31, 1941, was $118,289.00.

[2] The market value on March 31, 1941, was $269,824.13.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1941

RECEIPTS:			
Income from securities:			
Bonds		$17,986.12	
Stocks, preferred	$7,882.40		
common	13,877.75	21,720.25	$39,746.37
Sale of duplicates, credited to Library Duplicate Fund			85.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			109.70
Stewart Mitchell Fund			50,000.00
Frederic Bancroft gift			1,000.00
Proceeds of bonds called and sold			82,354.08
Proceeds of stocks sold			9.15
Loans, State Street Trust Co.			10,000.00
Receivables collected			1,628.92
			$184,933.22
Cash on hand, March 30, 1940			611.43
			$185,544.65
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Net operating expenses, other than "Photostat" and "Publications," before journal entries			$29,783.05
Photostat, net cost, before journal entries			2,391.11
Publications, net cost, before journal entries			5,578.51
Securities bought (bonds)			131,830.00
Interest accrued on bonds bought			890.26
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Co.			13,500.00
Interest on money borrowed			82.65
			$184,055.58
Cash on hand, March 31, 1941			1,489.07
			$185,544.65

INCOME SUMMARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1941

RECEIPTS:			
Income from securities:			
Bonds		$17,986.12	
Stocks, preferred	$7,882.50		
common	13,877.75	21,760.25	$39,746.37
Less:			
Interest accrued on bonds bought			890.26
			$38,856.11
Interest credited by Savings Banks			25.47
			$38,881.58
Less interest paid on borrowed money			82.65
Total Net Income			$38,798.93
Carried forward			$38,798.93

Brought forward		$38,798.93
DEDUCTIONS:		
Added to cumulative funds:		
Anonymous Centenary	$950.57	
Building Annex	3,105.82	
Lodge	49.48	
Stewart Mitchell	722.22	
J. L. Sibley	2,777.16	7,605.25
Current available income, restricted and unrestricted		$31,193.68

NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1941

Bindery		$1,465.86
Building:		
Cleaning	$197.04	
Electricity for elevator and light	308.50	
Elevator	180.00	
Furnishings, care, replacement	118.18	
Grounds, care, etc.	20.75	
Heating	1,226.49	
Insurance, fire, liability, compensation	530.23	
Superintendent, salaries and retirement allowance	2,275.34	
Telephones	254.37	
Water	98.88	5,209.78
Cabinet		55.00
Director, salary and Assistant		5,195.00
Editor Emeritus and retirement allowance to former Assistant		3,540.00
Library:		
Salaries, honorarium	$11,701.46	
Binding, purchases and sundries	1,227.70	12,929.16
Meetings		183.30
Postage		113.36
Stationery		124.64
Subscriptions and sundries		13.00
Treasurer		953.95
Total net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"		$29,783.05

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1941

Americana Series	$603.65
Binding, chemicals, electricity, supplies, and sundries	1,593.82
Operator	1,950.00
Total cash outlay, gross	$4,147.47
Carried forward	$4,147.47

Brought forward		$4,147.47
Less:		
Cash sales, Americana Series	$1,157.90	
Sundries	577.36	1,735.26
Net cash outlay		$2,412.21
Less transfers:		
To Accounts Receivable (Virginia Gazette, 1775, Purdy)	$1,069.00	
To Library negatives	21.10	1,090.10
Deficit for operations during year ended March 31, 1941		$1,322.11
Add deficit, March 30, 1940		1,524.53
Present deficit		$2,846.64

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

Net Outlay for the Year Ended March 31, 1941

House Journals, 17, net		$914.59	
Less transfer to W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income		914.59	
Proceedings, 65, net		$3,019.42	
Less Transfers:			
To *Proceedings*, 65, Special Fund	$2,280.00		
To Waterston No. 3 Fund Income	739.42	3,019.42	
Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, continuation, net, including salary of Sibley Editor		$1,970.80	
Less transfer to J. L. Sibley Fund Income		1,970.80	
Sundries			$3.75
Winthrop Papers:			
Negatives and postage		$.65	
Less transfer to Robert Winthrop Fund Income		.65	
Net outlay for year ended March 31, 1941			$3.75
Deficit, March 30, 1940			2,224.05
			$2,227.80
Less transfers to cover advances for composition of Index to *Proceedings*, 41–60, advances having been made in 1939–41:			
Billings Fund Income		$900.00	
Waterston No. 3 Fund Income		2,100.00	3,000.00
			$772.20
Less sales (other than above)		$342.70	
Diminished by purchases for stock:			
Collections, 3–4, 2 sets		12.00	330.70
Credit balance, March 31, 1941			$1,102.90

GENERAL ACCOUNT

March 30, 1940	To sundry charges and payments	$21,125.60
March 31, 1941	By sundry charges to funds income accounts (unrestricted)	18,081.82
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, April 1, 1940, to March 31, 1941	3,043.78
	Balance from previous year	47,043.62
	Deficit in General Account	$50,087.40

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

MARCH 31, 1941

	Income Balances Mar. 30, 1940	*Funds Income*	*Charges to Income*	*Income Balances Mar. 31, 1941*	*Funds Principal*
Adams		$1,924.58	$1,924.58		$44,975.26
Amory		128.69	128.69		3,000.00
Appleton	$402.80	523.47	926.27		12,203.00
F. Bancroft		42.90	42.90		2,000.00
Bigelow		85.80	85.80		2,000.00
Billings	558.78	428.97	912.00	$75.75	10,000.00
Boit	4,430.33	214.48	1,306.00	3,338.81	5,000.00
Brattle Street		4.97	4.97		100.00
Chamberlain		52.86	52.86		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		2,144.83	2,144.83		50,000.00
Dowse		428.97	428.97		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	7,158.12	1,072.41	1,301.99	6,928.54	25,000.00
Ellis		1,358.39	1,358.39		31,666.66
Farwell		214.48	214.48		5,000.00
Frothingham		128.69	128.69		3,000.00
General		2,488.59	2,488.59		58,013.66
Hunnewell	−373.80	214.48	6.00	−165.32	5,000.00
Lawrence	157.95	128.69	3.60	283.04	3,000.00
Lodge		197.88	197.88		5,816.00
Lowell		128.69	128.69		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		85.80	85.80		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		428.97	428.97		10,000.00
Clarence B. Moore		107.24	107.24		2,500.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 1)	−754.52	428.97	12.00	−337.55	10,000.00
G. H. Norcross (No. 2)		2,144.83	2,144.83		50,000.00
Norcross MSS.					532.32
George R. Nutter		107.24	107.24		2,500.00
Parker	9.42	20.50	29.92		1,000.00
Peabody	1,696.26	949.00	1,027.78	1,617.48	22,123.00
Salisbury		214.48	214.48		5,000.00
Savage	−41.22	257.38	216.16		6,000.00
Schouler	479.43	122.26	3.42	598.27	2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		214.48	214.48		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		965.58	965.58		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley		8,331.46	8,331.46		261,739.55
Slafter	9.94	42.90	52.84		1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		643.45	643.45		15,000.00
Malcolm Storer	336.46	85.80	2.40	419.86	2,000.00
Warren		42.90	42.90		1,000.00
Washburn		107.24	107.24		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	2,732.53	214.48	175.40	2,771.61	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	3,747.71	428.97	12.00	4,164.68	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,065.05	428.97	3,494.02		10,000.00
Waterston Library	−1,162.71	166.23	4.65	−1,001.13	3,875.14
Albert H. Whitin		195.18	195.18		4,550.00
Frederic Winthrop	7,390.54	1,072.41	30.02	8,432.93	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	4,066.28	643.45	18.65	4,691.08	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		514.77	514.77		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		101.44	101.44		2,364.66
William Winthrop	79.75	214.48	294.23		5,000.00
	$33,989.10		$33,364.73	$31,818.05	
Anonymous Centenary		950.57[1]			23,110.05
Building Annex		3,105.82[1]			75,508.56
Lodge		49.48[1]			
Stewart Mitchell		722.22[1]			50,722.22
J. L. Sibley		2,777.16[1]			
Total Funds Income		$38,798.93			
Total Funds Principal					$947,391.89

[1] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE undersigned were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

Hermann F. Clarke
Augustus P. Loring, Jr.
Committee

April 10, 1941

Auditor's Statement

April 9, 1941

Messrs. Hermann F. Clarke and Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Examining Committee

Gentlemen: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1941.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

Ernest E. Jobling, *Auditor*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

"THE preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations, conduces to mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progress of society in the United States, and must always have a useful tendency to rescue the true history of this country from the ravages of time and the effects of ignorance and neglect."

Thus reads the first paragraph in the preamble to the constitution of this Society as adopted at the first meeting, held on January 24, 1791. At the same meeting a Standing Committee was appointed, whose first task was designated as being "to inquire what collections can be made for the Society, and a suitable place to deposit the same."

On April 9, at the Society's second meeting, the committee was ready with its first report: lists of contributions from eight of the members, Messrs. Eliot, Freeman, Minot, Sullivan, Thacher, Tudor, Wallcut, and Winthrop. Belknap's list was not ready until the next meeting, June 30.

It is surprising to see how large a number of the items that today rank among the choicest of the Society's collection of Americana and manuscripts are to be found in the cornerstone of the library that these lists represent. More important for present purposes is the range which these first acquisitions covered. Everything, in greater or less degree, is there, from one volume of Purchas' *Pilgrimes* to the latest pamphlet from the press that would in the years to come acquire historical interest. There are titles relating to the political and ecclesiastical history and controversies of New England from the beginning; pamphlets illustrating the relations between the whites and the Indians—Indian treaties, captivities, and accounts of the wars; volumes of theology; volumes of funeral sermons and election sermons; volumes of laws; material on the economic history of the country; volumes of early newspapers. The modern scholar, whatever the nature of his interest in New England history, could still go far in the pursuit of his research even if he were confined to the Society's original library. Even today, one hundred and fifty years later, when the idea of gathering and preserving historical source materials has lost the element of the unusual which it still had in 1791, one cannot but be impressed by the quality as well as the comprehensiveness of the collection with which this library launched itself on its notable career.

There is one episode in this early story which is generally overlooked and deserves to be recalled. Of all the founders, Jeremy Belknap had not only been the most significant writer of history, but had also, in the process, become the most assiduous collector of historical material. The printed items alone, exclusive of newspapers, in the list of things which he proposed to make available to the Society amounted to some 267 in number. Some of this collection was designated as an outright gift. On the remainder he "set a price . . . with a view to make up the sum of thirty-four dollars, as his life-subscription," the figure fixed in the Society's constitution. A bargain was just as much a bargain in 1791 as at any other time, and the Standing Committee was promptly instructed to place a valuation on this portion of Belknap's offer. Unfortunately Belknap's list as we now have it does not distinguish between what was given and what was for sale, but from the committee's subsequent report we do know that the latter included "books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and other papers." The records do not relate how the committee, working without the comparative wealth of data available to the present-day appraiser—and he, more often than not, complains of the lack of adequate information—went about its task. The final figure is all that is given: "thirty-four dollars and one-third of a dollar." This remarkably close calculation suggests a nice problem for any present member of the Society who professes even the slightest knowledge of Americana. Let him look through the inventory of Belknap's manuscripts alone and pick out a single lot which is not, at a conservative estimate, worth at least ten times "thirty-four dollars and one-third of a dollar."

In the minutes of the second meeting of the Society there are, in addition to the lists of the original gifts to the library, two entries of significance for the light they throw on later developments. Two committees were appointed, one to solicit from Mr. Samuel C. Johonnot the gift of "a valuable collection of pamphlets," the other to persuade Messrs. Thomas and John Fleet to turn over to the Society the publisher's file of the *Boston Evening Post.* In other words, it was recognized from the first that, for the full realization of the idea that the founders had in view, the coöperation of the general public was necessary. More than that, it was felt that the purposes of the Society were so praiseworthy that it was proper to seek gifts from public-spirited individuals in the community who might never be elected to membership in the Society.

It is well for us, one hundred and fifty years afterward, thus to reconsider our beginnings. We have inherited a century and a half of achievement, and there is sound reason for pride in our inheritance. But one is forced, after perusing these early records, to the conclusion that so far as fundamentals are concerned, there is little that the present members of the Society could teach that first small group of our predecessors. Our task today is, in many ways, far easier than theirs. They were, in a real sense, pioneers, and in their zeal and their concern lest nothing be lost they laid out for themselves an imposingly extensive field in which to labor. Since their day the contagion of their example has spread, and similar societies have been formed which have assumed portions of the burden which this Society originally undertook to carry alone. But within the narrower limits which bound our activities as a library today, we are still, in spite of the many external changes, following closely along the same path which Belknap and his associates marked out for themselves. New fields of historical research have been developed since their day, producing results which they, agreeing with some of our contemporaries, might have regarded as questionable history. But there is not a single item among our acquisitions during the past year which does not have an exact counterpart in that library which was brought together in April, 1791. And the fact that the most notable of our latest acquisitions—the invaluable collection of papers of Robert Treat Paine, signer of the Declaration of Independence—was a gift from persons outside the membership of the Society is a vindication of the founders' belief that this Society could perform a public service that would be welcomed.

It is not inappropriate that the Director's report should this year deal, in the main, with the distant past. Something, however, should be said of the year 1940–1941, for the library has not stood still. The reorganization and increase of the staff attendant upon the creation of the post of Director has had results for the library that have fulfilled all expectations. With the appointment of an Assistant Librarian to whom could be turned over the administration of many of the day-to-day operations of the library, a division of labor was made possible which has in turn facilitated progress along every line of activity. In no other year could 1900 visitors have been attended to, and some 1400 new acquisitions[1] have been catalogued—to mention only the most routine things—with equal efficiency. Significant advance has also been made in the overhauling of the catalogue of printed material, the winnowing out of duplicates, the breaking up of miscellaneous tract volumes, the chronological arrangement in boxes of our great mass of nineteenth-century pamphlet literature, and the compiling of the chronological and imprint catalogues of our early Americana, while further inroads have been made in the mass of uncatalogued manuscripts, bringing appreciably nearer the day when we can set about the preparation of a much-needed guide to this portion of our possessions. It is a particular pleasure to report that we have recruited our fellow member, Mr. Winship, whose knowledge of the printed book, surpassing that of the whole staff put together, has been generously placed at our disposal.

[1]

Books	256
Pamphlets	294
Periodicals	567
Broadsides	96
Maps	1
Newspapers	194
	1408

Since the last Annual Meeting one of the pleasantest chapters in the library's recent history has come to a close with the death of Matt B. Jones. The Society has recorded elsewhere its appreciation of the loyal service with which he energized the Society's activities wherever he laid his hand. It is fitting, however, to add here an expression of the gratitude which every member of the staff felt for his friendly, effective assistance in the daily routine, and of the affection with which they remember him.

ALLYN B. FORBES
Director

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

THE additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

The first draft of the new catalogue of portraits owned by the Society was completed some months ago but requires considerable editorial revision and verification of details before being put into permanent form. It is hoped that the necessary time may be given to this work during the coming year. This list of oil and pastel portraits should be supplemented by a catalogue of marble busts, engravings, and other representations of individuals in the Society's collections, with full information about each item. A complete catalogue of likenesses can be made on cards, or on typewritten sheets in a binder, but eventually the most satisfactory and useful form would be a printed book. It will, however, be a considerable time before the material can be put in order for publication, and the question of whether such a volume should be published can await consideration until that time arrives.

HENRY W. FOOTE
Cabinet-Keeper

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President
HENRY LEFAVOUR

Vice-Presidents
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN
JOSEPH WARREN

Recording Secretary
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM

Treasurer
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

Cabinet-Keeper
HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Members-at-Large of the Council
LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS
KEYES DEWITT METCALF
MILTON EDWARD LORD
STEWART MITCHELL
AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, JR.

Mr. LAWRENCE W. JENKINS read a paper entitled "A Marbleheader Meets the Last of the South Sea Pirates."[1]

Sir HERBERT B. AMES presented to the Society certain early papers in his possession.

Mr. CHARLES WARREN spoke about the discovery of certain letters from Joseph Story to John Marshall written in reply to letters from the Chief Justice now in the Story collection in the Society's possession.

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[1] Printed in this volume, 255–269.

Celebration of the Society's One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

THE Society celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding at a dinner held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on the evening of April 14, 1941. Bishop LAWRENCE asked the blessing.

After the dinner, President LEFAVOUR introduced the following speakers: Mr. Harlow Shapley, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the senior learned society in Boston, who conveyed the greetings of the Academy to the Society; Mr. DIXON RYAN FOX, who delivered the Anniversary Address;[1] and Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, who spoke informally of his recollections of the Society during his fifty years of membership.

The following members were present: Henry Adams, Gardner Weld Allen, Herbert Brown Ames, William Sumner Appleton, Gaspar Griswold Bacon, James Phinney Baxter, 3rd, Boylston Adams Beal, Albert Francis Bigelow, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Paul Herman Buck, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Philip Putnam Chase, David Cheever, Hermann Frederick Clarke, Howard Corning, Samuel Atkins Eliot, Sidney Bradshaw Fay, William Scott Ferguson, Fred Tarbell Field, Henry Wilder Foote, Allan Forbes, Allyn Bailey Forbes, Dixon Ryan Fox, Allen French, Thomas Goddard Frothingham, Charles Eliot Goodspeed, Roland Gray, Frank Washburn Grinnell, Albert Bushnell Hart, Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, James Melville Hunnewell, Lawrence Waters Jenkins, William Vail Kellen, Bernhard Knollenberg, William Leonard Langer, William Lawrence, Henry Lefavour, Milton Edward Lord, Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Roger Bigelow Merriman, Keyes DeWitt Metcalf, Perry Miller, Stewart Mitchell, Bliss Perry, James Duncan Phillips, Stephen Willard Phillips, Arthur Stanwood Pier, Franklin Delano Putnam, Edward Kennard Rand, Fred Norris Robinson, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Henry Lee Shattuck, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., Theodore Clarke Smith, Frederic Jesup Stimson, Thomas Winthrop Streeter, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Henry Rouse Viets, Joseph Warren, Henry Bradford Washburn, George Parker Winship, George Gregerson Wolkins, and Lawrence Counselman Wroth.

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[1] Printed in this volume, 411–422.

May Meeting, 1941

The Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 8, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Leon A. Aldrich of Londonderry, Vermont, a diploma of the Republican Liberty Guard (1855), a Know-Nothing party organization with headquarters in Boston; and a manuscript copy of the service for initiation into this organization as adopted September 28, 1854.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from CHARLES MOORFIELD STOREY accepting his election to Resident Membership.

The chair announced the death of HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, a Corresponding Member, on April 13, 1941.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: CHARLES F. ADAMS, *Chairman*; ALLAN FORBES and GEORGE E. CABOT.

House: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman*; HERMANN F. CLARKE and LAWRENCE W. JENKINS.

Library: MILTON E. LORD, *Chairman*; GEORGE P. WINSHIP and DONALD McK. FROST.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman*; ALLEN FRENCH and JOSEPH WARREN.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman*; KEYES D. METCALF and ALLYN B. FORBES.

Publication: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; GEORGE G. WOLKINS, STEWART MITCHELL, SAMUEL E. MORISON, LAWRENCE S. MAYO, and ALLYN B. FORBES.

Mr. WILBUR C. ABBOTT read a paper entitled "The First Newspapermen."[1]

Mr. GEORGE G. WOLKINS read a confidential letter from John Hay to Benjamin F. Trueblood, February 23, 1905, written at a time when the United States had declined to ratify the general arbitration treaties submitted by President Theodore Roosevelt. The letter referred to "the new doctrine put forth by the Senate . . . that no agreement of any sort whatever can be entered into with a foreign country without having been previously submitted to the Senate."

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[1] Printed in this volume, 32–52.

Mr. Wolkins also read his notes of remarks on Theodore Roosevelt and Panama Canal tolls made by Viscount Bryce at a round-table conference in Williamstown, Massachusetts, on or about August 29, 1921.

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